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HISTORICAL GRAMMAR

OF

APABHRAṂŚA

Deccan College Dissertation Series

5

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR

of.

APABHĪRAMŚA

by

G. V. TAGARE

DECCAN COLLEGE
POST-GRADUATE AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE
P O O N A

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF APABHRAMSA

By

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M.A., B.T., PH.D. (BOMBAY)

Director of Public Instruction, Thar State

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MOST RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

H. H. RAJA SHRIMANT SIR RAGUNATHRAO SHANKARRAO

alias

BABASAHEB PANDIT PANT SACHIV, K.C.J.E.

RAJASAHEB OF BHOR

FOR

HIS GENEROUS PATRONAGE TO LEARNING

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PREFACE

The present dissertation on Apabhramśa was accepted by the University of Bombay for the degree of Ph.D. in September, 1946. It required six long years to complete this work as I was then working as a secondary teacher at Bhor where there are no library facilities for such type of research work. If I could complete this work in spite of indifferent health and under very trying circumstances, it is due to the encouragement of His Highness the Rajasaheb of Bhor and the infinite patience with which my esteemed *Guru*, Dr. S. M. Katre, went through all my material and made valued suggestions from time to time, giving me loan facilities of important books on the subject whenever required.

"A Historical Grammar of Apabhramśa" is such a vast subject as would require the study of a lifetime. The application of the chrono-regional method of study to Apabhramśa literature, published so far, has its own obvious limitations and the time-space context of some Apabhramśa texts being still unsettled, one has to accept the earlier and later dates of the texts as the upper and lower *termini* of the linguistic phenomena represented therein. As this is the first historical grammar of Apabhramśa, the chrono-regional method of study had to be emphasised. Though I had to criticise occasionally some of the theories of the great *savants* like Pischel, Grierson, Bloch and others, I express my indebtedness to all of them as early pioneers in the field but for whose labours the present work would have been impossible.

It was intended to add some more sections and chapters on Reductions and Extensions in Apabhramśa, NIA and Apabhramśa, Apabhramśa and Extra-Indian Prakrits and other topics in Apabhramśa linguistics in general; but they are published separately in Oriental Journals as they could not be included under *Historical Grammar*.

His Highness, Raja Shrinant Sir Raghunathrao Shankarrao alias Babasaheb Pandit Panta Sachiv, K.C.I.E., the Rajasaheb of Bhor, to whom the present work is most respectfully dedicated, is already known

as a progressive ruler. His patronage to learning and munificent donations to educational, social, humanitarian and other cultural activities (even outside the State) have given him a highly respected position in the hearts of his subjects as well as in those of others in the Indian Dominion.

Born in 1878 in the historical family of Panta Sachivs who saved the Maratha Kingdom in the most critical period of the early 18th century, His Highness inherited a noble tradition of self-sacrifice. After receiving his higher education in the Deccan College, Poona, the Rajasaheb carefully equipped himself with the necessary accomplishments and varied practical administrative experience both at Poona and in the State. Even as a prince, he was noted for his love of learning, progressive democratic views, sociable nature and nobility of character. Small wonder it is that his accession to the *gadi* on 18th July, 1922 inaugurated a new era in the history of the State. At the very outset the Rajasaheb removed the longstanding and legitimate grievances of his subjects by giving them freedom of thought, speech and association and by abolishing certain invidious mediaeval types of taxes. Removal of untouchability by law marks the liberal spirit of his administration on the social side. In order to improve the efficiency of the Public services of the State, His Highness had to overhaul and to reform the State departments with their various branches of administration.

The most outstanding feature of his reign is the rapid progress of constitutional reforms. Soon after his accession in 1922 he introduced representative institutions as part of the administrative machinery of the State. The establishment of the Executive Council (1924), the Legislative Council (1928), and Local Self-Government bodies was but a beginning of granting responsible Government in the State. The Government of Bhore State Act (1932), the Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of the Rajasaheb (1938), the Silver Jubilee of his Accession to the *gadi* (1947) were important landmarks in the rapid process of transformation of a mediaeval type of benevolent autocracy into a limited monarchy of the English type. After the Independence Day on 15th August, 1947, His Highness showed a statesmanlike foresight in the interest of his subjects by entering into the proposed Union of the

Deccan States. But his greatest act of self-renunciation—perhaps the noblest one that an Indian Prince can do—is his agreement to integrate his State in the free Dominion of India from 1st March 1948. (The State of Bhore has been merged in the Indian Dominion since 8th March, 1948).

During the quarter of a century since his accession, His Highness made vast improvements in nation-building departments in the interest of Public well-being, convenience and comforts by constructing roads, bridges and buildings, opening of new charitable dispensaries and by providing other amenities of life. It is, however, in the field of education that His Highness took keen interest from the very beginning. Free Primary Education in the State, founding free-studentships and scholarships for deserving students receiving secondary and collegiate education, housing schools and libraries in excellent buildings, special facilities to Harijan pupils in the form of books and scholarships, and donations to educational and cultural institutions both inside and outside the State, founding of a prize of Rs. 500 in the name of the founder of the dynasty for encouraging good works in Marathi Literature are but a few instances of his love of learning. Actuated by this noble sentiment, the Rajasaheb granted study leave and gave a munificent donation of Rs. 3,000 to the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, for publishing this dissertation. It is, therefore, no mere formality when I respectfully dedicate this work to him.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my teacher Dr. S. M. Katre. If there is any real contribution to our knowledge of NIA linguistics in this work, the whole credit is due to him; the shortcomings, however, are due to my limitations. It is again Dr. Katre who arranged for the printing of this dissertation and it is due to his meticulous care that we have such a fine edition of a linguistic work. I am thankful to my referee Professor Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M.A., D.Litt., of Jammu for his critical appreciation of my work. Professor Dr. A.M. Upadhye, M.A., D.Litt. of Kolhapur, in spite of his onerous undertakings, always found time to respond to my queries promptly and was kind enough to read the type-script of my thesis before it was sent to the press and offer

many useful suggestions, a number of which have been incorporated herein. My thanks are due to Professor Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt. of Poona and Professor Dr. H. L. Jain, M.A., D.Litt. of Nagpur for their prompt replies to my queries about Apabhraṃśa works and their space-time location ; and lastly to my wife Mrs. Shanta Tagare who goaded me on to complete this work.

The Staff of the Examiner Press in Bombay have shown a rare patience and competence in dealing with the complicated typography of this work, and my thanks are due to the Superintendent for the great care that he has bestowed on the actual printing.

In conclusion, I would very much welcome constructive criticism from my readers to help me further in my studies.

Bhor, February 28th, 1948.

G. V. TAGARE.

ABBREVIATIONS

Ā	..	Āvanti.
ABORI	..	<i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.</i>
Alt. Gram.	..	J. WACKERNAGEL's <i>Altindische Grammatik</i> .
AMg.	..	Ardha-Māgadhī (sometimes Amg.)
Ap.	..	Apabhraṃśa.
As.	..	Aśokan Inscriptions (At times referred to as Aśokan).
AUS	..	<i>Allahabad University Studies.</i>
BBe.	..	<i>Bezzenberger Beiträge.</i>
BDCRI	..	<i>Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.</i>
Beng. or Bg.	..	Bengali.
Bh.	..	Bharata's <i>Nāṭyaśāstra</i> (Refers to Ap. verses in it also).
BhK.	..	<i>Bhavisatta kahā</i> —H. JACOB, München, 1918. (Reference to GUNE's edition is clearly mentioned)
Br.	..	Braj.
BSL	..	<i>Bulletin de la Société de linguistique de Paris.</i>
BSOS	..	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London.</i>
BV	..	<i>Bhāratiya Vidyā</i> . Bombay.
Cd.	..	Caṇḍa's <i>Prākṛta Lakṣaṇa</i> —HOERNLE, Calcutta 1880
D.	..	Dākṣiṇātyā.
Ḍh.	..	Ḍhakkī.
Dkk.	..	Kāṇha's <i>Dohākoṣa</i> —M. SHAHIDULLA, Paris 1928.
Dkn.	..	<i>Dākṣarṇava-tantra</i> —N. N. CHAUDHARY.
Dks.	..	Saraha's <i>Dohākoṣa</i> —M. SHAHIDULLA, Paris 1928.
Dn.	..	Hemacandra's <i>Deśināma-mālā</i> —R. FISCHER.
DS.	..	Ap. verses in <i>Daśarūpa</i> —SUDARSANASASTRI Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay 1914.
EAp.	..	Eastern Apabhraṃśa.

- EI** .. *Epigraphia Indica.*
- FLM** .. J. BLOCH's *La Formation de la Langue marathe.*
Sometimes mentioned as *La Langue marathe.*
- G.** .. Gujarati.
- GOS** .. Gackwad Oriental Series.
- Gram.** .. FISCHER's *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, Strassburg, 1900.
- H.** .. Hindi.
- Hc.** .. Hemacandra's *Siddha-Hema* (Prakrit Grammar).—
P. L. VAIDYA, Poona 1928. Generally the 8th
Chapter is implied.
- Ho.** .. *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*—L. ALSDORF, Hamburg, 1936.
- IA** .. Indo-Aryan.
- IAnt.** .. *Indian Antiquary* (Sometimes shortened as *IA*).
- IE** .. Indo-European.
- IHQ** .. *Indian Historical Quarterly.*
- II** .. Indo-Iranian.
- JA** .. *Journal Asiatique.*
- JAOS** .. *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JASB** .. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.*
- JBBRAS** .. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JG** .. *Jasahara-cariu* - P. L. VAIDYA, Poona, 1931.
- Jdc.** .. Jinadatta's *Carcarī* (*Ap. Kāvyaṭrayī*)—L. B. GANDHI
GOS No. 37.
- Jdu** .. Jinadatta's *Upadeśa-taraṅgiṇī* (*Ap. Kāvyaṭrayī*)—
L. B. GANDHI. GOS No. 37.
- JM** .. Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī.
- JRAS** .. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
- JŚ** .. Jaina Śaurasenī.
- JUB** .. *Journal of the University of Bombay.*

Kc.	.. Hemacandra's <i>Kumārapāla-carita</i> —S. P. PANDIT.
Ki.	.. Kramadīśvara's <i>Samkṣipta-Vyākaraṇa</i> .
KKC	.. Kanakāmara's <i>Karakāṇḍa-carita</i> —H. L. JAIN, Karanja Jain Series, No. 4, 1934.
Kp.	.. <i>Kumārapāla-pratibodha</i> —Ap. portion as edited by Ludwig ALSDORF, Hamburg, 1929.
Ld.	.. Lakṣmīdhara's <i>Ṣaḍbhāṣā-Candrikā</i> —Ed. TRIVEDI (BSS LXXI, 1916).
LSI	.. <i>Linguistic Survey of India</i> —G. A. GRIERSON.
M	.. Marathi (sometimes Mar. is used).
Mah.	.. Māhārāṣṭrī.
Marw.	.. Mārwarī.
MASB	.. <i>Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i> .
Mg.	.. Māgadhī.
MIA	.. Middle Indo-Aryan.
MK	.. Mārkaṇḍeya's <i>Prākṛta-sarvasva</i> —Ed. BHATTANATHA- SWAMIN, Vizagapatam, 1912.
MP	.. Puṣpadanta's <i>Mahāpurāṇa</i> —P. L. VAIDYA, Poona.
MSL	.. <i>Memoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris</i> .
MSPP	.. <i>Mahānāṭra-Sāhitya Patrikā</i> , Poona.
Mi.	.. <i>Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa</i> —R. PISCHEL.
Nc.	.. Puṣpadanta's <i>Nāga-kumāra-carita</i> —Ed. H. L. JAIN, Amraoti, 1936.
Nep.	.. Nepali.
NIA	.. New Indo-Aryan.
NIAnt.	.. <i>New Indian Antiquary</i> .
NS	.. Namiśādhu's quotations of sūtras on Ap. in his Com- mentary on Rudraṭa's <i>Kāvya-lankāra</i> .
ODB	.. S. K. CHATTERJI's <i>Origin and Development of</i> <i>Bengali</i> , Calcutta, 1926.
OIA	.. Old Indo-Aryan.

OWR	.. Old Western Rajasthani.
Pa.	.. Pali.
Pai	.. Dhanapāla's <i>Pāṣa-lachhī-nāma-mālā</i> .
Pais.	.. Paisācf.
Pd.	.. Rāmasimha's <i>Pāhuḍa-dohā</i> . H. L. JAIN, Amraoti, 1933.
P. or Panj.	.. Panjabi (Often shortened Panj.).
Pk. or Pkt.	.. Prākṛit.
PPr.	.. Joīndu's <i>Paramātma-prakāśa</i> —A. N. UPADHYE, Kolhapur, 1937.
Pu.	.. Puruṣottama's <i>Prākṛitānuśāsana</i> , Ed. L. NITTI-DOLCI Paris.
Raj.	.. Rajasthānī.
Rt.	.. Rāmaśarma-tarka-vāgīśa's <i>Prākṛta-kalpa-taru</i> . Edited by G. A. GRIERSON, I. <i>Ant.</i> , 1922, 23, 27, 28.
ś.	.. Śauraseni.
SAp.	.. Southern Apabhramśa.
Sc.	.. <i>Sanatkumāracarita</i> —Ed. H. JACOBI, München, 1921.
Sdd.	.. Devasena's <i>Sāvaya-dhamma dohā</i> —Ed. H. L. JAIN, Amraoti, 1932.
Sh.	.. Simharāja's <i>Prākṛta-rūpāvatāra</i> —Ed. HULTZSCH, RAS London, 1909.
Singh.	.. Singhalese.
Sk.	.. Sanskrit.
Sn.	.. Lakṣmaṇagaṇi's <i>Supāsapāhacaria</i> , Edited by Pt. H. T. SETHI.
Tr.	.. Trivikrama's <i>Prākṛta-vyākaraṇa</i> .
Vk.	.. Ap. verses in Kālidāsa's <i>Vikramorviśya</i> , as edited by FISCHER in <i>Materialien</i> .
WAp.	.. Western Apabhramśa.

Ys. . . . Joīndu's *Yogasāra*—Edited by A. N. UPADHYE,
Kolhapur, 1937

ZDMG . . . *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

In the body of the work, there are some obvious abbreviations e.g., *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* (GEIGER's *Pali Literatur und Sprache*), *Form. Konk.* for S. M. KATRE's *Formation of Konkani*, etc. As these longer abbreviations are indicated in their proper places, they are not included here. As usual an asterisk (*) before a form indicates its reconstructed nature. Other marks and abbreviations are common to all linguistic works.

INTRODUCTION

THE TERM APABHRAṂŚA

§1. The contemptuous term 'Apabhramśa' expresses the prejudice of ancient Indian grammarians and rhetoricians against all deviations from standard Sanskrit which was looked upon as divine speech. For example Patañjali who does not use the word Ap. in its modern linguistic connotation, regards the Prākritic and dialectal forms of Sk. *go* 'a cow' as Ap.¹ Some of these are used in Amg. in the Śvetāmbara Jain canon.² Some are regarded as Pkt. or Mah. in *Cd.* 2 16, and *Hc.* 8.2.174. Daṇḍin clearly remarks that in śāstric works deviations from Sk. were called Ap.,³ a view endorsed by Vāmana.⁴

It is in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (circa 300 A.D.) that we come across the first real reference to Ap. It is mentioned as 'vibhraṣṭa' as distinct from Sk. and Deśi,⁵ as a dialect abounding in -u,⁶ as 'the dialect of the Ābhiras'.⁷ It contains some verses⁸ in a dialect, the characteristics of which agree with those of the Ap. of Pk. grammarians. Ap. morphemes are found in the proto-canonical Buddhist Pk.⁹ Some Ap. forms appear in an early text like Vimalasūri's *Paumacariya* (circa 300 A.D.).¹⁰ Desinenes of the type of Ap. are found in Pāli.¹¹ All this evidence shows the probability of Ap. being a linguistic stage at least as early as 300 A.D.

Bharata assigns to Ap. the position of a barbarous dialect spoken by nomadic people who rear cattle, sheep, horses and camels.¹² The option to use Śābari in the case of these characters shows Bharata's confusion regarding Ap. though he is careful enough to distinguish it from Drāviḍi.¹³

1 *ekaikaṣya śabdasya bahavo 'pabhramśāḥ tadyatha paurityasya śabdasya gāva, gonī, gotā gopā-tāṭkṣīye-vanādāyo' pabhramśāḥ Mahābhāṣya* 1 11

2 See L. B. GANDHI, Intro. to *Ap. Kāvya* trājī p. GOS XXXVII.

3 *Kāvya-darśa* 1 36. See also PRACHEL *Gram* § 4.

4 *pūrvanpāte' pabhramśo rakṣyaḥ* 'care should be taken regarding wrong order of words in compounds' - *Kātyāñikāra-sūtra*, rts, 5 2 21. As quoted by BLECH in FLM § 22

5 *Bh* 17.3.

6 *Bh* 17 61

7 *Bh* 17.49, 54, 55. For "Ābhiri and Apabhramśa" see the article of G. V. TAGARE in *ABORI* XXIII 563-7.

8 *Bh* 17 60, 74, 99 108, 169.

9 FRANKLIN EDGERTON, in *BSOS* VIII. ii-iii pp. 501-17.

10 e.g., *kavaṇa* for *kim*, *gerund* in -*en*. See H. J. COMI, Intro. to *BHK*, 59-60. A. N. UPADHYE, Intro. to *PPr* p. 56, Footnote 1 also accepts this.

11 H. SMITH, 'Desinenes du type apabhramśa en pali,' *BM* XXXIII. 160-72 (1932)

12 *Bh*, 17.47, 48, 55.

13 Bharata is not a grammarian. He might be following some unnamed text in the classification and description of Pk. dialects. The Eastern School of Pk. grammarians follows the same treatment.

Three centuries later, Ap attained the status of a literary dialect. Thus Bhāmaha regards Ap as the name of a dialect of poetry and that too of a particular form of literature ¹⁴ Daṇḍin thinks that poetic composition in the dialect of Ābhīras etc. is Ap ¹⁵ but in an earlier verse he refers to a traditional classification of literature (*vālmāyā* and not *kāvya* as in Bhāmaha) where Ap literature has got a distinct place and was used on the stage along with Sk ¹⁶ This literary status of Ap is confirmed by the pride in the ability of composing in Ap found in the copper-plate of Dharasena II of Valabhī in Kathiawar (800 A D) Caṇḍa's recognition of Ap in his Pk grammar (*Cd* III 37) points to the same conclusion

Some two centuries later, Uddyotana, the author of *Kuvalayamālā* (778 A D) which contains portions written in Apabhramśa (*Kīrti avabbhamsa kayā* as the author says in his introductory verses) refers to the mixture of Sanskrit and Prakritic elements in literary Ap in a highly poetic way 'tā kim Avabhamsam 'loṇi' tam Sakkava-paya-ubhaya-suddhā-suddha-paya-sama-taromga-rāmganta-raggiram panaya-kavya-pya-mānini-samullāsa-sarisaṃ manoharam' ¹⁷

In the 9th cent A D, Rudrata regards Ap as a generic term for provincial dialects which were many in number

sastho 'tra bhūri-bhedo deśa-viśeṣād Apabhramśah' ¹⁸

It seems that the threefold division of literature as found in Bhāmaha was antiquated by this time and as NITTI DOLCI observes Rudrata's sixfold classification of literature was already in vogue by that time. ¹⁹

In the 10th cent A D, Rajasekhara (900-925 A D) takes Ap. as a literary dialect distinct from and equal in status to Sk, Pkt. and Paś ²⁰ Copious Ap literature discovered so far selections of Ap. verses in works like Bhoja's *Sarasvatī-Kaṇthābharana* and Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa* prove that Rajasekhara's connotation of Ap was correct

¹⁴ *Kāyalankāra* 1 16, 26

¹⁵ *Kāyadarsa*, 1 36

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1 32

¹⁷ *Kuvalaya-mālā* Palm leaves No 57-8 as quoted by L. B. GANDHI, Intro to Ap Kavyatraya, pp 97-8

¹⁸ *Kāyalankāra* 2 12 Its last mention in this verse does not reflect its degree of importance, as in that case, Sk will have a secondary place to Pkt —which a non-Jain rhetorician from Kashmir would never have meant even in those days

¹⁹ L. NITTI DOLCI *Les Grammaires prakrits* p 158

²⁰ Vide *Kavya-mīmāṃsā* the description of the person of Kāvya-puruṣa Ch III, p 6, seating arrangement in the court of the king poet Ch X pp 54-5, capacity of Ap to express some implication in its own special way Ch IX p 48, mastery in Ap composition a condition precedent to the title Kavirāja Ch V p 19.

In the 11th cent. A.D. Puruṣottama, an 'Eastern' Buddhist Pkt. grammarian, regarded Ap. as the speech of the elites 'śiṣṭas' of the day, and asks us to refer to the usage of the cultured people for the remaining characteristics of Ap.²¹ His sections on Ap. (*Pu.* XVII, XVIII) and Namisādhu's commentary on Rudrāṭa's *Kāvya-lankāra* 2.12 where he (NS) freely quotes a number of Sūtras from some unnamed work on Pk. grammar (which seems to have been amplified by Hemacandra) show that Ap. was predominantly Pkt. i.e., Mah.²² NS points out that Ap. was then freely mixed with Śaurasenisms, Māgadhisms etc. This mixed state may represent the development of Śaur. Mg or Mah. into Ap. or a free inter-borrowing which was very common in MIA.

Later writers like Mammaṭa, Vāgbhata, the author of *Vāgbhata-lankāra* (1123-56 A.D.), the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara*, Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra in *Nātyadarpaṇa*, Jinadatta (1200 A.D.) in *Viveka-vilasita* 8.131, Amaracandra in *Kāvya-kalpa-latā-vrtti* p. 8 and finally Hemacandra, the great Pkt. grammarian, unanimously agree in regarding Ap. as a literary dialect, equal in status to Sk. and Pkt. By the term Ap. these writers seem to understand 'spoken language' or 'provincial language.' Thus Vāgbhata defines it as a pure form of provincial languages.²³ According to *Viṣṇudharmottara* Ap. is infinite as there is no end to provincialisms.²⁴ Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra endorse the view that Ap. is the provincial speech.²⁵ Hemacandra, by whose time, Ap. seems to be a dead classical language like Sk. or Pkt., distinguishes it from the spoken language.²⁶ His grammar too shows a confusion of dialects.²⁷ Vāgbhata, a later author of *Kāvya-anuśāsana*, also distinguishes between Ap. and grāmyabhāṣā.²⁸

1200 A.D. is the limit of our studies. It may be noted that grammarians, commentators and rhetoricians after Hemacandra made a confusion in the interpretation of the term and its location. To mention a few: Siṃhadeva in his commentary on Vāgbhata's *Vāgbhata-lankāra* 2.3, and Mārkaṇḍeya in his Pkt. grammar, are clearly misled in locating some Ap. dialects in Dravidian provinces. *Tr. Ld. Sh.* and *Ri.* had only academic interest in Ap. and their views need not be discussed.

21 *seṣam śiṣṭa-prayogāt*, *Pu.* 17.91 (17.90 according to SIRCAR'S 'A Gram of the Pkt Lang.', p. 116).

22 *tathā prākṛtam etā 'pabhramsa' NS. on Rudrāṭa's Kāvya-lankāra* 2.12.

23 *Apabhramśas tu yacchuddham tat taddeseṣu bhāṣitam*—*Vāgbhata-lankāra* 2.3.

24 *Apabhraṣṭam trīyaṃ ca tad anantam narādhipa desa-bhāṣā-viśeṣeṇa tasyānto neha vidyate. Viṣṇudhar.* 3.3

25 *desasya Kuru-Māgadhāder uddesaḥ prākṛtītam tasmīn satī sva-sva-dese sambandhīni bhāṣā nibandhanīyete iyaṃ ca deśagī ca prāyo' pabhramse nīpatīti*—*Nātyadarpaṇa*, p. 124, as quoted by L. B. GANDHI in Intro. to *Ap. Kāvya-trayī*

26 *Kāvya-anuśāsana* VIII, 330-7, *Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇi*, II. 199.

27 Compare *Hc.* 8.4.341, 360, 372, 391, 394, 399, 414, 438 with other sūtras on Ap.

28 *Kāvya-anuśāsana*, ch. I, p. 15.

To sum up :

(1) The term Ap. originally meant 'a corrupt or deteriorated form' and was applied to usages not sanctioned by the School of Pāṇini.

(2) In the 3rd cent. A.D., the word '*vibhraṣṭa*' was probably used in the sense of Ap. As a dialect it was known as 'the speech of the Ābhiras' and as 'a dialect abounding in -u.'

(3) From the 6th cent. A.D., the term Ap. or *Avahaṃsa* or *Avahaṣṭa* designated a literary dialect in the works of grammarians and rhetoricians. Candā is the first Pk. grammarian to recognise it as such and the copper-plate of Dharaśena II of Valabhī is the first inscribed record of this term in this connotation.

(4) Up to 1100 A.D. Ap. connoted the literary form of provincial speeches or the speech of the elite, indicating thereby that the speech of the *śiṣṭas* or the upper classes of the society had many features common with Ap.

(5) Lastly, like other Pk. dialects, this stage became crystallized in literature and grammar. In the 12th cent. A.D., and onwards Ap. was a classical language like Sk. and Pk. As Hemacandra notes it, *grāmya-bhāṣā* 'the language of the towns and villages or masses' seems to be distinguished from Ap. by the end of the 12th cent. A.D.

§2. Linguistically Ap. is the name of a stage in the development of the Indo-Aryan branch of the Indo-Iranian group of the Indo-European family of languages. This stage is supposed to have intervened between secondary MIA and NIA (to use the terminology of GRIERSON) and IA speeches are assumed to have gone through this during 500-1200 A.D. The term Ap. is used here as the name of a literary dialect in which poetic works were composed between 500-1200 A.D., and which was regarded as Ap. by the authors themselves and by Pk. grammarians. This tract of literature shares, at least in spirit, the main features of this tertiary stage of MIA and thus forms the basis of the present investigation. The importance of this literature can never be exaggerated, as it is impossible to have a correct picture of the development of IA from its Middle to its Modern phase, unless a scientific study of the historical development of Ap. is undertaken. It must be made quite clear that hereby we do not subscribe to the view of G. A. GRIERSON, who, in the Introductory volume of *ISI* proposed a hypothetical Ap. as preceding each NIA dialect, as that assumption is unsupported by documentary evidence discovered so far.

APABHRAṂŚA AND DEŚI

§3. The use of the term Ap. as 'a provincial language' chiefly from the 9th cent. A.D., brings in the problem of the relation between Ap. and Deśi. As FISCHER points out the terms 'deśi,' 'deśya,' 'deśimata,' 'deśiprasiddha' denote a 'heterogeneous element.'²⁹ It is used for a class of Pk. vocabulary as distinct from *tss.* and *tbhs.* in *Bh.* 17.3 In *Bh.* 17.46-8 the term *deśabhāṣā* included all Pk. dialects including Ap. though the last was assigned a lower status. (See § 1). As Bharata does not give any instance of 'provincial words' (*deśimata*) we are left in darkness regarding the relation between Ap. and *deśi*. Some two centuries later Pādalīpta used the word '*deśi-vyaṇa*' for Mah. and not for Ap.³⁰ In the 6th cent. A.D., Caṇḍa uses the word '*deśi-prasiddha*' for a class of non-Sk., non-Pkt. words and not for a dialect.

The use of the term Ap. for provincial languages has been already noted in § 1. It is chiefly from the 9th cent. A.D., that Ap. authors from this cent. use the term *deśi* for the dialect of their works which we i.e., Pk. grammarians and modern linguisticians, regard as Ap. To quote a few instances:³¹

- (1) *Rāma-kahū-ṇā eha kamāgaya*

.. .. .

sakkaya-Pāyaya-pulindālmkiya

deśi-bhāṣa-ubhaya-laṇḍijala

kavi-dukkara-ghaṇa-sadda-silāyala

Svayambhu's *Paumacariu* (circa 700-1000 A.D.)

- (2) *na viyāṇami deśi*

—Puspādanta *Mp.* 1.8.10 (965 A.D.)

- (3) *vāyaraṇi deśi-saddattha-gāḍha*³²

chandālanikāra-visāla poḍha.

jaṇi evamāi-bahu-lakkhaṇehi

iha virāṇa kavva viyakkaṇehi

payāḍivavū kiṇ appau ṇa tehi

—Padmadeva's *Pāsa-nāha-carīu* (1000 A.D.)

²⁹ FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 9.

³⁰ *Pāṭisaṇḍa rayā viṭṭharo taha ya deśi-rayāṇaṇi nāmaṇa Tarāṇavati kahū viciṭṭa viṭṭa ya—*
Quoted by JACOBI in *Intro.* to *Śc.* p. XVII

³¹ Most of the quotations from unpublished Ap. works are taken from H. L. JAIN, *Intro.* to *Pd.* pp. 33-46.

³² Here the words "*deśi-saddattha-gāḍha*" do not imply Ap. but rather the non-derivabl element called *deśi* words. The word "*deśi*" has been used with different shade of meaning in different contexts.

(4) *na samāṇami chandū ṇa bandha-bheu.*

*na sakkaya pāyau desa-bhāsa
nau saddu vanṇu jāṇami samāsa.*

—Lakṣmaṇadeva's *Nemi-nāha-carīu*

The use of the term *deśi* or *deśi-bhōṣā* for one's spoken language persisted down to NIA. Thus Jñāneśvara, a 13th cent. author of *Mahārāṣṭra*, uses it for Marathi. e.g.,

*yā-lāgi amhā prākṛtā deśi-kārē bandhe Gītā
mhaṇaṇē hē anucitā kāraṇa nohe*

—Jñāneśvari. XVIII. 1721.

Sanskrit rhetoricians and Pk. grammarians are consistent in implying 'non-derivable words in Pkts.' by the term '*deśi* words.' *Bh.* and *Cd.* are quoted above. Rudrata in 900 A.D., clearly states:

*prakṛti-pratyaya-mūlā vyutpattir nāsti yasya deśyasya
tan maḍahadi kathamena rūḍhīriti na Saṁskṛte racayet.*³³

Hemacandra understands non-Sanskrit, underivable provincial words by the term '*deśi*.' He says:

*je lakkhaṇe ṇa siddhā ṇa pasiddhā sakkayāhihāṇesu
ṇa ya gaṇṇa-lakkhaṇā-satti-sambhavā te iha nibaddhā
desa-visesa-pasiddhāi bhāṇamānā aṇantayā huṁti
tamhā anāi-pāṭiya-payaḥṭa-bhāsā-visesao deśi.*³⁴

Hemacandra attests to the existence of such provincial words in *Hc.* 8.2.178 but excludes those from his lexicon which he included in his Pk. grammar.³⁵ His list of *deśi* words is different from that in Dhanapāla's *Pāi.* and from those in other Pk. grammars. PISCHEL rightly remarks: 'They (i.e., Pk. grammarians) consider as such (*deśi*) every word of which the form or meaning cannot be derived from Sk. In proportion to their erudition in Sk. and their skill with etymology, they declare a particular word to be *deśya* which is considered by others to be *ibh.* or *ts.* Thus there are found among the *deśi* words which although clearly traceable to Sk. root, have yet no exact form in Sk.'³⁶

P. L. VALDYA showed that a majority of these words are traceable to Sk.³⁷ while A. N. UPADHYE traced some of these to Kanarese³⁸ which shows the Dravidian element in these words.

³³ *Kāvyaṅkāra*, 6.27.

³⁴ Intro. to *Dn.* (Cal. University, 1931) p. 34 as quoted by H. L. JAIN in Intro. to *Pd.* p. 40 footnote.

³⁵ See the Com. on the word *lakṣaṇa* in the above quoted verses.

³⁶ PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 9.

³⁷ 'Observations on Hemacandra's *Deśināma-māla*,' *ABORI*, 8, pp. 63-71.

³⁸ 'Kanarese words in *Deśi* Lexicons,' *ABORI*, 12, pp. 274-84. Some Kannaḍa words in UPADHYE's list e.g., *tuppa* 'ghee,' *vāhali* 'a stream' are, however, IA loans to Kannaḍa.

Thus the term 'deśi,' as applied to words is different in implication than when applied to a dialect. 'deśi bhāṣā' is generally the spoken language of a particular province whether it be Mah. Pkt. or Ap. or one of the NIA languages. Deśi as applied to word implies a word non-derivable from Sk., expressing thereby the limits of the philological studies of the author who classes it thus. These words are found in Pkt., Ap. and NIA. The identification of deśi with non-Aryan element in IA is a hasty conclusion of CALDWELL and his followers, as the problem is yet to be adequately studied by scholars with sound grounding in IA, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic Philology.

REFERENCES TO AP. LITERATURE

§4. There are many references to Ap. literature in Pk. grammars and Sk. rhetorical literature, where many Ap. verses are quoted as illustrations of the theories propounded in them. In §§1 and 3 we have referred to the different Alankāra works where the term Ap. and its usage are given. Here the references are arranged in a chronological order, the dates of the authors being those given by M. M. P. V. KANE in his 'History of Alankāra Literature' in the Introduction to Viśvanātha's *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* 2 (1923).

(1) Bharata (circa 300 A.D.), *Nāṭyaśāstra* (Kāvyamālā No. 42) Ap. is an uncultured dialect (*vibhāṣā*) spoken by herdsmen e.g. cowherds, shepherds, tenders of herds of horses, camels, etc., (17.48, 55). As noted in §1 above Ap. was then called Ābhīrī and a dialect abounding in -u. It had a lower status on the stage, lower than that of Pk. Its use for the ravings of mad Purūravas in the *Vikramorvaṣīya* IV shows that Kālidāsa regarded Pk. as too dignified a medium to be used for this purpose, even in the case of an *uttamapātra* like the king.⁴⁰ (See §8 later.)

(2) Bhāmaha (circa 600 A. D., but before Bāna). In *Kāvyāṭalankāra* 1st Chapter⁴¹ he divides *kāvya* dialectically in Sk., Pkt. and Ap. (1.16). In distinguishing between *Kathā* and *Ākhyāyikā*, he remarks :

na vaktrāparavaktrābhyām yuktā nocchvāsavatyapi
Saṁskṛtām saṁskṛtā ceṣṭā kathāpabhraṁśabhāk tatha (1.28)

(3) Daṇḍin (6th cent. A.D.) in his *Kāryādarśa*⁴² 1.23-8 differs, and he does not recognize the distinction between *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*.

40 The genuineness of these Ap. verses is still a moot point. A strong case in favour of their genuineness can be made. See A. N. UPADHYAY, Intro. to *PPr.* p. 56 Footnote 1 and G. V. TAGORE, 'Madhyayugina Mālavasāhitya,' *Purusārtha*, June 1942.

41 Printed as an Appendix to the *Pratāparudrayasobhāṣaṇa* (BSS LXV, 1909).

42 Edited by BELVALKAR and RADDI, BSS LXXXIV, 1919.

He classifies literature (*vāṇmaya*) in four categories according as it is in Sk. Pkt. Ap. and a mixture of these. The word '*āpta*' in this shows that this fourfold classification is older than Daṇḍin.⁴³ Ap. connotes the speech of Ābhīras and others as it is recorded in poetic works. In s̥āstric works⁴⁴ non-Sanskrit expression is regarded as Ap. (1.36). Ap. is characterised by the use of metres like '*osara*' (1.37).

Taking a synthetic view of these works we find that in the 6th cent. A.D. the -u abounding dialect in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* came to be known as Ap. *Kathās* and poems were written in it and it rose to such a literary eminence as to claim a place in works on Poetics, along with Sk. and Pk. Ap. developed a number of metres peculiar to it. The then Ap. literature assumed such an importance and wide influence as to attract the attention of representative rhetoricians from Kashmir to South India. It was still looked upon with contempt as a speech of low castes or nomadic tribes.

(4, 5) Rudraṭa (800-850 A.D.) in his *Kāvya-lankāra*⁴⁵ divides '*vākya*' in six kinds according to dialects.

bhāṣā-bheda-nimittāḥ śoḍhā bhedo'yo sambhavoti (2.11)

Namiasādhū (1069 A.D.), the commentator, remarks that the division of literature in three languages viz., Sk., Pk. and Ap. (as found in Bhāmaha), is set aside by the word '*śoḍhā*,'⁴⁶ This six-fold division of literary dialects includes Ap. along with its many sub-dialects.⁴⁷ Perhaps as NITTI DOLCI says this six-fold classification is older still.⁴⁸

The examples of *bhāṣāśleṣas* are given in 4.15, 16, 21. He states that a mixture of dialects would give us 30 kinds of *bhāṣāśleṣas* (4.22) It is important to note that Rudraṭa quotes Ap. verses while his predecessors Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin do not do so. It shows that Ap. grew in literary eminence by the 9th cent. A.D. as a non-Jain rhetorician in far off Kashmir is quoting these verses—a fact borne out by the history of Ap. literature. Ānandavardhana quotes an Ap. *dohā* in the *Dhvanyāloka*.⁴⁹

(6) In the 10th cent. A.D. Rājaśekhara, the author of *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (900-925 A.D.) tells us a great deal about the importance of

⁴³ *tadetat vāṇmayam bhūyaḥ Saṃskṛtam Prākṛtam tathā Apabhraṃśas ca miśraṃ cetyāhu āptas caturvidham* (1.32).

⁴⁴ *Sāstra* = *śābdasāstra* in the Com. in BELVALKAR's Ed. but 'Vedic works' in the Com. of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara Calcutta Ed.

⁴⁵ *Kāvya-mālā* 2, Ed. Pt. DURGA PRASAD and PANASHIKAR, 1909.

⁴⁶ '*Prākṛtam Saṃskṛtam caitadapabhraṃsa ita tridhā*' *ityetan nirastaṃ bhavati*. This reference is most probably to Bhāmaha's *Kāvya-lankāra* 1.16.

⁴⁷ '*bhūribheda*' in Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-lankāra* 2.12.

⁴⁸ *Les Grammairiens prakrits*, p. 168.

⁴⁹ See FISCHER, *Materialien*, p. 48.

Ap. According to him, Ap. is a 'very elegant dialect,'⁵⁰ capable of expressing some implication in a special way, just as Sk., Pk. and Pais. have a speciality of their own in doing so⁵¹. A special place of honour is given to Ap. in the court of the king Poet⁵². The description of the body of the mythological Kāvya-puruṣa shows the same⁵³.

(7, 8) *Deśarūpa* of Dhanañjaya (974-94 A.D.) with the Com. of Dhanika and Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (1030-50 A.D.) have been utilised in the body of the present dissertation. They show the flourishing state of Ap.

(9) Namisādhu's commentary on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyaśālikā* 2-11, 12 is mentioned above (§4.4). He states that Ap. was predominantly Pk. i.e., Mah. and was freely mixed with Saurasenisms, Māgadhisms etc.⁵⁴ The mixed state may represent the development of Saur. Mg. etc., into their pre-NIA stage or free interborrowing as stated in §1.

(10-15) The views of Vāgbhaṭa (1123-56 A.D.) the author of the *Vāgbhaṭaśālikā*, the author of *Viṣṇudharmottara*, of Guṇacandra and Rāmacandra (in their Commentary on *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*), of Jinadatta in *Vivekavilasita* 8-131, of Amaracandra in *Kāvyaśālikā* and of Hemacandra are already mentioned in §1.

The different references to Ap. literature show that Ap. was rising slowly from the low status as an Ābhira dialect to that of literary importance during 300-600 A.D. Its importance went on increasing as centuries rolled on and it finally became equal in status to Sk. and Pk. by the 10th cent. A.D. It retained this to the end of our period. The *śālikā* works bear testimony to this historical development of Ap.

§5. Though there is a vast field for research in Ap., very little of it was known to FISCHER when he wrote his monumental grammar of Pkt. languages. Many Pkt. grammars were available only in Mss. when he studied them. The Pkt. grammars of Puruṣottama and Rāmasarma Tarkavāgīśa were not known then. The knowledge of Ap. literature was limited to the disputed verses in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorviśya* Act IV, anthology of Ap. verses in Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, and in Hemacandra's Pkt. grammar, and a few more strophes

50 *subhagya' pabhraṇsaḥ*—*Bālarāmāyaṇa* 1.10.

51 *eko 'rthāḥ Samikṣitoktyā sa sukavi-racanaḥ prakṛtenāḥaro' smin anyo' pabhraṇsa-gīrībhūḥ kimaparamaparo bhūta-bhāṣā-krameṇa*. —*Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* Ch. IX. p. 48.

52 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* Ch. X. pp. 64-5.

53 *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, Ch. III, p. 6.

54 *tathā prakṛtam evāpabhraṇsaḥ* Namisādhu is not a grammarian and the fact that the ūtras quoted by him regarding the characteristics of Pk. dialects, are copied verbatim by Hk., shows that he used some treatise on Pk. grammar before him.

quoted in some Sk. rhetorical works. He edited these critically in his *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhram̃śa*. But his critical apparatus was limited. When one reads Ludwig ALSDORF's *Apabhram̃śa Studien*, one realizes what PISCHEL would have done, had he a few more and better Mss. for collation. Moreover PISCHEL's *Grammatik* is neither a historical nor a comparative grammar of Prakrits. As collection of material it is quite good, but it is unsatisfactory from the point of Ap. linguistics.

Critically edited works form the very basis of linguistic studies, as it is impossible to prepare a descriptive, comparative or a historical grammar without them. It is this paucity of the elementary apparatus of linguistic studies which formed the limitations of PISCHEL's *Grammatik*. It is in 1918 that we get a critical edition of the first independent literary work in Ap.—the *Bhavisattakaha* edited by Hermann JACOBI. Since then a number of Ap. works (some uncritically edited) appeared. The following is the list of these works in an alphabetic order (in the abbreviations.)

(1) *Bhavisattakaha* : Edited by Hermann JACOBI with a German Introduction and the text in Roman Script. The text is more accurate than the Devanāgarī text in P. D. GUNE's edition. It is hence used for form-collection. The introductory essays in both of these editions are interesting from the point of Ap. language and literature.

(2, 3) *Dohākoṣas of Kāpha and Saraha* : Edited in French by M. SHARIDULLA. The introduction gives a good analysis of the dialect in addition to other information regarding the authors, their dates etc. M. SHARIDULLA's date of Kāpha (700 A.D.) and S. K. CHATTERJI's opinion about the same (1200 A.D.) are taken as the two extremes; and 700-1200 A.D. is taken to be the period of this dialect.

(4) Ap. verses in the *Daśarūpa*: DS as edited by Pt. SUDARŚANA-ŚĀSTRĪ, printed in Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay, 1914. The text of the Ap. verses is not critical.

(5) *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa*: edited by Ludwig ALSDORF of Hamburg University, in German with the text in Roman Script. He based his text on Mss. A, B, C (designated as B, P, S by P. L. VAIDYA in his edition of MP Vol. III). ALSDORF's edition is informative, and contains dialect-analysis and a very good glossary.

(6) *Jasahara Cariu*: edited by P. L. VAIDYA, Poona, 1931. It is chiefly based on Mss. S and T of Senagaṇa and supplemented by P, A and B of Balātkāraṇa. As noted by the editor, S was copied

at Surat and then the copies travelled to Karanja in Berar. The editor does not give the analysis of the dialect.

(7, 8) *Jinadatta's Carcarī and Upadeśasāyana*: Edited by L. B. GANDHI in G.O.S. The introduction is learned, but the text is not so much critical. The forms from these are used only as supplementary examples.

(9) Hemacandra's *Kumārāpāla Carita* Ch. VIII. : It was first edited by S. P. PANDIT and the edition was revised by P. L. VAIDYA (BSPS No. 60). This work is composed mainly to illustrate the rules of Hemacandra's grammar and naturally its style is artificial.

(10) Kanakāmara's *Karakāṇḍa Carita* : Edited by H. L. JAIN of King Edward College, Amraoti. The text is critically edited although the introduction does not deal with the characteristics of Kanakāmara's dialect.

(11) *Kumārāpāla-pratibodha* of Somprabha : It is edited in GOS. The Ap. portion is re-edited by Ludwig ALSDORF in German, with the text in Roman Script. It is a critical text with a good analysis of the dialect and glossary. Here all references are to ALSDORF's text.

(12) Puṣpadanta's *Mahāpurāṇa* Vol. I, II, III : The monumental text is critically edited by P. L. VAIDYA. It is unfortunate that the paper situation during this world-war should deprive us of the promised introduction by this eminent scholar.

(13) *Materialien zur Kenntnis des Apabhraṃśa*. : R. PISCHEL's edition of the then available Ap. material is already criticised above. This contains Ap. verses in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* Act IV, Bhoja's *Sarasvatikanṭhābharāṇa*. For the anthology of Ap. verses in Hemacandra's Pkt. grammar, P. L. VAIDYA's edition (Poona, 1928) is used.

(14) *Nāgakumāra Carita* by Puṣpadanta. This is a critical edition by H. L. JAIN. It contains a brief analysis of Puṣpadanta's dialect, in addition to the general introduction and a good glossary.

(15) Rāmasimha's *Pāhuḍadohā* : Critically edited by H. L. JAIN in Hindi with the usual introduction, brief but important dialect analysis, translation and glossary. We have followed H. L. JAIN regarding the date and province of Rāmasimha.

(16-17) Joīndu's *Paramātmaprakāśa* and *Yogasāra*, an excellent edition by A. N. UPADHYE of Kolhapur in 1937. The text is critically edited and the linguistic portion of the Introduction is brief yet lucid.

UPADHYE places Joindu c. 600 A.D., while H. L. JAIN assigns him to 1000 A.D. Hence 600-1000 A.D. is regarded as the period of his dialect.

(18) *Sanatkumāra Carita*: Edited by H. JACOBI in German, with Introduction, text in Roman Script, translation and glossary. Though this is one of the earliest Ap. publications, the text is critically accurate, Introductory essay (especially regarding Ap. literature) instructive, dialect analysis reliable, with a useful translation and glossary. It is an indispensable work to a student of Ap.

(19) Devasena's *Sāvayadhamma-dohā*: Edited in Hindi by H. L. JAIN. As usual with such editions, a critical text, a short dialect analysis, an instructive Introduction and glossary are the main features of this work. We follow H. L. JAIN regarding the authorship of the text.

(20) Hemacandra's *Siddha-Hema*: Here P. L. VADYA's edition (Poona 1928) is used.

(21) Ap. verses in *Supāsanāha Carita*: edited by Pt. H. T. SHETH. The text is not so much critical. Ap. forms are used only as supplementary examples.

Though we have consulted Maheśvara's *Samjama-Mañjarī*, N. N. CHOUDHARI's edition of the *Dākārpava Tantra* and such other works, the forms are not used in this dissertation as they are composed after 1200 A.D.

§6. Since the close of the last great War in 1918, some grammatical studies of Ap. have been published. The first and foremost mention must be made of the two Introductions in H. JACOBI's editions of *BhK.* and *Sc.* The Introductions to *BhK.* (in JACOBI's and GUNE's editions) are now known to all. The term Ap., opinions of Pk. grammarians on Ap., Ap. as the Ābhīrī dialect, the then extant Ap. literature etc., are discussed by both these scholars. Moreover they provide us with sound grammatical analysis of the dialect. Although JACOBI is misled in designating the dialect of *BhK.* as *Vrācaṭa*,⁵⁵ his masterly study of the dialect of Ap. is perfectly reliable.⁵⁶

The introduction to *Sc.* notes a few more Ap. works. Herein JACOBI gives his regional division of Ap. literature into Eastern, Western, Southern, and Northern groups. He seems to believe that Eastern Ap. works follow the rules of Eastern Pk. grammarians. A

⁵⁵ See Intro. to *BhK.* pp. 71, 72, 77, 81.

⁵⁶ Intro. to *BhK.* pp. 24-43.

comparison between the dialects of *DKK.* and *DKs.* and the Ap. of *Pu.*, *Ri.* and *Mk.* disproves the theory. The only work in the 'Northern' Ap. is a 15th cent. poetic composition by a Bania.⁵⁷ As will be seen later on in §8, the regional classification of Ap. literature followed in this work is different and more natural.

As we have seen in §5 above, some editors of Ap. works e.g., ALSDORF, SHAHIDULLA, JAIN and UPADHYE, have devoted a few pages of their introductions to the dialect study of the texts edited by them. Out of these editors JACOBI, ALSDORF, SHAHIDULLA and UPADHYE, give us a detailed analysis of the texts they have edited, while others are very brief.

Out of the linguistic studies in Ap. we must mention Jules BLOCH's *L'indo-aryen*, Louis GRAY's papers on MIA morphology and IE. element in Pkt.⁵⁸ and lastly *Apabhramśa Studien* by Ludwig ALSDORF. BLOCH in his *L'indo-aryen* evaluates the Ap. tendencies and notes its contribution to NIA linguistics. The work being a rapid survey of the evolution of IA during the last 2000 years, is very unsatisfactory from the point of view of Ap. linguistics. Louis H. GRAY's "Observations on MIA Morphology" (*BSOS* VIII ii-iii, pp. 563-9) are interesting from a comparative point of view. His paper on 'Fifteen Prakrit Indo-European Etymologies' (*JAS* 60:360-9) is not directly connected with Ap. In both of these he tries to attract the attention of the students to the II and IE elements in MIA, though we must be very cautious in accepting his theories and etymologies which are sometimes far-fetched. ALSDORF, in his *Ap. Studien* critically re-edits PISCHEL's *Materialien* and gives some linguistic notes on the *-ha* element in Ap. morphology, Greek counterpart of Ap. *appa*, a few Ap. post-positions etc. The notes are unconnected and few in number—a fact minimising its importance either as a comparative or as a historical grammar of Ap. The learned author does not claim it and he designates it modestly as '*Studien*' and not '*Grammatik*.'

Lastly we may mention S.M. KATRE's *Wilson Philological Lectures*, 1941, in which the author takes a succinct survey of IA developments wherein Ap. is cursorily surveyed in passing.

§7. It will be clear from the above discussion that none of the scholars tried to study Ap. in its chrono-regional perspective, though Historical Linguistics has advanced to some extent since the publication of E. BENVENISTE's *Origines de la formation des noms en indo-européen* I

⁵⁷ Intro. to *Sc. p.* XXIII.

⁵⁸ In *BSOS* VIII ii-iii and *JAS* 60, pp. 360-9.

(Paris 1935) and J. KURYLOWICZ's *Études indo-européennes* I (Krakow 1935). Historical Linguistics as applied to Ap. being still an unexplored region, it is pertinent to explain this new point of view here.

As pointed out by S. M. KATRE in his *Wilson Philological Lectures* (1941), Historical Linguistics is 'the science of comparative grammar applied to a given family of languages, consciously attempting to place before oneself the space-time context of each linguistic fact so far as that was determinable, and thus build up a linguistic approach at once chronological and regional.'⁵⁹ It is in this manner that we are to fill in the large gaps in our understanding of IA developments, wherein constant interborrowing between the cognate dialects has taken place on such a large scale, as to render the method of isoglosses unintelligible. This method is a distinct advance over the old method of comparing vocables from different cognate languages belonging to unrelated periods of history. This new method has shown that it alone can solve the linguistic problems raised by the discovery of Hittite and Tocharian, as mere comparative linguistics applied to non-synchronic elements belonging to distinct but cognate groups, fails to solve etymological problems.

Time and Space are thus the two important co-ordinates for defining the linguistic history and development of this important stage of IA. It is this special significance of the Space-Time Context which necessitates a chrono-regional study of Ap. literature. And it is here that difficulties begin to crop up, as in the history of old Indian literature, we have no definite means of ascertaining exact chronology. For example, *DKK* is located by M. SHAHIDULLA in 700 A.D., by Bagchi in 1100 A.D., and by S. K. CHATTERJI in 1200 A.D. H. L. JAIN regards *PPr.* as a work of the 10th cent. A.D. while A. N. UPADHYE claims it for the 6th cent. A.D. The date of *BhK.* is also uncertain though he is assigned to the 10th cent. A.D. by P. D. GUNE, the editor of the Devanāgarī text. Thus although our knowledge of Ap. extends over 900 years, we have to take recourse to relative chronology as a means of fixing the literary strata.

During these eventful nine centuries (300-1200 A.D.) some considerable changes must have taken place in IA. As is well known, the real development of language takes place upon the lips and in the minds of men and not in written documents. But as matters stand now, we must rely on documents, as the representatives of the psycho-physical factor in the change of language, though a script is but a poor record of human sounds, and factors *e.g.*, Mss. traditions, competence of scribes, redactors and

editors, provincialism etc. affect adversely the objective representation of the author's original composition. Moreover, if we depend entirely on documentary evidence, Ap., being a literary language, may not represent the then prevalent popular idiom. As Jules BLOCH puts it:

"Our knowledge of its (India's) languages, at least in their most ancient stages, is based only, or nearly so, on literary languages of which we know neither the local basis, nor the degree of connection with the vernaculars. They do not give expression to the thoughts and feelings of the people, at the most, they give an ideal picture of the culture of a small community. They may differ in character, some highly religious and aristocratic, some popular, but religious, too; the majority are mainly adapted for purely literary usages. The linguist has to be careful in giving their evidence its proper value, before trying to construct the details of the history of Indo-Aryan."⁶⁰

This passage is quoted here, *in extenso*, to state succinctly the difficulties that face a student of Ap.

In §§1 and 3 we have seen that Ap. was a living idiom upto 1100 A.D., and that it was in the 12th cent. A.D., that the divorce between Ap. as a literary dialect and the *grāmya bhāṣā* i.e., vernacular became apparent. It is the Ap. literature upto 1200 A.D., that forms the basis of this study. Ap. literature during this period is expected to be much more akin to the popular speech, as this literature was chiefly composed for the masses, and the general paucity of Pkt. Inscriptions after 400 A.D. most probably indicates that Prakrits ceased to be understood by the common people after that period. As Pk. became stylised and artificial as Sanskrit itself during our period (500-1200 A.D.) and NIA languages were yet to appear in the development of IA, Ap. alone affords us valuable material for evaluating this post-Prakrit and pre-NIA period linguistically.

§8. Ap. literature is regionally classified in three main divisions according to the place of composition of the particular work. They are roughly as follows :

(1) Western Apabhramśa (Abbr. WAp.): This roughly corresponds to the Śaur. region in GRIERSON'S *LSI* Vol. I. 1. It comprises of the provinces where Gujarati, Rajasthani and Hindi are the spoken media to-day.

(2) Southern Apabhramśa (Abbr. SAp): It mainly corresponds to the Māhārāṣṭri region in *LSI* Vol. I. 1 and includes Māhārāṣṭra, Berar

⁶⁰ Jules BLOCH, Furlong Lectures for 1929. 'Some Problems of Indo-Aryan Philology,' *BSOS* V. 4 (1930).

and the Marathi speaking districts in C.P. and H. E. H. the *Nimam's* dominions and the country adjoining them.

(3) Eastern Apabhramśa (Abbr. EAp.): This is corresponding to the land of Magadhan speeches viz., Bengal, Bihar and Orissa where the modern descendants of Mg. hold the sway.

This classification is somewhat different from that of JACOBI who classified Ap. literature according to cardinal points. The so-called "Northern Ap." is not represented by a single work during our period. The work mentioned by JACOBI in Intro. to *Sc.*, p. XXIII is a very late composition when all the Modern Indo-Aryan languages were fully developed all over India. We do not subscribe to GRIERSON's theory of postulating one Ap. per every NIA language. This hypothesis is unsupported by the evidence discovered so far. It is expected that this classification will throw more light on the linguistic developments in the pre- and proto-NIA periods, as it reflects the popular usages in those regions where the great NIA languages of today have been crystallized.

The following is the division of Ap. works according to their Space-Time Context :

(i) WESTERN APABHRAMŚA.

<i>Name of the author and the work</i>	<i>Date (A.D.)</i>	<i>Province</i>
1) Kālidāsa—Ap. verses in <i>Vk.</i> IV if genuine.	5th cent.	Malwa.
2)3) Joindu— <i>PPr.</i> , <i>Ys.</i>	6th-10th cent.	..
4) Devasena (?)— <i>Sdd.</i>	933	Dhārā (Malwa)
5) Rāmasiṁha— <i>Pd.</i>	10th cent.	Rajputānā.
6) Dhanāñjaya— <i>Ds.</i>	"	Malwā.
7) Dhanapāla— <i>BhK</i>	„(?)	Gujarat.
8) Bhoja - Ap. verses in <i>Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharaṇa.</i>	1000-1050	Malwa
9, 10) Jinadatta— <i>Jdc.</i> , <i>Jdv.</i>	1113-1155	Gujarat.
11) Lakṣmaṇagaṇi—Ap. verses in <i>SN.</i>	1142	"
12) Haribhadra— <i>Sc.</i>	1159	"
13, 14) Hcmaçandra — <i>Hc.</i> , <i>Kc.</i>	1088-1172	"
15) Somaprabha— <i>Kp.</i>	1195	"

The Time-Space location of a few of these works needs some explanation.

(1) *The genuineness of Ap. verses in Kālidāsa's Vṛ.*

The following are the main objections against Kālidāsa's authorship of these verses: (i) The king being an *uttama-pātra* cannot utter verses in Pkt. (ii) The Commentator Kāṭayavēma knows nothing about them. (iii) South Indian Mss. do not include them. (iv) Most of these verses are tautological, some vague in allusions and references, several of them interrupting the sentiment expressed by Sk. verses. (v) Other dramas of Kālidāsa do not contain Ap. passages.⁶¹

The objections may be refuted as follows.⁶²

- (i) *Nāṭya śāstra* allows change of dialects (*bhāṣāvyatikrama*) for *uttama pātras* on certain occasions. Here in *Vṛ.* IV the king is insane. Moreover as PANDIT himself suggests someone else sings these songs for the king, giving (as PRIN. R. D. KARMARKAR notes it in his Intro. to *Vṛ.*) occasional rest to the actor representing the king.
- (ii) Ignorance of Kāṭayavēma is no argument. If Kāṭayameva ignores them Raṅganātha comments on them.
- (iii) Northern Mss. include these verses and Kālidāsa himself belonged to Northern India. Moreover, the Dravidian audience in the South might have no interest in Ap., as it was not connected with their speech. Hence their exclusion in the Southern Mss. and inclusion in the Northern ones. Really speaking an argument based on the Southern recension of *Vṛ.* is inconclusive.
- (iv) These are purely subjective considerations. A lunatic is expected to be vague and tautological in his ravings. The imagery in the songs is of no mean order. To quote A. N. UPADHYE: 'Even in present day dramas meaningless songs are introduced; they do not advance the plot in any way but they are sung merely to amuse the audience. Any one acquainted with the phonology of Ap. will readily accept that it is perhaps the best medium for songs.'⁶³
- (v) A negative argument requiring no refutation.

Though these are strong grounds in favour of the genuineness of these verses, we regard it an open question.

61 S. P. PANDIT, Intro. to the *Vikramorvaśīya*.

62 For details: G. V. TAGARE's article in *Puruṣārtha*, June, 1943. Prof. Dr. A. N. UPADHYE holds a similar view, Intro. to *PPr.* (1937) p. 56, note 1.

63 Intro. to *PPr.* p. 56, footnote 1.

(2) *The date of Joindu:*

The date of Joindu is still a disputed point. A.N. UPADHYE, the editor, places him in the 6th cent. A.D.⁶⁴ But as some assign him to the 10th cent. A.D. 6-10th cent. has been regarded as the period of his dialect. We referred to Prof. Dr. UPADHYE, the editor of *PPr.* regarding the province of these works. As he supposes that the works were composed somewhere in Rajputana or Northern Gujarat (his letter dated 2-1-1942), Joindu's works are placed in this group.

(3) *The authorship of Sāvayadhammadohā:*

H. L. JAIN, the editor, claims *Sdd.* to Devasena and says that it was composed in 933 A.D., at Dhara, while A.N. UPADHYE regards it as Laksmicandra's composition (earlier than 1528 A.D.).⁶⁵ We have tentatively accepted JAIN's date, province, and authorship of *Sdd.*

As UPADHYE now gives up the theory of Joindu's authorship of *Pd.*,⁶⁶ we may regard Rāmasimha as the author of *Pd.* We may also accept P. D. GUNL's date of *BhK* as no contrary evidence has yet appeared.

The dates and authorships of the remaining texts are already settled. As noted above the critical nature of *DS.*, *Jc.*, *Jdu.* and *Sn.* is doubtful. The examples from these are of a supplementary nature.

(ii) SOUTHERN APABHRAṂŚA.

The second important yet allied group is that of Ap. works belonging to the Deccan. As these Mss. travelled to Gujarat where they were copied and some of these copies were taken from that province and deposited at Karanja in Berar, some westernisation of these texts is not improbable.

The following are the dates and places of composition of these works.

<i>Name of the author and the work</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place</i>
1) Puṣpadanta— <i>Mp.</i>	965 A.D.	Mānyakheta
2, 3) „ „ <i>Nc.</i> , <i>Jc.</i>	965-72	„
4) Kanakāmara— <i>KKc.</i>	975-1025	Assaye (Nizam's Dominion).

⁶⁴ Intro. to *PPr.* pp. 63-7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 59-61.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

P. L. VAIDYA has now definitely settled the place and time of Puṣpadanta.⁶⁸ Mānyakheṭa is modern Malkhed (17° 10' N. and 77° 13' E) in H. E. H. the Nizam's dominions.

We differ from the learned editor of *KKc.* regarding the province of the author and claim him to Assaye in the Nizam's dominions, where a battle was fought between the Marathas and the English in 1803 A.D. The following are the grounds for this theory.⁶⁹

Kanakāmara states that he composed *KKc.* at Āsāiya. This Āsāiya should be identified with modern Assaye in the Nizam State and not somewhere in Bundelkhand on account of the following reasons :

- (i) The details of the description of the Terāpura caves (so minutely described by Kanakāmara in *sandhis* IV and V of his work) are corroborated by BURGESS in his account of the Dhārāśīva caves in his *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol. III. Assaye, Terāpura (modern Ter), Dhārāśīva (Mod. Osmanabad) formed a part of the Rāstrakūṭa kingdom. These very places have been taken as a background for a greater part of *KKc.*
- (ii) Rāstrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (mentioned as 'Kaṇṇa' by Puṣpadanta and 'Kaṇṇa' by Kanakāmara)⁷⁰ conquered the kings of the South e.g., Cera, Cola, Pāṇḍya, Siṃhala etc. Kanakāmara shows his hero to have done the same.
- (iii) The princes, their feudatories associated with Āsāiya in *KKc.* are not properly identified elsewhere outside the Deccan.
- (iv) H. L. JAIN, the editor of *KKc.*, does not satisfactorily identify Āsāiya with any place in that part of the country (i.e., Bundelkhand). On the contrary he suggests Assaye as an alternate place for identification.⁷¹

68 Intro. to *Jc.* pp. 19-24 and Intro. to *MP.* Vol. III, pp. XVIII-XXIII.

69 For details see G. V. TAGARE's article in *MSPP.*, March 1942. pp. 23-33. In his letter dated 3-12-42, Prof. JAIN appreciated the force of the following reasoning, but Prof. UPADHYE differs. Owing to pressure of our work in different fields, we could not continue the discussion.

70 We have epigraphic evidence of the hyper-Sanskritisation of this 'Kaṇṇa' into 'Kārṇa' with reference to this very king Kṛṣṇa III.

śrītya kārṇa-rājākhyā-Vallabha Bādapādīyoh
vinirgamayya taṃ deśād Amma-rājākhyam ūrtam.

—Arumbaka Plate (*El* XIX, p. 137 Vallabha is a designation of the Rāstrakūṭas while Ammarāja mentioned here is Anumarāja II of Eastern Cālukyas. For historical details about these see A. S. ALTEKAR *Rāstrakūṭas and their Times* (Poona, 1934), pp. 121-2.

Kṛṇṇa > Kaṇṇa > Kārṇa > Kārṇa (Hyper-Sanskritisation) is quite clear.

71 Intro. to *KKc.* pp. 40-1.

(iii) EASTERN APABHRAṢĀ

The third and the last important group of Ap. works is of 'Eastern Ap.' It consists of the *Dohākoṣas* of Kāṇha and Saraha. Though we consulted the *Ḍākāṇḍava-mahā-yoginī-tantra-rājya*, briefly mentioned as *DKn.* and Vidyāpati's *Kīrtitātā*, they are excluded from this study, as they were composed after 1200 A.D. These works are composed in Eastern India by persons who were the natives of that part of the country, and as such present a homogeneous dialect, no matter whether it is called 'Buddhist Ap.' according to Tibetan tradition, or 'Östlicher Ap.' after JACOBI.⁷² We do not designate these as 'Eastern Ap.' because they follow the rules of 'Eastern Pk. grammarians.' As we shall find it in the body of this work, the Ap. described by these 'Eastern' Pk. grammarians is different from EAp. Nor do these grammarians describe the Magadhan Ap., the parent of Beng. Maith. and Oriya. Nor is the dialect of the *Dohākoṣas*, Western Ap. though as Ap. it shares some characteristics with WAp.

The following works have been mainly used as the basic texts of EAp.

<i>Name of the author and the work.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Province</i>
1 Kāṇha— <i>DKK.</i>	.. 700-1200 A.D.	Bengal.
2. Saraha— <i>DKs.</i>	.. 1000 A.D.	..

The first work of this group is a small collection of 32 *dohās* expressing the mystical experience of Kāṇha or Kṛṣṇācārya who is popularly known as Kāṇiph Nāth or Kānupā. From the data presented by M. SHAHIDULLA,⁷³ it appears that Kāṇha was a native of Samatāṭa or Eastern Bengal. His preceptor Jālandhari or Jālandhar Nāth was a contemporary of Matsyendra Nāth who was in Nepal in 657 A.D. in the reign of Narendra Deva. Gopīcandra, another contemporary of these was a near relative of Bhartṛhari, the King of Malwa, who died according to Itsing in 651 A.D. The evidence presented by M. SHAHIDULLA shows that Kāṇha should be located in 700 A.D. rather than in 1200 A.D., as was supposed by S. K. CHATTERJĪ. We have allotted 700-1200 A.D., as the period of this dialect. This includes 1100 A.D., the date proposed by BAGCHI.

Saraha, the author of *DKs.*, composed his work in a dialect which is a continuation of the dialect in *DKK.* The comparative table of morphological frequencies (with reference to Nom. sg.) as given in this work will show that Saraha is most probably later than Kāṇha.

⁷² Intro. to *St.* pp. XXV, XXVII.

⁷³ Intro. to *Les Chants Mystiques*, pp. 25-9.

§9. *Method of Approach*

The chrono-regional classification of Ap. literature brings us to the problem of linguistic approach. Broadly speaking, there is practically absence of clear-cut characteristics of Ap. vocabulary, phonologically separating it from other MIA dialects. As a matter of fact, phonology is the weakest part in MIA dialectology. For example, what are the phonological *differentiae* between the great Pk. dialects Mah. and Saur? It is the voicing of OIA, *t* and *th* and the change *ry > yy*. (See Hc. 8.4.286-98). Pais devoices *d* to *t*, dentalizes *n > ñ* and cerebralizes *l > ʎ* (See Hc. 8.4.303-24). Mg. is characterized by the changes *r > l*, *s > š*, *j > y* and retention of *y*, *ññ* pronunciation of the nasal conjuncts, *ny*, *ny*, *jñ*, *ñj*, the peculiar *jihvāmūliya* (ꣳ*k*) pronunciation of *kṣ* and *śc* of *cch*. (Hc. 8.4.288-98).

Though Pk. grammarians note the retention of *r* and *-r* conjuncts, voicing of intervocalic voiceless consonants (viz., *k*, *kh*, *t*, *th*, *p*, *ph* > *g*, *gh*, *d*, *dh*, *b*, *bh* respectively) and the change *m > ṁ* as the peculiarities of Ap. phonology, the analysis of actual Ap. literature convinces one that the above-mentioned generalisation holds good. As matters stand now, morphology is a more reliable criterion in dialect classification in MIA in general. In the case of Ap. in particular, it is Ap. Morphology which distinguishes it from other MIA dialects.

The above discussion will bring home the necessity of collecting data from morphological examples bearing Ap. characteristics as defined by Pk. grammarians and linguisticians. It is hence that the part on Ap. Phonology is based on deductions from the declined or conjugated forms which may be claimed as true Ap. forms. As far as possible, forms common to Mah. Saur. or other MIA dialects are scrupulously set aside as there is no propriety in discussing the development of literary Pkts. or secondary MIA in a work dealing with Ap. or tertiary MIA linguistics. Our aim is to determine exactly the genuine Ap. developments in their chrono-regional context. This being the case, all the data, whether phonological or morphological, is clearly analysed and tabulated in their Space-Time context as far as it is determinable.

The peculiarities common to all regions will be naturally evident. The source of forms quoted will be indicated in the Index Verborum at the end of this work.

§10. *The Method of Presentation:*

In describing every phenomenon, the statements of Pk. grammarians and their illustrations are (wherever possible) given first by way

of juxta-position and a comparison is made with the findings from actual Ap. literature. As stated above only factual illustrations of the particular characteristics are selected. The illustrations are arranged in their chronological order and they are classified according to the general conditions surrounding them. When the particular dates of certain forms are not known with certainty as in the case of works *e.g.*, *PPr.*, *DKK.* the upper and lower limit is clearly indicated while citing the form. The history of a particular Ap. feature is traced throughout the entire period (500-1200 A.D.), as far as it is possible. The regional distribution is also attempted wherever possible.

The present state of published Ap. literature is not satisfactory as some works are uncritically edited. No conclusions are based on the illustrations from uncritical editions, but they are used as supplementary examples. Critical editions alone form the basis of this work.

The terminology OIA, secondary MIA and tertiary MIA is the same as in GRIERSON'S *LSI* and S. K. CHATTERJI'S *ODB*. Thus Pre-Ap. MIA means Aśokan, or Primary Pk. and secondary or literary Pkts. Pre-Ap. IA includes OIA and pre-Ap. MIA.

As in the case with every research work, the present state of knowledge of IA linguistics forms the limitation of the truth or otherwise of the theories proposed herein.

SUMMARY OF THE IMPORTANT FINDINGS

§11. The following is the summary of the important findings regarding Ap. dialectology. Ap. literature shows the following characteristics of regional and temporal evolution in Ap. during 500-1200 A.D.

I. PHONOLOGY

As stated above (§9), there are practically very few clear-cut characteristics of Ap. vocabulary, phonologically separating it from other MIA dialects. Pkt. grammarians enumerate the *differentiae* of Ap. phonology as follows :

- (1) Irregularity in vowel changes.
- (2) Retention of *r*.
- (3) Voicing of intervocalic voiceless consonants.
- (4) The change of intervocalic *-m-* to *-v-*.
- (5) Retention of *-r* conjuncts (*i.e.* conjunct consonants with *-r* as the 2nd member).
- (6) Insertion of *r* where historically there was none in OIA.

(1) A reference to §§16-32 will show that vowel-changes are not so 'irregular' as *prima facie* they appear to be in the superficial interpretation of *Pu.* 17. 17, *Hc.* 8.4.329, *Tr.* 3.3.1 and *MK.* 17.9. They generally follow the main outlines of vowel changes in literary Prakrits. They, however, show the beginnings of NIA vowel-changes as follows :

- (i) General reduction and loss of final vowels inherited from OIA and earlier Pkts. (see §§17-19).
- (ii) Preservation of the quantity of vowels in penultimate position. (§20). The quantitative changes (if any) are generally due to the following consonant cluster. It is chiefly in EAp. that due to loss of the intervocalic consonant in the final syllable, penultimate and final vowels come together and coalesce (§21). It is in EAp. again that changes like *ubeṣa* < *ṃpadeṣa* indicate that non-initial vowels in pre-penultimate position are glided over. Some qualitative changes in penultimate vowels in EAp. as well as in other regions are due to the weakness in accent or the principle of assimilation and dissimilation (§ 22).
- (iii) Preservation of the quality of the initial syllable inherited from OIA and earlier MIA. This is due to the accent on the initial syllable although a few instances of accentless initial syllable resulting in aphaeresis, qualitative change etc., are met with occasionally (§§ 23-29).
- (iv) Reduction of the double consonants (resulting from OIA consonant clusters) to single consonant with compensatory lengthening of the vowel in the initial syllable (§ 36).
- (v) Contraction of vowels in contact supply the basis for corresponding NIA vowel-changes though some of these are common to literary Pkts. as well (§§ 31, 32).

It will be found that under the outward irregularity of Ap. vocalism, Ap. has a system of its own and it supplies in general a sound basis for the vowel-system in the NIA of that region.

(2) *Retention of r*

In spite of the prescriptions of the Pk. grammarians, *r* is not conserved in Ap. literature, except as a characteristic of certain families of Mss. SAp. (especially in *Hv.*) is the only region where it is retained in some *ts.* and sometimes *r* is represented by *ri-* testifying to its then pronunciation in SAp. Although changes of *r* were useful as a distinguish-

ing feature in early isoglosses, Ap. literature from the 10th cent. A.D. shows a mixed state due to interborrowing on a large scale. In the earlier Ap. works, initial *r->i-* was the characteristic of EAp. and it went on increasing in WAp. Initial *r->a-* was less in vogue in EAp. than it was in WAp., although it was decreasing in both. Medial *-r->-i-* was the general rule in WEAp. From the 10th cent. A.D. *r>a* went on increasing and in WAp. of 1200 A.D. its frequency is similar to that of SAp. We find it in a great number of cases in Gujarati also (§16).

(3) *Voicing of intervocalic voiceless consonants :*

The treatment of intervocalic surds and aspirated surds is the same as in Pkts. The voicing is not the *differentia* of Ap. despite Pkt. grammarians (See §§55-57).

(4) *Intervocalic -m- :*

The treatment of intervocalic *-m-* is less important as a characteristic of Ap. than as a regional *differentiae*. The change *-m->-ṛ-* although looked upon as the speciality of Ap. by Pkt. grammarians like Hc. (8.4.397), is found in earlier Pkts. e.g., Amg., Mah. and JM. (PISCHEL, *Gram.* §251), and as such it cannot be regarded as a distinguishing feature of Ap. In Ap. literature intervocalic *-m-* is generally retained rather than changed to *-ṛ-*. This conservatism persisted down to 1200 A.D. As expected *-m->-ṛ-* or *-v-* (which is a later stage) appears from the beginning of our period (500 A.D.) in WAp., and *-m->-b-* in EAp. This is in consonance with the early isoglosses where we find *-m->-ṛ-* in the Central and Eastern regions (and in the Southwest), where this literature came to be written. The same is the case with SAp. in 1000 A.D. KĀc. (1100 A.D.) is more conservative for *-m->-ṛ-* or *-v-* is practically absent, although we have it in the works of Puṣpadanta and in Old Marathi.

The change of *-m-* to a simple vowel with the loss of *-v-* and the introduction of vocal glide (*-y-*) is found in SWAp. from the 10th cent. A.D. but not in EAp. In general, it appears that in 1000 A.D. SAp. was more conservative than EAp. We need not attach much importance to the general preference to *-ṛ-* in SAp. and *-v-* in WAp. (§58).

(5) *Retention of -r conjuncts :*

Although this is unanimously sanctioned by Pkt. grammarians and was probably a faithful representation of spoken Ap., such forms

with *-r* as the second member of the consonant cluster are rare in Ap. literature due to stylisation. The normal treatment of *-r* conjuncts is not much different from that in Pkts. (see §64).

(6) *Insertion of r:*

Insertion of *r* in vocables where there were none in OIA, is unanimously regarded as a characteristic of Ap. phonology by Pkt. grammarians. It is quite probable that Ap. speakers attempted to add a *r* for giving it the grandeur of Sanskrit. We possess some examples in the treatises on Pk. grammar. But there are very few such cases in Ap. Literature and most of these are in a work like *Kc*, which was specially written to illustrate the rules of *Ilc*. (§68).

Ap. literature is regionally divided into three groups—WAp., EAp., and SAp. When we compare these groups with the classification of early MIA dialects in TURNER'S *Pavilion of Romance* §27, WAp. corresponds to the Central and to some extent to the South-Western region, chiefly in the later Ap. works written in Gujarat. EAp. corresponds to the Eastern group and SAp. to the South-Western and Southern ones. In modern times WAp. has developed into Hindi and Gujarati. Bengali and other Magadhan languages are spoken in the EAp. region, and Marathi in the SAp. region. There is so much interborrowing in olden times that the criteria of early isoglosses cannot be applied to Ap. literature for regional differentiation. It is, however, important to review the treatment of OIA, *r*, *kṣ*, *sm*, *tv*, *dv*, *y*- and *-m*- in Ap.

- (1) The treatment of *r* is noted above. In general it corresponds to early isoglosses in earlier Ap. works.
- (2) In EAp., OIA *kṣ* > *kh*- and *-kṣ* > *-kkh*- are the only treatments without exception. WAp. was originally a *kṣ* > *kh* dialect. From 600 A.D. *kṣ* > *ch* forms began to appear in WAp. But these are most probably loan-words which slowly increase upto 1000 A.D. After 1000 A.D. (and most of these works upto 1200 A.D. are written in Gujarat) we find a greater number of *kṣ* > *ch*-, *-cch*- forms in WAp. There is a mixture of *kh*- and *ch*- (*-kkh*- and *-cch*-) though SAp. appears to be more inclined to *-ch*-. *KKc*., however, has more *kh*- forms than *ch*- ones (§61).
- (3) In EAp., OIA *tv* > *tu*-, *-tt*- is the only treatment while in *Vk*. (WAp. 500 A.D.) *tv* > *p*- and *-tv* > *-p*- > *-v*- is the rule. From 600 A.D. there is a mixture of *-tt*- and *-pp*- treatments in WAp. as well as in SAp. (§62). The isoglossal import-

ance of OIA *dv* is lost in Ap., as *d-*, *-dd-* and *b-*, *-bb-* treatments are freely mixed from the beginning of our period (§63). The same is the case with OIA *sm* which is changed to *s-* initially and *-mh-* or *-mbh-* non-initially (§65).

- (4) Initial *y-* was consistently changed to *j-* in all regions (§52). The treatment of *-m-* is given above.

In addition to these points of differentiation given by TURNER (*Position of Romani* §27) we have a few more which serve as regional *differentiae*.

- (1) OIA *v > b* without exception in EAp. It may be due to orthography but the same is not found in WSAp. although some forms in WAp. indicate the change *v > b* in that region (§53).
- (2) Retention of *š* and the use of *š* for *ś* and *s* are the characteristics of EAp. only. In WSAp. all sibilants are reduced to dental *s*. (§§54 and 59).
- (3) The consonant group *-ʃn-* is changed to *-tʃh-* in SAP in some forms (chiefly in *nomina propria*). We do not find this in WEAp. *Bitʃhu* (*Viṣṇu*) is the only exception in EAp. (§65).
- (4) There is generally the insertion of a plosive *-b-* in *-mh-* < *-hm-* in WSAp. but it is retained as *-mh-* in EAp. (§67).
- (5) There is no case of initial aspiration in EAp.

In other respects Ap. has the same phonetic characteristics as those in Pkts. The processes of vowel-colouration and dis-colouration (§37), Anaptyxis (§38), Prothesis (§39), Epenthesis (§40), Umlaut (§41), Aspiration (§43), Deaspiration both initial and non-initial (§44) etc., have been considered in their proper places but they do not serve as regional *differentiae*.

II. MORPHOLOGY

§12. Ap. is distinguished from other literary Pkts. by its Morphology. The continuous process of reduction and regularisation in the general development of IA Morphology has reduced the stems in Ap. to *-a*, *-i*, *-u* ones (although theoretically *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū* endings in Fem. gender are found) but the declension of *-a* stems predominates (§§75, 76).

According to Pk. grammarians Ap. gender system is irregular (*atantram*). As a matter of fact OIA gender system is continuously crumbling down in Aśokan Inscriptions, Pali and Pkts. Although gender in WSAp. is a continuation of the same system in Pkts. the confusion is on a larger scale. EAp. represents still greater disintegration than in WSAp.

The main reason of this confusion is the tendency to normalisation in Ap. declension, where it is rather the end-vowel than its gender in OIA, which determines its gender in Ap. The neut. gender tends to disappear morphologically. The common terms of Masc. and Fem. -a, -i, -u stems show the strong influence of Masc. -a stems on Ap. declension resulting in the confusion in the gender, which embarrassed the Pk. grammarians. (§§76 also 87, 94, 97 and the discussion of terms in §§87-99).

As in Pkts. there is no dual number in Ap. (§77) The number of cases has been reduced in this stage and we have the Direct, the Instr. Loc. and the Dat. Gen. Abl. as the only three cases in Ap. Some common terms between the Ins. Loc. and Dat. Gen. Ablative go to show the formation of the Oblique in Ap. (§78).

The declension of Masc. and Neut. -a stems is important as it was the norm after which the declension of other stems and Pronouns was modelled. In the direct sing. of -a, stems, Ap. literature shows a number of terms not noted by Pk. grammarians. e.g., SWEAp. -ā, WAp. -*ḍā*, WSAp. -*ā*, -*āṇ*, and EAp. -*e*, -*ha*, -*ho*, -*he*. On the other hand, *i*- though sanctioned by Mk. 17.42, is not found in literature unless we interpret it as another form of *ī* in EAp.

Out of the various desinences of the direct sing. WSAp. -u is a stable term which is the characteristic of our period, and it is extended to indeclinables also. -o or -ao is a Prakritism, though its use for Neut. in EAp. shows a confusion of gender. Zero is a doubtful term, as the speech habit of that period was to use the stem itself for the direct case. This habit which is represented in Buddhist Sanskrit, is amply illustrated in Buddhist Ap. i.e., EAp., although WAp. presents some instances of this throughout our period (500-1200 A.D.). SAp. however rarely uses such desinence-less stems. -e, -ae and -aye which is a distinguishing feature of EAp, is the development of the termination-less -aka extension of the base, and -e Nom. sg. in Mg. in that region afforded favourable ground for such development. This desinence-less -aka was changed to -ā in WAp. and sometimes in EAp. (and very rarely

in SAp.) and its use for the Neut. in EAp. shows a confusion of gender. *-ḡā* (<OIA *ḡaka*) is another form of *-ā* in WAp. WSAp. *-aū* and *-ū* is probably a contamination of Nom. sg. *-u* + Acc. sg. *-m*. EAp. *-ha*, *-ho* are the cases of *-ha śruti* according to SHAHIDULLA.⁷⁴ The comparative percentage of the frequency of terms shows that Kāṇha was probably a predecessor of Saraha (§ 80).

There is a strong evidence in Ap. literature of the fusion of Loc. and Instr. cases, and a confusion of numbers, neither of which has been recorded by Pk. grammarians. Granting that *-im*, *-i* (sometimes *-i*) <*-em*, < and *-ina* <*-ena* of the Instr. sg. have been sanctioned by Pk. grammarians under *-em* and *-ena* (*-enam* of grammarians is not found in Ap. literature), we have *-e* (not in every case a scribal error for *-em*), *-ahi*, *-ehi*, *-ehi* as the additional terms in literary Ap. The last two are traceable to Ved. Instr. Plur. *-ebhiḥ* in which cases we have a confusion of numbers. These are common to Instr. and Loc. plurals as well. In EAp. *-e*, *-ē*, *-ehi*, *-ehi*, *-ahi*, are common to Instr. and Loc. sg., but *-ena* is rare there, though it is very popular to the end of the 12th cent. in WAp. It is a Prakritism which is not much in vogue in SAp., and in some of the earlier WAp. works. *-i* is the stable desinence in WSAp. though it appears less popular in Kp. and some WAp. works of the same century. The relationship *-i* <*-ena* <*-ena* is an open question.

GRIERSON's suggestion of OIA *-a-smin* <*-a-him*, *-a-hi* developing into *-i* is worth consideration. This Loc. sg. *-a-smin* has given us Ap. Loc. and Instr. sg., *-a-hi*, (*-ahi*, *-a-him* in Loc. sg.) Ap. shows that the fusion of Ins. and Loc. which began in JM. was completed during our period. (§ 81). In the Loc. sg., EAp., *-i*, WSAp. *-im* (although not noted by Pk. grammarians) prove the same point. EAp. is characterised by the additional *-ahi*, *-ahi*, *-ehi* and *-ita* (in DKK. 2), out of which *-ita* is probably a borrowal from Bengal. *-ahi* is rare, and has probably developed into *-i*. Both *-ahi* and *-ahi* are clearly traceable to *-a-smin*. *-i* which is a weakened form of OIA *-e* is a stable desinence in SWAp. though it is not found in EAp. A few termination-less Loc. forms in EAp. are noted by SHAHIDULLA (§ 77). Out of these terms Fern. *-ā* stems use *-i* (WEAp. 1000 A.D.), *-i* or *-i* (WAp. 1000 and 1200, SAp. 1100 A.D.) SAp. *-i* (.) see §§ 88, 89).

In Ap. there is a gradual absorption of the Abl. into the Dat. Gen. case, and that compound case forms the main basis of NIA oblique. Out of the 11 terms of the Ap. Dat. Gen. in Pk. grammars, 3 viz. *-he*, *-hu*, *-ho* are common to Gen. and Abl. Gen. *-e* and *-hassu* are unrepresent-

ed in literature. Abl. *-adu* is a Prakritism (JŚ and Ś. Mg. as well). The fusion of Abl. and Dat. Gen. is achieved in EAp. from the very beginning of Ap. period, and in WSAp. after the 10th cent. A.D. Regionally, speaking WAp. possesses a rich variety of terms which can be classified into three types viz., *-(a)hā*, *-(a)ho* and *-(a)hi*. SAp. has only *-(a)ho* type which is exceptional in EAp. *-ha* is generally found therein. WAp. *-hi* is an extension of Fem. Gen. sg. *-he* to Masc. stems. All these *-h* terms show a tendency to pronounce OIA *s* as *h* in MIA speech. Out of these *-(a)hā* is traceable to OIA Pronominal plur. *-(ā)sām* which has been reduced to *-ha* in the 12th cent. A.D. in WAp. *-(a)-ho* is, as BLOCH points out in *L'indo-aryen*, p. 143, on the pronominal model, *-(a)hā* + *-(a)hu* and *-hu* is its weakening. Zero is exceptional while *-(a)su*, *-(a)su* are Pkt. desinences with the characteristic *-u* ending in Ap. (§ 83).

The terms of the direct Plur. exhibit two chief tendencies: (i) the use of the sing. for the plur., and (ii) the use of Masc. terms with Neut., and vice versa. The first is not much popular although it is attested to in earlier WAp. texts (*PPr.* Ys.) and in EAp. The illustrations show that this is due to the constant association of the enumerated things in one group. The second tendency is traced in EAp. (700-1200 A.D.) and later in WAp. (1000 A.D.) and SAp. (1100 A.D.) Its converse viz., the use of the desinences of the Neut. for Masc. stems is traced in WSAp. from 1000 A.D. but it is absent in EAp. This is probably due to the confusion of genders which is found even in earlier Pkts.

Out of the Ap. terms in Pk. grammars, *-he-*, *-ho* and *-du* are unrepresented in literature. *-dā* though sanctioned by the Eastern Pk. grammarian Pu., is not traced in EAp. but in WAp. of the 10th cent. (chiefly in *Pd. Sdd.*). The use of stem without any term. for the direct plur. is the common characteristic of SWEAp. throughout this period. *-ā* (<*āh* or *akāh*) is chiefly found in EAp. In Voc. plur. *-ho* and *-hu* were separate particles originally. Termination-less Vocatives derived from OIA *-āh* are numerous in Ap. (§ 84).

As in Instr. and Loc. sings. (§§81, 82), the plural forms of these cases prove the fusion of the two cases in Ap., although they are separate in Pkts. The terms of this joint case can be classified in two groups—(i) *-ehim* (<Ved. *-ebhih*) group and *-a-him* (<OIA *-a-smin*) group. The first illustrates the fusion of the Instr. and Loc., and is a common characteristic of WSEAp. throughout our period. The second signifies both a confusion of number and a fusion of case, and is illustrated in all these regions from 600 A.D. SEAp. *-ahi* and EAp. *-ehi* (and the few *-ahi*, *-ehi* forms in WAp. of 12th cent. A.D.) are denasalisations of Ap. *-ahī* and *-eht*. The extension of *-āhant* of the Dat. Gen. to these cases shows the

process of the formation of the Oblique in Ap., though such examples are rare and appear in WAp. from the 10th cent. and onwards. *-ihī* group is a weakened form of *-ehī* (§ 85).

According to Pk. grammarians *-hum* and *-ham* were the chief terms of Abl. and Gen. plur. respectively, although Eastern Pk. grammarians sanction these for the Gen. and Abl. plur. as well. Ap. writers, however, made little distinction between these two cases. They also neglected *-hum* which is absent in EAp., and a rarity in WSAp. *-(a)ham* or *-(a)hā* is a stable desinence in WSAp., and is traceable to Pk. and OIA **-āsam* rather than to *-(a)ha* + *-ā* < MIA *-āṇam* as *-nam* > *-ā* is rare in IA. EAp. *-(a)ha* is the extension of the sing. to the plur. Abl. plur. *-hī* in Sap. and in Pkt. grammars is an analogical formation after the Gen. sg. *(a)-ha*: Gen. plur. *(a)-hā*. *-(a)him* though a rarity, is the extension of the Instr. Loc. to this compound case forming a prelude to the Oblique in NIA (§86).

These are the main characteristics of the declension of Masc. and Neut. *-a* stems which was regarded as the standard for other declensions to follow.

Fem. stems in *-ā* serve as a model to the declension of Fem. *-ī* and *-ū* stems. (§ 97). They (i.e., Fem. *-ā* stems) follow the declension of Masc. and Neut. *-a* stems as they share 11 common terms in sing. viz., Direct: Zero, Ins. *-ē*, *-im* (*-ī*), *-ī* (?), Dat. Gen. *-ha*, *-ham*, (*hā*), *-hu*, *-hū*, Loc. *-ī*, *-im* (*ī*), *-him* (*-hī*), and 5 in plur. viz., Direct-Zero, *-ā* (BhK.), Dat. Gen. Abl. *-ham* (*-hā*), *-hu*, Loc. *-hī* (§88).

Fem. *-ī* and *-ū* stems have adopted 10 (7 from sg. + 3 from plur.) desinences from Masc. and Neut. *-a* stems (§ 97).

That there should be 11 (sing. 7 + plur. 4) terms common to Masc. *-ī*, *-u* and Fem. *-a* stems and 7 (sing. 5 + plur. 2) terms common to Masc. and Fem. *-ī*, *-u* stems (§ 94), shows that the confusion of gender was on a very large scale in Ap. (see § 76).

In the declension of these stems, the direct case was formed before 600 A.D. Ins. and Loc. remained distinct upto the end of the 11th cent. (and probably to the end of our period). In contrast to Pk., Gen. and Loc. are distinct and the former absorbed the Abl. upto 1000 A.D. Some common terms in Dat. Gen. Abl. and Instr. Loc. show the preparation of the ground for NIA Oblique (§§ 87, 88, 89). In Instr. sg. *-ā* is common to Ap. and Pkt. and this was probably reduced to *-āī* in Sap. (1000 A.D.), the remaining are Masc. and were applied first in EAp. (700 A.D.), then in WAp. (1000 A.D.), and lastly in Sap.

(1100 A.D.). Dat. Gen. Abl. *-a-hi* < *-a-hē* or *-ahe* < *-a-syāh* is quite common in SAp. (965 A.D.), though it occasionally occurs in contemporary WAp. where it got established upto 1200 A.D. Loc. *-a-hi* is probably derived from Masc. *-a-smin* or *adhi*. There is a greater use of Masc. terms in WAp. than in SAp. Loc. *-ahi* is first found in EAp. in which it does not alternate with *-ahi*. It may be traceable to the OIA postposition *adhi*, but in WAp. it appears first in *BhK.* (1000 A.D.) and in contemporary SAp. But WAp. has *-a-him* and SAp. shows *-aī*, *-aiṁ* as the alternative term.s. (§§ 90, 91, 92).

In plural number there are few purely Ap. Fem. term.s as most of them are either common to Ap. Masc. Neut. *-a* stem.s or to Pkts. The direct plur. *-au* < Pkt. *-āo* and *-aī* (Neut. direct plur.) are obvious. The Loc. Instr. *-ahim* (which is common to Pkts. and Ap. Masc. *-a* stem.s) is seen in WSEAp. from the 10th cent. A.D. *-aī* is the extension of Masc. Loc. sg. to Loc. plur., while *-a-hā* (in Sc.) shows the confusion of this case with Dat. Gen. Abl. in 1200 A.D. in WAp. Zero indicates the tendency to apply the term. to the last word when a number of related words in the same case come together consecutively. Dat. Gen. Abl. *-ahu*, *-aham* are common to Masc. *-ahu* is popular in WAp. upto the end of Ap. period. *-a-hā* was first used in SAp. (1000 A.D.) and then in WAp. (1100 A.D. and onwards) and it underlies the half-nasalised forms of NIA oblique (§ 93).

The declension of Masc. *-i* and *-u* stems is more influenced by the declensions of Fem. *-i*, *-u* stems than by the one of Masc. *-a* stems. It appears that it was the ending (rather than its OIA Gender) which influenced the declension of the stems (See § 77 and § 95). Thus terminationless direct sing. and plur., Dat. Gen. Abl. sing. *-hi*, *-he* (cf. Fem. *-a* stems § 92), Loc. sg. *-hi* smack of the influence of Fem. declension (for details see § 94).

There are 8 (sing. 6 + plur. 2) term.s common to Masc. and Fem. *-i*, *-u* stems and 11 (sing. 7 + plur. 4) desinences common to Fem. *-a* and Masc. *-i*, *-u* stems. There are very few term.s, which are special to this declension and their history has been treated in different contexts (§§ 95, 96).

The number of Fem. *-ī*, *-ū* stems is limited as many of them take pleonastic *-ka*. The declension of Fem. *-ī*, *-ū* stems is closely allied with similar Masc. endings, although Fem. and Masc. *-a* stems have contributed some desinences to this. The common term.s of Loc. and Dat. Gen. Abl. sg. (and these are distinct from those of Pkt.) show the process of the formation of the oblique of NIA type. We find the same

in the plural Number. Dat. Gen. Abl. sing. terms have regional differences e.g. EAp. *-ha*, WAp. *-he* (1000 A.D.) WAp. *-hu* (1200 A.D.) (see §§ 97, 98, 99).

A synthetic view of the declension of all the stems in Ap. shows the following facts :

- (1) The Direct case was formed in the Ap. period.
- (2) The Indirect cases had two groups viz., the Instr. Loc. and the Dat. Gen. Abl., and there was a tendency towards the fusion of these groups resulting later on in the Oblique in NIA.
- (3) The strong tendency to normalisation led to the confusion of gender, and in EAp. the Neut. was morphologically getting obsolete.
- (4) The confusion of genders and numbers gave an appearance of uniformity to Ap. declension but it had some regional and temporal differences.
- (5) The tendency to use the term with the last word (generally substantive), although the previous ones also stand in the same case.

Due to the confusion of cases mentioned above, there arose a greater necessity to use post-positions to denote particular cases in Ap. period and later. In Ap. *honta*, *hontau*, *honti* is used for Abl. *thiu* coupled with Loc. gives the Abl. sense. *keraa*, *kera* denotes the Gen., and *tana* is construed with Instrumental. A careful investigation into the history of these shows that originally these were used in a different sense. Thus *honta* or *hontau* was a Pres. Part. which was used in the Abl. sense in SAP. of the 11th cent. A.D. first, and in WAp. at about 1150 A.D. (though some WAp. works of the same century do not attest to it). Its Abl. use in NIA shows that it must have become more popular in the proto-NIA period. *thia* or *thā* when coupled with Loc. does not give the Abl. sense in WEAp. upto the end of 11th cent., and the instance quoted from Hc. is doubtful. *kera* is used in WAp. (600-1200 A.D.), SEAp. (1000 A.D.) with the Gen., and is found as a post-position and suffix in NIA of WAp. region, as a suffix in Eastern NIA, though it is lost in NIA of SAP. region. *tana* is more used as a Gen. post-position than as an Instr. one. As an Instr. post-position its earliest use is in PPr. (WAp. 600 A.D.) but it is more in vogue in SAP. of 1000 A.D. (but not in contemporary WAp.) and finally in WAp. of the 12th cent. A.D. (§§ 100-104).

NUMERALS

Numerals in Ap. present a stage which though closely allied to Pkts., is the immediate predecessor of numerals in NIA. *ekka* 'one' is the only cardinal to possess different forms for Masc. and Fem. genders. These cardinals follow declension of *-a* stems. Most of the formations follow the older Pkts. and show a state of confusion and mixture (§§ 105-115). Ap. follows Pkts. in fractionals as well (§ 116). The ordinals also corroborate the same finding. In SAp. ordinals from 5th onwards (except the 6th) take *-va* optionally for *-ma* (cf. *-va* in M.). These, being adjectives, are declined like nouns (§ 117).

PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns of the 1st and the 2nd person form one group which presents a rich variety of forms. 1st p. pron. has *aha-*, *ma-* in sing., and *amha-* in plur., while 2nd p. pron. has *tu-*, *ta-*, *pa-* in sing. and *tumha-* in plur. as the bases. Both of these accept mostly desinences of Masc. and Neut. *-a* stems with a few relics of old Pkt. and OIA forms. It was the declension of the 1st person which influenced the paradigm of the 2nd one. Ap. literature does not represent some forms of these declensions, although they are sanctioned by Pk. grammarians. There is much stability in the declensions of these throughout our period. These declensions supply us with the history of the NIA forms of these pronouns, and are useful as a connecting link between MIA and NIA (for details see §§ 119-120).

The next important group is that of Adjectival pronouns which is thus designated from a functional point of view. It consists of the 3rd person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative *ta-* (< *tad*), the Proximate Demonstratives *ea-*, *eya* (*etad*) and *āya-*, *āa-* (= *idam* which has **a-* base from Instr.), the Relative *ja-* (*yad*), the Interrogative *ka-*, *kavaṇa* (*kim*) and the Reflexive *appa-* (*ātman*). *adas-* is only exceptionally used in Hc. 8.4.364. These pronouns generally accept the terms of the noun qualified by them, and as such the process of simplification of themes and paradigms, tendencies to normalisation, confusion of genders and number, and the fusion of cases, as in Noun declension are found here. Out of the above mentioned pronouns *yad*, *tad*, *kim* are declined exactly alike. The forms of *etad* and *idam* are freely mixed together. *ātman* is declined in Masc. gender and sing. number. The remaining pronouns are unimportant, and have no declensional peculiarities as distinct from Noun Declension (§§ 122-130).

Personal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative and other pronouns contributed different types of adjs. Though the formative suffixes

are noted in Ch. IV, only 12 are considered here. Out of these, formatives from *kārya* (e.g., *-āra*, *-āraa*, Fem. *-eri*) make possessive adjectives, and are applied to personal pronouns in WSEAp. during our period (500-1200) and down to NIA, except in SAp. region. Out of the suffixes from OIA *-drśa* (e.g., *-isa*, *-rīsa*, *-cha*), *-isa* has remained popular in NIA e.g., Hindi, Marathi and their cognate dialects. Adjectives showing extent are of two type : (i) *kīyat* types e.g., *-(e-i-)ttiya*, *-(e-i-)ttula* etc., and (ii) *-vṛddha* type e.g., *-vaḍḍha*, *-vaḍu*. Both of these types are conserved in NIA. Of the second *-vaḍḍha* is popular in Marathi, and *-vaḍu* in NIA of WAp. region e.g., Gujarati.

CONJUGATION

§ 13. Conjugation in Ap. forms the intermediate stage between Pkts. and old NIA, and represents a stage in the continuous process of simplification and modification in the verbal system in IA. Like Pkts. and NIA, substitution of the nominal phrase for verb system is the normal rule in Ap. Thus this system appears to be based on (i) the verbal group depending on OIA Present Ind. and (ii) a group of nominal forms based on the above mentioned verbal system (§§ 132). Herein Ap. is a precursor of NIA.

Verbal themes in Ap. rest on the Present system and P.P. Participles in OIA. As usual Ap. roots are transitive and intransitive, primitive or causative in form. Ap. derives its verbal bases from OIA bases which are either normal (levelled to *-a* ending irrespective of their original class), phonologically modified, or linguistically reconstructed. The OIA verbal bases are (1) Present Active, (2) Present Passive, (3) P.P. Participles, and (4) Onomatopoeia. These bases are enlarged by pleonastic suffixes e.g., *-ra*, *-ḍa* etc., (§ 133).

Causative formations take the suffix *-āva* in WSAp., and *-aba* in EAp., sometimes there is a *vṛddhi* of the radical vowel *-a-* of the primitive root (and *guṇa* of radical *-i-*, *-u-*), while some primitive and causal forms are identical. Gunating of the radical vowel and the application of *-ā* (*ra*) e.g., H. *pakāṇā*: *pakāṇā*, and the addition of pleonastic *-ār*, *-āḷ*, *-āl* are found in NIA (§ 135).

The desinences of the Pres. Ind. show an unbroken continuation from OIA, and a strong influence of Sk. and Pkt. on Ap. To note purely Ap. desinences: 1 p. sing *-aū* is due to the influence of 1 p. Nom. sg. pronominal ending *-aū* < OIA *-akam*. It is absent in 500 A.D. in WAp. but is the most frequent term in Kp. (1200 A.D. WAp.), *-ami*

is the characteristic term in SAp. In 2 p. sing. *-ahi* < OIA Imp. 2 p. sg. *-dhi* was popular in early WAp. texts and in speech throughout the Ap. period, as it is the source of 2 p. sg. forms in NIA of the WAp. region. Though *-ahi* is extremely popular in SAp., it seems to have lost its influence in the proto-Marathi period. *-asi* is consistently found in MAP. and the modern Magadhan languages. 3 p. sg. *-āi* is obviously from OIA < *-ati*, and is the source of 3 p. sg. in NIA. EAp. *-a* < *-ai* is probably *metri causa* and is found rarely. Pres. Ind. is under the influence of Imp. This is seen from the common and contaminated term *s*. Out of the three terms of 2 p. pl. *-ahu* and *-aha* are used in Imp. 2 p. pl. The terms of 2 p. pl. are traced to OIA **-thas*, analogically with 1 p. pl. *-mas*. It is the source of the desinences of 2 p. pl. in NIA, and its influence probably explains *-h-* in Ap. 1 and 3 p. plurals, *-ahū* and *-ahī* (though OIA pron. *asmaka* must have some share in the formation of the former). Thus we have 1 p. *-aṁ*; *-ahī*: 3 p. *-ai*: *-ahi*. 3 p. pl. *-ahī* appeared in PPr. (600 A.D.) first, and remained popular in WAp. region throughout the Ap. period, and supplies the 3 p. pl. desinences to the NIA, while *-anti* is chiefly found in SAp. and EAp., and is the source of term *s* of 3 p. plur. in Modern IA languages of these regions (§ 136).

Imperative in Ap. literature has a richer variety of terms than that noted by Pk. grammarians. Although there are few (practically none) for 1 p., 2 p. sg. and pl. present the greatest number of desinences. The 2 p. sg. has 11 terms in SAp., 9 in WAp., 7 but a different set in EAp. Only 6 are common to WSEAp. There appears a gradual growth in the number of desinences in WAp. *-ahi* < OIA *-dhi*, originally found in VK. (WAp.), spread all over Aryan India in 1000 A.D., and became the most popular one in SAp. (though not much so in EAp. The influence of *-u* < OIA *-tu* of 3 p. sg. is found in many terms of 2 p. e.g., *-hu* < OIA **-thu*, *-asu*, *-esu* < OIA *-sua* and *-u* (the last not much popular even in WAp.) The popularity of *-u* endings in Ap. (used with indeclinables also) afforded full scope for such development. The Pres. Ind. and Imp. have many common terms. (Imp. is of the Present tense even from the OIA period). Thus Imp. 2 p. pl. *-hu* (*-aha*, *-eha* is of the Pres. Ind. WAp. of 1200 A.D. appears under the strong influence of Pkt. In 2 p. sing., speaking regionally, we find *-ahi*, *-i*, and *-u* popular in SAp. (1000 A.D.), and *-aha*, *-ahu*, *-u* in EAp. In WAp. *-ahi* is very popular in 500 A.D., *-ahu*, *-ahi*, *-i* in 1000 A.D., and *-asu*, *-esu* in 1200 A.D. In 2 p. plu., WAp. has *-ahu*, *-ahū*, *-aha* (in 1100-1200 A.D.), SAp. *-aham* *-aha*, *-ahu* (rarely), and EAp. *-aha*, also *ijja-ha* and *-ahu* (only in DKs.)

Out of these *-ahu* is traceable to OIA *-*thu*. *ahū* has a nasal due to its pl. number, and the influence of 3 p. pl. (cf. the term. of Pres. 3 p. pl.); *-aha* < OIA *-tha* becomes *-ahā* by the same analogy. The influence of the Pres. Ind. on Imp. is immense. 3 p. sg. *u* < OIA *-tu* is clear. 3 p. pl. *-ahū* is on the analogy of Pres. Ind. *-i* : *ahī* :: *-u* : *-ahū*. NIA is deeply indebted to Ap. for its variety of term.s.

As in Pkts. Future in Ap. is of 2 types *-sa* and *-ha-*, both of which are traceable to OIA *-sya-* and the term.s of Pres. Ind. are added to them. *-sa* Future is very popular in SAp. (and Marathi), while there is a mixed state in WAp. to which we can trace the different developments of the Future in NIA of that region (§ 139).

The Past was a participial tense in Ap., and was expressed by using the pp. of the verb with "to be" (\sqrt{as} or $\sqrt{bhū}$) expressed or implied. *-la* forms existed in spoken Ap., and became very popular in post-Ap. period (§ 140).

The Optative in Ap. is used in the place of OIA Potential Mood, and sometimes for the Imperative. Its augment is *-ijja* < Primary Pkts. *-eyya* and is confused with the *-ijja* Passive. Sometimes it takes *-iavva* (< *lavva*) of the Pot. Part. In later WAp. desinence-less *-ijja* was used for all persons. SAp. takes the term.s of the Pres. after *-ijja* (§ 141).

The denominatives (§ 142), duplication of verbs to express intensity, frequency etc., (§ 143), the Ap. defective verb \sqrt{as} (§ 144) and the use of different forms of OIA *nāsti* (and sometimes of *mā*) as negatives (§ 145) show the continuity of IA and Ap. as the mediate stage between MIA and NIA.

The Present, Past Passive and Future Participles, Infinitives, and Absolutives are the important nominal forms of verbs Ap. Out of these, the first three are adjectival and the last two indeclinable. In Ap. *-anta* and *-māṇa* (i.e., the phonological modifications of these suff.s) are applied to roots irrespective of their *pada* in OIA. Both these are found in WSAp. (and in the NIA of these regions) though *-anta* is more popular. EAp. uses only *-anta*. The details of the use of the Pres. Part. show the importance of Ap. as a formative stage of the NIA tenses and syntax. (§ § 146-47).

As in pre-Ap. MIA, Ap. uses the phonological modifications of OIA *-i-ta* to form pp. This *-ita*, with or without stem-widening *-ka*, is applied to the Prakritic form of OIA roots or to *deśi* ones. We find (though to a lesser extent) *aniṭ* type of formations with OIA roots direct,

or reconstructed, and with *deśi* roots. We find both these types of pp. in NIA. EAp. has some pp. forms in *-a*, and these are different from those ending in *-(i)a < ita*. *-ya* ending of *deśi* roots is on the analogy of *-iya* or *-ia*. No *-la* forms in literary Ap. are traced (§ 148).

The Future and Obligatory Parts. in Ap. are chiefly derived from OIA *-tarya* and Ved. Pali *-eyya*. SAP. has *-eva* (*ya*), *-evaya* and *-eva* which developed in M. *-vā*, *-vī*, *-vī*. WAp. favours *-avvu* chiefly in the latter half of the 12th cent. A.D., (cf. Guj. *-vū* infinitives and root-endings) EAp. has *-iba*. cf. Beng. *-ibā* infinitives. Prakritisms and ending with *-ssa + māṇa*, or *anta* need not be noticed. (§ 150).

Infinitives in Ap. retain many of the Ved. suffixes, and has a mixture of the Absolute ones. In WAp. *-ana* suffixes (i.e., *-anā* *-anu*, *-anahim*, *-anaham*) are the most popular, and form the source of *-na* infinitives in NIA of that region. Out of these *-anaham* is preserved in SAP., but *-ana* is absent in DKK., and a rarity in Dsk. (both EAp. works). EAp. does not represent such a mixture of Inf. and Abs. suffixes, although it is sanctioned by Pk. grammarians. In WAp. this appears in the 1000 A.D., and is widely popular in 1200 A.D. *-hum* is the most influential suff. in SAP., and is probably the source of M. *-ñ* Infinitives. In 1100 A.D. SAP. uses the obligatory suffixes *-evaim*, *-evam* < OIA *-*taryakam* for Inf. Though such a usage is a rarity in WAp., it seemed to have spread in WEAp. regions in proto-NIA, as is evident from the Inf. forms in the Modern IA languages of these provinces. In M. *-vā*, *vī*, *-vī* are still used in the obligatory sense. EAp. extends the Absolute suff. *-ai* to Inf., and this is a special term in EAp. No such mixture appears in SAP. (§ 150).

Absolutives in Ap. literature EAp. is characterised by *-ī* and *-id* < OIA *-ya* (*lyab*) which developed as *-ia*, *-iya*, *-iu* in WAp. from 1000 A.D. *-i* is absent in Hv., and rare in other SAP. works. Suffixes from Ved. *-tvī*, *-tvīnam*, went on increasing in WAp., and we get *-eppi*, *-epiṇu*, *-epi*, *-epiṇu*, *-evi*, *-evīṇu*, *-ivi*, *-avi*, *-ppi*, *-pi*, *-vi* and *-piṇu* in Ap. *-tti* < *-tvī* is not much productive in WSAP. In Ap. literature there are two currents of Absolute terms, one traceable to OIA *-tvā* and the other to *-ya*. In EAp. *-tvā* terms are not found, while *-ya* forms begin to appear in WSAP. from 1000 A.D. EAp. is free from Prakritisms. Due to the absence of *-tūna* or *-(i)uṇa* forms in Ap., M. Abs. Suff. *-ūn* cannot be traced to them, but to the contamination of OIA *-tvāna + tvīna* which satisfactorily explains the various types of *-ūn* endings in Old and Modern Marathi and Koṅk. Modern absolute suffixes of WEAp. region are derived from OIA *-ya* > WEAp. *-ī*, *-i* (§ 151).

Adverbs (§ 152), Conjunctions (§ 154) and Interjections (§ 155) have much in common with other literary Pkts., and possess little that is chrono-regionally important (except in EAp.). NIA is greatly indebted to Ap. in many respects with regard to these indeclinables, as the variety of forms in NIA is traceable to these.

§14. Ap. has the following suffixes which may be classified according to their powers as follows :

- (1) Suffixes added to Substantives to form Substantives : *-tta*, *-ttaṇa*, *-ṭṭha*, *-ṭṭhaṇa*, *-maī*, *-riṇa* (?), *-vaṇḍa*.
- (2) Suffixes applied to Adjs. for forming Abstract Substantives : *-ima*, *-tta*, *-ttaṇa*, *-ṭṭhaṇa*.
- (3) Suffixes added to Substantives for forming Adjs. : *-ara*, *-āla*, *-ālu(ya)*, *-i(ya)*, *-itta*, *-illa*, *-ira*, *-va*, *-vanta*, *-vi(ya)*.
- (4) Suffixes added to Adjs. to form Adjs. : *-iya*, *-ra*, *-era*.
- (5) Suffixes for forming Adjs. from Verbs : *-ira*, *-evva*.
- (6) Suffixes added to Adverbs to form Adjs. : *-(a)ḍa*, *-(a)ḍḍa*, *-tta(ya)*, *-ttula*, *-riṣa*, *-ha(u)*.
- (7) Pleonastic suffixes : *-a*, *-ya*, *-aya*, *-iya*, *-uya*, *-kka* (rarely as in *gurukkī* < *guru*-), *-ḍā*, *-ḍi* and not *-du* though it is sanctioned by Eastern Pk. grammarians. *-la*, *-kī*, *-āla*, *-ālu*, *-illa*, *-ulla* and different combinations of the chief Pleonastic suffixes *-ka*, *-ḍa*, *-la*. In Ap. *-ra* is rare.
- (8) Feminine suffixes : *-ā*, *-ī*, *-nī*.

Primary suffixes showing Agent or doer, action are also noted in Ch IV. (For details see §§ 153-158).

CHAPTER I

APABHRAṂŚA PHONOLOGY.

§ 15. SOUNDS IN Ap.

The following are the sounds in Ap. literature :

VOWELS : *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, r* (generally in *lss.*), *ẽ, ẽ̄*. With the exception of *r* these could be nasalised.

CONSONANTS : *k, kh, g, gh, c, ch, j, jh* (both palatals and palato-alveolars), *ñ* (very rarely), *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ* *ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, ṇ* (in Jacobi's editions and in some uncritically edited works), *ṣ, ph, b, bh, m, r, l, v, ś* (in EAp.), *s, h, ḷ* (in Southern Mss. and in spoken Ap.).

Devanāgarī script has no separate signs to indicate the two values of *e*, and *o*. The Northern scribes have a tendency to represent short *ẽ* and *ẽ̄* as *i* and *ū*—the latter at times being a mistake of the copyist for *o* in Jain Mss. in which it is represented with a vertical stroke on the head of *u*. We have also no separate symbols to show the open (*virṭa*) and closed (*saṁvirṭa*) sounds of *a*, although these values have been recognized by old Sanskrit grammarians like Pāṇini¹ and Patañjali.² The different values of *a* in Konkani, Bengali and Awadhi along with the close neutral *a* normally found in the whole group of I A, lead one to posit a similar state in Ap., but there is little Ms. evidence to support the theory.

The OIA diphthongs were already lost in the early stages of MIA, and have come down as *ẽ* and *ẽ̄*, or as *ĩ* and *ũ*, or even as *i* and *u*. As this is not a speciality of Ap., we may pass on to the treatment of OIA in Ap.

§ 16. TREATMENT OF OIA *r*.

Retention of *r* is a *bona fide* characteristic of Ap. phonology according to all schools of Pkt. grammarians (See *Pu.* 17.15, 18.3 for Vṛācata Ap., grammar quoted by Namiśidhu on Rudrata's *Kīṣkīlankāra* 2.12, ex s on *Hc.* 8.4-3.29 *Mk.* 17.4 for Vṛācata Ap.). In practice

¹ *Aṣṭīśāḍhī* 8.4.68

² *Mahābhāṣya*—discussion on *Saṁskṛatagāṇa*. Also at the beginning of his *Com* on *Siva-Sūtras*.

however, it is limited to certain families of Mss.³ We may safely ignore these *tss* e.g., *myga*, *vrnda*, *nr* and others, as the speciality of certain Ms. traditions, although we know that the total absence of *tss* is due to the stylisation in MIA, and that OIA *tss* were present in the contemporary Dravidian literature, and in the oldest stage of NIA.

The prākritic tendencies in the treatment of *r* in Vedic literature,⁴ the changes of *r* in Aśokan Inscriptions,⁵ and its changes in Prākritis,⁶ are enough to show the artificiality of this injunction of Pkt. grammarians. A reference to the comparative tables (§ 17A) shows that the geographical distribution of the changes of OIA, *r* (*viz.* initial $r > r > a$ in the South-West, $r > i$ in the North and in the East) found in Aśokan Edicts, is lost in our period. In the post-Aśokan Pkt. Inscriptions one finds that OIA, *r* initially tends to be *a*- in all regions, and that in the non-initial syllables, it nerally becomes *-a*- in all regions and at all times. The change of the vowel *r* to *u* is found mostly in nouns of relationships in all regions, but in the east and the centre it also tends to be *i*.⁷

As in Pali⁸ and in Pkts.,⁹ OIA *r* is changed to *a*, *i* and *u* in Ap. The following table of statistics will, however, show how the treatment of OIA *r* differed during 500 (?)—1000 A.D.

(1) Initial <i>r</i>	WAP		EAP	
	VK 500 A.D.	PPr 600 A.D.	DKK 700 A.D.	DKS 1000 A.D.
> <i>a</i>	2))28.5 %	2))13.3 %	) )16.6 %	1)) 10 %
>	)	)	1))
> <i>i</i>	3))43 %	9))66.6 %	3))50 %	7))80 %
> <i>ī</i>	)	1)	)	1)
> <i>u</i>	2))28.5 %	2))20 %	1))33.3 %	1))10 %
> <i>ū</i>	)	1)	1))
> <i>e</i>				
<hr/>				
Total . . 7	15	6	10	

3 A. N. UPADHYE, Introduction to PPr. p. 56, Footnote 2.

4 For example *avaṣa*, *kaṭuka*, *vikata*. For more vide WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. Gram.* I. §§ 9, 146, 172.

5 M. A. MEHENDALE, "A Comparative Grammar of Aśokan Inscriptions," *BDCRI* 3.3.227-31 (March 1942)

6 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, §§ 47-58.

7 M. A. MEHENDALE, "Historical Grammar of Inscriptional Prākritis" *BDCRI* 6-1.2.67.

8 S. M. KATRE, "Treatment of R in Pali", *ABORI* 16.189-201.

9 PISCHEL, *op. cit.* §§ 47-58. The *ra*, *ri*, *ru* treatments noted by PISCHEL and KATRE are really *(r)a*, *(r)i*, *(r)u* ones.

2 2) Medial *r*

> <i>a</i>				1(?)
> <i>ā</i>				
> <i>i</i>	1	50 %	1	1
> <i>ī</i>				3
> <i>u</i>	1	50 %	1 (√ <i>suṇa</i>)	
> <i>ū</i>				
> <i>e</i>				
Total	..2		2(?)	1
				4(?)

(3) Final *r*

> <i>a</i>	
> <i>ā</i>	
> <i>i</i>	1
> <i>ī</i>	
> <i>u</i>	
> <i>ū</i>	
> <i>e</i>	

In calculating the *r* forms in these works, words traceable to IE e.g., **g^horo* > *ghara*, *gharṇi*, *gharavar* etc., to OIA non-*r* variants e.g., *nuṣuṇa* < √*śru*- (and not √*śr*-), √*gaha*, *gahā* < √*grabh*- or √*grah*- (and not to √*grh*-) are omitted as they are not the treatments of OIA *r* although they are commonly supposed to be such. Repetition of the same form either in compounds (e.g., *mṛga*- in *mīṇka*, *mīa-locana*) or otherwise e.g. *dittha*, *ditthaa*, *ditthi* (all from √*ḍṛś*-) or *tisā*, *tisittana* < *trṣā*, are regarded as one form. Forms which were already changed in OIA e.g., *bī-sara* < *vi-smar*-√*smṛ*-, *kārima* < *kār-ima* (though usually quoted with *kṛtima*) are excluded from the above calculation in the table of statistics.

The comparative table given above shows the following facts :

- (1) Initial *r* > *a*- was less in vogue in EAp. than in WAp., although it was disappearing fast in both the regions.
- (2) Initial *r* > *i*- which was the main characteristic of EAp. in early Pkts., predominantly remained unchanged in our period. In WAp. it went on increasing from 43 % to 66.6 %
- (3) Initial *r* > *u*- is chiefly due to the labial element.

- (4) It is generally in metrically heavy syllables that OIA *r* was changed into a long vowel e.g., *kāṇha* < *Ḳṛṣṇa* in EAp. This was found in other regions at a later period e.g., *būḍḥau* < *vṛddhah*.
- (5) Medial *-r-* > *-i-* was the general rule in WEAp. upto 1000 A.D.

There is only one example of final *-r*, and that is a meagre evidence to base any conclusion regarding the treatment of final *r* in Ap. upto 1000 A.D.

From the 10th cent. A.D., and onwards, Ap. literature testifies to a large-scaled interborrowing. We find that the geographical distribution of the treatment of OIA *r* as found in Aśokan Inscriptions or given by TURNER in *Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan* § 27, is only a thing of the past, and we meet with a number of cases with *r* > *i* both initially and medially in SAp. e.g., *tittlā* < **trslā* = *trsnā*, though the usual *tanḥā* is frequent. So is the case with *hrḍaya* > *hiyaa*, *hṛyavaya* (cf. Pais. *hitapaka*), the latter of which appears at least 10 times in *Hv*. (See *Hv. Glossar* p.489). We have many instances of medial *-r-* > *-i-* in this region e.g., *nippḥia* < *nispṛṭha*, *amhārisa* < *asmāḍṛśa*, *eyārisa* < *etāḍṛśa* and others.

On the other hand, instances of *r* > *a* go on increasing in WAp. till at last in *Kp*. the proportion of *r* > *a* is similar to that in *Hv*. e.g. *vasahī* < **vṛsabhī* "a bull,"¹⁰ *parimalai* < *pari-*mṛdati*, *viyambhai* < *vi-jṛmbhate*. Probably this explains the predominance of the *-a-* treatment of this vowel in Guj.

There is one characteristic which distinguishes SAp. from WAp. It is the value of Sk. *r* as pronounced in loan-words. In SAp. one finds OIA *r* > *ri* and conversely *ri* > *r*. The converse change clearly proves the phonetic habit of pronouncing *r* as *ri*, although it is a scribal device. Kannaḍa Inscriptions from 800-1000 A. D. attest to this phonetic habit as we find *r* written as *ri* in them. e.g. *risiyaru* < *rṣi* "sages," *Nṛpatunga* < *Nṛpatunga*¹¹. It is in SAp. alone that one finds exs. e.g., *sṛya* < *śrī-ka*, *tṛya* < *stṛī-ka* (though the normal forms *sri* and *tīya*, are not absent). SAp. (and chiefly *Hv*) shows numerous cases of *r* > *ri*. e.g. *riya* < *ṛc*, *riḷḷa-u* < *ṛḍhya-tu*, *riddhulla* < *ṛddhi-mat*, *rikkha* < *ṛksa*, *riddhi-he* < *ṛddheḥ*. A few exs. of this are found in WAp. as well e.g. *risi* < *rṣi*, *Risaha* < *Rṣabha*, *rīṇa* < *ṛī-na*, *riṇiya* < *ṛṇika*.

¹⁰ ALSDORF in *Kp. J.* 71-4 *Glossar* regards this as a contamination of *vṛṣabha* + *vahati*. The use of *vahati* "an ox" is found only in lexicons of a later date.

¹¹ G. S. GAI "Historical Grammar of Old Kannaḍa," *BDCRI* 6.56. In footnote No. 8, he quotes from Keśirājas *Sabdamanidarpana* 268 from which it appears that the phonetic habit of the Kannaḍa speaking people of that period was the pronunciation of OIA *r* as *ri*,

Corresponding to the change *r* > *i*, we have some instances of *r* > *e* chiefly in WAp. e.g., *gr̥na* < **gr̥na*, *ghephar* < **ghr̥pyate* = *gr̥bhyate* or *gr̥hyate* (also in SAp.), *dek̥kha-* as well as *dik̥kha-* < **d̥r̥ks-*, *dekhanta* < **d̥r̥ks-*.

Under the superficial uniformity of this literary *lingua franca*, one finds some chrono-regional variations in the vocalisation of *r* during our period.¹²

§ 16A.

TREATMENT OF OIA *r*

Cent. A.D. Region

Examples

500 ?

WAp.

(a) Initially

1. *-r* > *-a* : *āsana* (*ārsna*), *nacca-* (**nr̥ts-*)
2. *-r* > *-i* : *hīa* (*hr̥daya*), *ditthī* (*dr̥stā*), *mīamka* (*mrganka*), *mā-loana* (*mrga-locana*).
3. *-r* > *-u* : *puc̥chmi* (*pr̥cchāmi*), *puhavi* (*pr̥thavi*)

(b) Medially

1. *-r* > *-a* : nil.
2. *-r* > *-i* : *sarisa* (*sadr̥śa*)
3. *-r* > *-u* : *parahua* (*parabh̥ṛta*).

(c) Finally: nil.

600-1000

WAp

(a) Initially

1. *-r* > *-a* : *maya* (*mrgāh*), *vi-jambh̥vya* (*vi-jr̥mbhita*) only two cases.
2. *-r* > *-i* : *titt̥hā* (**tr̥stā*), *ghinā* (*ghr̥nā*), *dit̥tha* (*dr̥sta*)—9 cases.
- 2A. *-r* > *-i* : in metrically heavy syllables : *disai* (*dr̥syate*)—5 times.
3. *-r* > *-u* : *puc̥chiu* (**pr̥cchita*), *puhavi* (*pr̥thavi*) only two cases.
- 3A. *-r* > *-ū* : Metrical long syllable *būdd̥hau* (*vr̥ddhaka*)—1 form.

(b) Medially

1. *-r* > *-a* : nil.
2. *-r* > *-i* : *niv̥ṛti* (*niv̥rtti*).
3. *-r* > *-u* : nil. *nis̥ṛṇai* (*ni-śr̥-ṇā*)—3 times.

(c) Finally : nil.

¹² For the treatment of *r* in IA and in Muāthī see Jules BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen* pp. 34-6 and *FLM* §§ 30, 31.

700-1200 EAp.

(a) *Initially*

1. *-r->-a-*: nil in *DKK*. *maṭṭī* (*mṛttikā*), *gahia* (*grhītvā*).
- 1A. *-r->-ā-*: *Kāṇha* (*Kṛṣṇa*) *ā-* in heavy syllables.
2. *r->-i-*: *diḍḍha* (*dr̥ḍha*), *diṭṭha* (*dr̥ṣṭha*), *kiaū* (*kṛta*), *śiūla* (*śṛgāla*).
- 2A. *-r->-ī-*: *ḍisaī* (*dr̥syāle*). *ī-* due to metrically long syllable.
3. *-r->-u-*: *pucchai* (*pr̥cchati*), *muṇāla* (*mṛnāla*),
- 3A. *-r->-ū-*: *pūhabī* (*pr̥thavī*).
4. *-r->-e-*: *dekkhai* (**dr̥kṣ-*), *cellu* (**crt-*) both in *DKs*.

(b) *Medially*

1. *-r->-a-*: Only 1 in *DKs*. 78. *akkaṭa* (*akṛta*) ("wonder").
2. *-r->-i-*: *aṛsa* (**adṛśa*), *sarisa* (*sadṛśa*), *amiya* (*amṛta*).

(c) *Finally*

1. *-r->-i-*: *māi* (*mūṭi*), Only 1 in *DKs*. 86.

1000

WAp.

(a) *Initially*

1. *r->-a-*: *taṇa* (*ṭṇa*), *ṇaṭṭai* (*ṇṛtyati*), *ghaṇa* (*ghṛta*), *kāya* (*kṛta*).
2. *r->-i-*: *hiyaya*, *huḍḍaa* (*hṛṣṭa*), *hiya* (*hṛta*), *vicca* (**iṭṭya-vatman*), *hiyina* (*kṛpana*) *ghiya* (*ghṛta*), *dikkha* (**dr̥kṣ- = dr̥k-*), sometimes *i->-e-* e.g., *√dekkha-* (**dr̥kṣ-dikkhantū*).
3. *r->-u-*: *pucchai* (*pr̥cchati*), *putṭha* (*pr̥stha*).
- 3A. *r->-ū-*: before a heavy syllable: *būḍḍhā* (*vṛddha-ka*).
4. *r->-i-*: *rikkha* (*ṛkṣa*), *iṇa* (*√i-ṇa*)

(b) *Medially*

1. *-r->-a-*: *sukaya* (*sukṛta*), *amaya* (*amṛta*), *ḥiṇa-hara*¹³ (**gr̥ha*).
2. *-r->-i-*: *amia* (*amṛta*), *nigghaṇa* (*nirghṛṇa*), *nivutti* (*nivṛtti*), *sukiya* (*sukṛta*) also *dukiya*, *erisa* (*īdr̥śa*).

(c) *Finally*

1. *-r->-a-*: *piya* (*pitṛ*), *bhūya* (*bhr̥tṛ*), *māya* (*mātṛ*).

13 Really <*ghara-PIE < **g^whoro-

- 1000 SAp. 2. -r>-: *māi* (*mātr*), *bhāi* (*bhātr*).
 (a) *Initially*
 1. r->a-: *paṭṭhi* (*paṭṭhe*), *saṃkhala* (*śrīkkhalā*)
taṇha (*ṭṣṇā*).
 2. r->i-: *tiṭṭhā* (**ṭṣṭā*), *hiyavaya* (*hṛdaya*).
 3. r->u-: *uḍḍu* (*ṭṭu*).
 4. r->ri-: *riṇa* (*ṛc*), *rijjhau* (*ṛdhyaṭu*), *riddhilla*
(ṛddhu-mat), *rikkha* (*ṛksa*).
 (b) *Medially*
 1. -r->-a-s *amantha* (*amṛṣṭa*)
 2. -r->-a-: *amāṇisa* (*amāṇṛsa*), *upphāa* (*upphāṣṭha*)
 3. -r->-ū-: *ūvuchana* (*ūpṛuchana*), *pauṭṭa* (*pṛuṭṭa*),
māṇṇa (*māṇṭha*).
 (c) *Finally*
 1. -r>-a : *varaitta* (**varayitṭa*=*varayitr*)
- 1100 WAp. (a) *Initially*
 1. r->a-: *maocchi* (*mṛgākṣī*).
 2. r->i-: *diṭṭha-* (*ḍṛṣṭa*), *bhiṇḍā* (*bhṛkṇṭikā*),
hiia (*hṛdaya*).
 3. r->e-: *√genha-√*grnh-*, *gheppaṇ* (**ghṛpyate*=
grbhyate or *grhṇātu*).
 (b) *Medially*
 1. -r->-a-: *isaṭṭha* (*iṣṣṭa*)
 2. -r->-i-: *varin-ū* (*saḍṣa-nṛm*), *sorucchu*
(saḍṣakṣu)
- 1100 SAp. (a) *Initially*
 1. r->a- *taṇha* (*ṭṣṇā*), *taṇuvaya* (*ṭṣṇa-vana*), *vaḍḍha*
(ṛḍḍha).
 2. r->i-: *titti* (*ṭṛṭṭi*), *dhittha* (*dhṛṣṭa*), *hiyaya*
(hṛdaya).
 3. r->u-: *puhai* (*pṛtharī*), *uḍḍhau* (*ṛddha-ka*),
mūya (*mṛū*), *mūṇa* (*mṛṇā*).
 1. r->ri-: *riddhi* (*ṛddhi*), *riṇa* (*ṛna*), *risinda*
(ṛsīṇḍa).
 (b) *Medially*
 1. -r->-a-: *daṇamalīya* (= *durṇṛdita*), *saṃghanā*
(saṃgrhīta).
 2. -r->-i-: *amiya* (*amṛta*), *niḡgghīṇa* (*nir-ghṛṇa*)
bhōiya (*bhāṇṭṛka*).

3. -r->-u- : nil.

(c) Finally

1. -r->-a : *dhīya* (**dhīr*=*duhīr*) cf. Pa. *dhītā*; *bhāya* (*bhrātṛ*), *māya* (*mātṛ*) also *māa*.

2. -r->-i : nil.

3. -r->-u : *piu* (*pitr*).

1200

WAp.

(a) Initially

1. r->a- : *rasahi* (**vr̥ṣabhi*), *malāi* (**mydati*), *tan̐ha* (*tr̥ṣṇā*).

2. r->i- : *hiya* (*hr̥da-ya*), *hiyaya*, *hiyaḍaya* (*hr̥ḍaya*) *tiṇasama* (*tr̥ṇa-*), *vinlāgi* (*vr̥nlāka*).

3. r->u- : *vuṭṭhi* (*vr̥ṣṭi*), *puṭṭhi* (*pr̥ṣṭha*), *pucchai* (*pr̥cchati*), *sunai*, *-sunahi* (√*śr̥ṇa-*).

4. r->ri- : *riu* (*rtu*), *riniya* (*r̥ṇika*), *riḍḍhi* (*r̥ḍḍhi*).

(b) Medially

1. -r->-a- : *amaya* (*am̐ta*), *pagāi* (*prakṛti*), *pahaṭṭhaṭ* (*prahr̥ṣṭa-*), *viyambhāi* (*vi-j̥r̥mbhate*).

2. -r->-i- : *tārisa* (*tādr̥ṣo*), *visarisa* (*visadr̥ṣa*), *samidḍha* (*scm̐r̥ddha*).

3. -r->-u- : *parahuya* (*parabhṛta*), *pāusa* (*pr̥āv̐ṛsa*).

(c) Finally :

1. -r->-a- : *mōya* (*mātṛ*).

2. -r->-u : *piu* (*pitr*).

§16B.

TREATMENT OF OIA r

Cent.
A.D.

WAp.

SAp. EAp.

500 ?

(a) Initially:

r->a-

>i-

>u-

(b) Medially :

-r->-i-

>u-

(c) Finally : nil.

600-1000

(a) Initially :

r->a-

> i- : i- (In metrically heavy syllables)
 > u- ū- (Metrically long syllable).

(b) Medially:

-r > -i-
 > -u-

(c) Finally nil.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
700-1200		(a) Initially: r > a in heavy syllables > i- > i- (In metrically long syllables, > -u-, ū- -do.-	
Cent A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.

(a) Initially:

r > e-

(b) Medially:

-r > -a-

> -i-

(c) Finally

-r > -i

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp
1000	(a) Initially : r- > a- > -i- sometimes e- > u- > ū- before a heavy syllable. > ri- (b) Medially : -r- > -a > -i-	(a) Initially: r- > a- > -i- > u- > ri- (b) Medially: -r- > -a- > -i- > -u-	

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
	(c) Finally -r>-a >-i	(c) Finally : -r>-a	
1100	(a) Initially: r->a- >i- >e-	(a) Initially : r->a- >i- >-i- (Labial influence) >ri-	
Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp
1100	(b) Medially : -r>-a- >-i-	(b) Medially : -r>-a- >-i-	
	(c) Finally :	(c) Finally : -r>-a >-u	
1200	(a) Initially: r->a- >i- >u- >ri-		
	(b) Medially: r->-a- >i- >-ū-		
	(c) Finally -r>-e >-u		

§17. Although Pk. grammarians are almost unanimous in asserting the irregularities of vowel changes in Ap.,¹⁴ we find that they generally follow the main outline of changes in literary Pkts. It is, however, interesting to observe the beginning of NIA tendencies during our period.

¹⁴ For example *Pu.* 17.17 *ajjhalau ca bahulam* "There is no hard and fast rule regarding the changes of vowels and consonants in Ap." Vide also *Pu.* 17.9. It is only *Pu.* which mentions the irregularities of consonant changes. Others refer to vowel changes only. Thus we find in *Hc.* 8.4.329 *svarāpām śarāḥ prāyo'pabhramse* cf. *Tr.* 3.3.1 followed by *Sh.* and *Ld.* See *Mk.* 17.9 as well.

The following are generally regarded as the characteristics of NIA vowel-changes :

- (1) General reduction and loss of final vowels inherited from MIA, except in very few cases, where traces of the final vowels are seen.
- (2) The preservation of the penultimate vowel in quantity.
- (3) Loss of pre-penultimate vowels except in the initial syllables, first through reduction of all vowels to the neutral vowel -a- which is later glided over in current pronunciation.
- (4) Preservation in general of the quality of the initial syllables inherited from MIA.
- (5) Reduction (except in Panjabi) of the double consonants inherited from MIA to single consonants with compensatory lengthening of the vowel in the initial syllable (except in Sindhi where the original OIA quantity of the vowel is preserved).¹⁵

The treatment of OIA vowels in different positions during the Ap. period will show that Ap. is the real background of most NIA as NIA, languages, although some tendencies in Ap. are as old as OIA, Pāli, or literary Pkts.

FINAL VOWELS

§18. There seems to be a tendency in OIA to pronounce the final syllable weakly, as it was probably unaccented. Thus Vedic *yatrā* and *tatrā* became *yatra* and *tatra* in classical Sk. The consonant endings were lost in MIA.¹⁶ In Aśokan edicts of the East, -ā ending words were written as -a ending ones. In spite of the conservatism of spelling which Bloch attributes to the longer pronunciation of these shortened vowels as compared with the originally OIA short vowels, we see some forms in literary Pkts. which must be traced to this tendency. e.g., *kadua gadua* in Śaur., shortening of nasalized long vowels in the final position the change of *e* and *o* to *i* and *u* in Dutreuil de Rhins fragments.¹⁷

That this tendency persisted down to the NIA period is clear from almost all NIA languages except in Bihari, Kāshmirī Sindhi and the

¹⁵ S. M. KATRE, *Prākṛit Languages and their Contribution to Indian Culture*, Bharatiya, Vidya Studies, No. 3, 1945, p. 75.

¹⁶ PISCHEL, *op. cit.*, § 339.

¹⁷ BLOCH, *FLM* §37. He refers to the relevant sections from PISCHEL's *Grammatik* therein.

Southern dialects of Koṅkaṇi.¹⁸ We may safely assume the existence of this tendency in the Ap. period.

The following are the instances of this tendency in our period.

- (1) -a, -aam dropped out or shortened. The total loss of final syllables is included under this. (See 2b below).

WAp. *khettū* < *kṣetrita*, *ujjhā* < *upādhyāya*, *sayāḍi*, *sagāḍiya* < *śakāṭikā* 'a fire-pan,' *eu* or *iu* < *evam*, *paccala* < **pratyalam* though ALSDORF following Dn. 6.69 takes it as *samartha* (See Glossar to Āp.)

SAP. *dhruu* < *dhruvam*, *saṁica* < *saṁicaya*.

EAp. *indi*, *īdi* < *indhiya*, *e* < Pk. *eam* = *etad*, (in WAp. VK. 22- also), *aṇabara*, *aṇabarāa* < *anavarata*, *cellū* < **celluka* or *cella* < √ *cṛt*- cf. Low Sk. *ceṭaka*, *kaha* < *katham*.

Ins. sg. -*em* < -*ena* may be regarded as an instance of phonetic weakness of the termination, if the connexion between -*em* < -*ena* is correct as BLOCH¹⁹ and TURNER²⁰ suppose it. This desinence is common to WSEAp.

- (2) Shortening of OIA -*ā*, -*ām*, -*āḥ*, -*āni* to -*a* or its loss.

- (a) Examples of -*ā* of Fem nouns reduced to -*a*;

WAp. *pīa* < *prīyā*, *parāya* < *parakīyā*, *saṁjha* < *sandhyā*

SAP. *bhukkha* < *bubhukṣā*, *pāvajja* < *pavrajyā*, *Aṇamga--leha* < *°lekhā*.

EAp. *abejja* < *avidyā*, < *dakkhiṇa* < *dakṣiṇā*. We have a greater number of *tss.* and *semi-tss.* in EAp. than in WSAp.

- (b) Loss of final syllable containing -*ā*. (See §19.1 above e.g. WAp. *āṇi* < *āṇiā* < *āṇilā*, *ceya* < *ceyaṇā* < *cetanā*, also *cena* in Bhk. 330.4.

EAp. nil in DKK. There are only two such examples in DKs. viz. *maṭṭi* < *maṭṭiā* < *maṭṭikā*, *picchi* < *picchiā* < *picchikā*. For the rest see Ap. Morphology.

- (3) OIA -*ī*, -*in*, -*iṇi* > Ap. -*i* or -*a* :

18 S. M. KATRE, *Form Koṅk.* §§ 17 ff. BLOCH, *FLM* § 37 last para.

19 BLOCH *FLM* § 193 (1).

20 TURNER, "Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan" (*JRAS* 1927, pp. 227-30).

Out of these $-in > -i$ and $-ĩ > -i$ need not be illustrated as they are normal Prakritisms. In Ap. morphology we do not have Acc. sg. $-im > Ap. -i$, but the use of the stem itself for the direct case without any termination. Instances like *ekkai* < *ekākini*, *pahua*, < *prabhṛti* are very rare. The last is an example of vowel-discolouration.

- (4) OIA, $-ũ$, $-ũm > Ap. -u, -a$:

As noted above reduction of $ũ > -u$ and $-ũm > -u$, in Ap. needs no illustrations. Forms e.g., *dhaṇa* < *dhanus*, *Vijja* (-*ppaha*) < *Vidyut-prabha* are rare. They are probably due to the discolouration of weakly pronounced $-u$. The discolouration of vowels comes more in vogue in NIA.

- (5) OIA $-e > Ap. -i$:

amhi < **asme*, *tumhi* < **tuṣme* and the reduction of OIA inflectional $-e$ to $-i$ are found all in Ap. works. So also Interjections e.g., *ari* < *are*, *arari* < *arere*, *hali* < *hale*. In *āhara* < *ēhi re*, *jāha ra* < *yāhi re* (Kc. 69), there is a further reduction of $-i > -a$ as noted above.

§19. TREATMENT OF FINAL -a.

Following are the different treatments of OIA $-a$ in Ap. in this position :

- (1) OIA $-a > Ap. -i$:

WAp. *parim* (v. l. *pari*) < *param*, *kiri* < *kira* or *kūla*; such instances are, however, rare.

SAP. *saiṁ* < *svayam*, *avasiṁ* < *avaśyam*. Here $-a > -i$ is due to the semi-vowel $-y$. Similarly in EAp. (DKS.) *māi* < MIA *māyā* < *mātā*, *māi* < OIA *māyā*.

- (2) OIA $-a > Ap. -u$:

It is the characteristic of this period that $-u$ of Nom. sg. is applied to indeclinables also, in all the regional Aps.

e.g., WAp. *sahu* < *saha*, *sahū* in Jdc. 32.1, Kp. S. 53.4 cf. He 8.4.419 (all in WAp.), *etthu* < *iṭṭha* = *atra*, *ketthu* = *kutra* *ajju* < *adya*, *ciru* < *ciram*.

- (3) OIA $-a > Ap. -e$:

All from SAP. (See §19.1 above).

sae < *svayam*, *avaseṁ* < *avaśyam* etc. In this the original forms seem to have a pleonastic $-ka$. Thus *avaśyakam* > *avassayam* > **avasayam* > *avaseṁ* is the probable history of this form.

PENULTIMATE VOWELS

§20. Generally vowels are preserved in the penultimate position, though there may be some change of quantity.

(1) Ap. -a- < OIA -a- :

goro-ana < goro-cana, khavanau < kṣapaṇakah, payaḍaṇa < prakataṇa, kaccāsaṇa < (kacca = apakva) -aṣana, avarupparu < parasparam, goraḍi < *gaurati = gauri, andhaāra < andhakāra. SAp.: korava < kaurava, Johuyau < Yaudheyakah, matthaya < mastaka, niyaṃsaṇa < nivasana,²¹ bhuraṃgama < bhujaṃgama. EAp.: huabaha < hutavaha, pokkhara < puṣkara, bisama < viṣama, hiyaya < hṛdaya.

Quantitative changes are either due to the following consonant cluster or sporadic. e.g. :

WAp: minka < mṛgāṇka, rahumga < rathāṅga, pāhaṇa < pāṣāṇa.

SAp.: bambha-cāra < brahmacarya, sokkha-khāṇi < saukhya-khani.

(ii) Ap. -i- < OIA -i- :

WAp.: lalya < lalita, vivujjiu < vivarjitah, orāliya < avaraṭita, puṇḍariya < puṇḍarīka, vāmiya > *vāmita = vāmikṛta, ummattia < unmattikā, kavvāliya < *kapāṭika 'a porter.' SAp. natthiya < nastita, PWB as quoted in Glossar to Hv. '*caught by the nose,' gloss—nathita, pahila < *prathila, bahiṇie < bhaginyā.

EAp. guhira < gabhīra, joṇi < yoginī, thabira < sthavira.

(iii) Ap. -u- < OIA -u- :

WAp: samudda < samudra, lhasuna < lasuṇi, sarūva < svarūpa, bhiuḍi < bhīkuṭi, cf. bhiuḍiā < bhīkuṭikū (Mt. 20), samuha < samukha, ūsuva < utsuka, kappūra < karpūra.

SAp. pharusa < parusa, cf. Hc. 8.1.232, kappūra < karpūra, sammukham < sam-mukham, manua > manuja

EAp.: kulūsa < kaluṣa, niṇa < nipuṇa, jamuṇā < yamunā.

§21. Occasionally with the loss of occlusion of the intervocalic consonant in the final syllable. the penultimate and final vowels come together and coalesce. This is chiefly found in EAp. e.g.,

EAp. tāla < tālaa < tālaka, maṭṭi < *maṭṭiā < mṛttikā, muṇḍi < muṇḍia < muṇḍita, pāṇi < pāṇia < pāṇiya (contrast pāṇia, pāṇiya in Sdd 89 and 18), indi, ṛdi < indiya < indriya.

21 Or more probably < *m-taṃsanana-

Absolutive term. *-i* < *-ia*. In *DKS.* 93 *marā* < *marāi* < **marati*.

This was less in vogue in SWAp. It is totally absent in *Vk.* and *Mt.* A few examples from the 10th cent. A.D. are found here and there. Thus we find :

WAp. *khettī* < *khettīā* < *kṣetritā* 'agriculture.'

gandhoa < *gandhodaka*, *parāi* < *parakīyā*, *poṭṭali* < *poṭṭalika* (but *poṭṭaliya* elsewhere). These are the only 4 forms in the 224 *dohas* of *Sdd.* in the 222 *dohas* of *Pd.* there are only 2 or 3 such examples viz. *caurāsī* < *caturāśīti*, *puttha* and *pothā* < *pustaka*. It is noteworthy that *DKS.*, *Sdd.*, *Pd.* belong to the same century wherein we find this regional difference.

Though all the occurrences of such forms in SAP. were not calculated due to the vast extent of the works of Puṣpadanta, such examples in SAP. of the 10th cent. A.D. are not frequent although examples like *bhaddāri* < *bhaṭṭārikā* show that this was not totally absent in SAP.

This seems to be a well established tendency in NIA.²² Although Ap. literature attests to its existence from the 10th cent. A.D., its beginning may be still earlier.²³

§22. There are some cases where the penultimate vowels undergo qualitative change, perhaps due to the absence of accent or to the principle of assimilation and dissimilation, e.g.

WAp. *khayara* < *khadira*, *ukkhīṇa* < *ut-* / *khan* < according to, JACOBI,²⁴ but traced to *-kṣināti* by KATRE in his *Wilson Philological Lectures*. *sāhika* < *sādhaka* as equated by H.L. JAIN in the translation (*Pd.* p. 37) and glossary to *Pd.* p. 99. The alternative equation *sahāyaka* or rather **sāhyaka* is better. The line in question runs as follows: *visayā sevahi jīva tuhum dukkhaham sāhika* (v. 1. *sāheka*) *ena* "Oh Jīva, you enjoy objects of sensual pleasure, but this leads to misery."

SAP. *majjhiva* < *madhyama*, cf. *majjhima* also, *geruya* < *gairika*, *puṇḍucchu* < *puṇḍra-ikṣu*. As a matter of fact it is an instance of initial *i* > *u*-, a change found in literary Pkts. also.²⁵

22 BLOCH, *La Langue Marathe* § 41 ; KATRE, op. cit., § 23.

23 For similar examples in other MIA dialects see FISCHER *Grammatik* § 150.

24 Glossar to *BHK.* p. 132.

25 FISCHER, *Grammatik* § 117.

EAp. *ultima* < *uttama* cf. *Hc.* 8.1.46 and PISCHEL, *Gram.* §101; *kuccha* in *DRK* 10, though equated with *kiñcit* by M. SHAHIDULLA (*Les Chants Mystiques Vocabulaire*, p. 100), should better be traced to *kaścit*.

In EAp. the following changes are worth noting: *ubesa* < *upadeśa*. The intermediate stages—*ubaesa*, *uaesa*—as well as *uesa* < *upadeśa* are also found therein. *ekkāra* < **ekkāra* < *ekākāra*, *andhāra* < *andha-āra* < *andhakāra*; *datta* < **daitta* < *daitya* is semi-*ts*, but the *thh.* as *daicca* is in WSAp. *pariṭṭhabo* < *pari-ṭṭhāvio* < *pārīsthāpitah*.

These examples are enough to show that the penultimate syllable was definitely unaccented in EAp. As this tendency is seen in *DRK*, it may be assumed that 700 A.D., is the earliest record of this so far as Ap. literature is concerned. It may be earlier still as we find similar instances in literary Pkts.²⁶

PRE-PENULTIMATE VOWELS

§23. VOWELS IN INITIAL SYLLABLES

Normally Ap. preserves vowels in the initial syllable irrespective of its nature, probably due to accent, though instances of accentless vowels resulting in (i) aphaeresis, (ii) change of quantity and sometimes (iii) change in quality are not wanting. Quantitative change further shows (a) lengthening of short vowels in closed syllables and (b) *vice versa* sporadically.

From the treatment of vowels in initial syllables in NIA,²⁷ it appears that most of the phonetic tendencies in NIA go back to Ap. period and generally to their respective parent-regional group.

As these changes are found all over Aryan India from very old times, they are arranged alphabetically rather than chrono-regionally.

§24. Ap. *a*- < OIA *a*- :

WAp. *avicalu* < *avīcālyah*, *kavaddiya* < *kapardikā*, *khapparau* < **skarparakah*, *gahira* < *gabhīra*, *ghaḍa* < *ghaṭā*, *candaṇaim* < *candanena*, *chaḍa* < *chaṭā*, *jahana* < *jaghana*, *jhaya* < *dhvaja*, *ṭhaviya* < **sthapita*, *ḍara* < *dara*, *ḍhakka* < *ḍhakkā*, *naha* < *nabhas*, *talāu* < *taḍāgah*, *thaṇa* < *stana*, *dasa* < *daśan*, *dhavalanaham* < *dhalavayitum*, *naḍa* < *naṭa*, *pavāna* < *pramāna*,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, §§ 148-50.

²⁷ For Bengali, see S. K. CHATTERJI, *ODB* §§ 155-166 (§ 143 as well); for Marathi vide BLOCH, *FLM* §§ 43-49 where North-Indian languages are also noted, for Konkani, KATRE *Form. Konk.* §§ 25-29; for a synthetic review of the whole field, see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 43-5.

phaṇivai < phanipati, bahutta < bahutva, bhaḍa < bhata,
mahisa < mahisa, rayaham < rajasām, lahu < laghu, vayanu
< vacanam, sau < samam, hattha < hasta

SAP Asoya < 1.oka, karodī < Pk karodīya cf M karatī
or karotī, khala (ts), khagga < khaḍga, √gavesa < √gavesaya,
ghada < ghata, caukka < catuske, chaḍayana < saḍayana,
jaḍa < jatita, jhasa-cinda < jhasa-ciṇṇa, dasiya < *daśita =
dasita, dhakkā (ts), navai < namati, tarucchu < taraksu, tham-
bhanī < stambhanī, Dasārāha < Dasārha, dhavala 'a bull,'
natthiya < nastita, pahilau < *prathila-kah phada < phatā, =
phanā, balāla < bala-vat, Bharahesara < *Bharatheśvara,
manuva < manuṣya, Rahu < Raghu, lahuyārāya < *laghuka-
tara-ka = laghutara, iatta < vartman, samāriya < samāritā,
Hanuva < Hanumat

EAp. ahikkala < avikala, kalūsa < kalusa, khavada < √khara-ta,
gabba < garva, cauttthaa < catustaya, tabbē < *tad-vakam =
tadā, but tavve in Vk 22, dahābia- causal PP of √dah,
naggala < nagna-ta, pabina < pravīṇa, pharanta < spharanti,
bhaabā < Pk bhaavam < bhagavan, majjhye < madhe, rahia
< raksita, sahāba < svabhāva, hattha < hasta

§ 25 Ap ā- < OIA ā

WAp āhāsanta < ābhāsamāna, kānana < kānana, khāya < *khāta
= khādita, gāma < grāma, ghāya < ghāta, cāynga < cātaka,
chāya < chāya, jara < jāta, jhāna < dhyāna, tālu < tālayati,
thāna < sthāna, dāha < dāha, dhālai- caus of √dhala,
nāsia < nāśita, tālanti < tūdayanti, dālidau < dāridryakam,
dhāvira < √dhāv-, nādāya < nāṭaka, pāuriya < prāvṛta, phā-
diya < sphātita, bālī < bala, bhāvamī < bhāmayāmi, mārisa <
mādrsa, rāya-ha < rājāha, lālasa (ts), vāvāra < vyāpāra,
sāmala < śyāmala, hāriya < ta

SAP ālumkhiya < āruksita, kāsāya-pada < kāsāya-pata, √khā
< √khād-, gāma < grāma, ghāna < ghrāna, cāru < cārta,
chāhi < chāvā, jāvāya < jāmāta, jhāna < dhyāna, thāu = <
*sthāpa? = sthāna, dainu < dākinyah, nāmāla < nāmavati
tāva < tāpa, thāla < sthālī, dārida < dāridrya, dhāha < dhāhā
'expression of sorrow,' onomatopoeitic, Dhāidīva < Dhātā-
kidūpa, pādīhera < prādhīrja, phāra < sphāra, bāyara < bāda-
ra, bhāvinī < bhāminī, mānikka < mānikya, rānaa < rājan, lāy-
anna < lāvanya, vāvana < vāmana, sāmīni < svāmīni, hālīni <
hālīnī,

EAp. *ābāi* < **āpāi* < **āpati* though usually equated with *āyāti*²⁸, *thāba* < *sthāman*, *tālā* < *tālaka*, *nāhi* < *nāsti*, *bhābiāt* < *bhāvayate* and *bhābāi* < *bhāvayati*, *māi* < *mātar*, *rāba* < *rāva*, *sāmaggi* < *sāmagrī*

§26. Initial *a-* is lengthened to *ā-* generally in heavy syllables, and sporadically in open syllables. Conversely we find *ā-* shortened to *a-* (sometimes with the doubling of the next consonant, even though it be simple in OIA.) Such examples are sometimes found in other MIA dialects.

(A) Ap. *ā-* < OIA *a-* :

(i) In heavy syllables :

WAp. *tāsu* < *tassu* < *tasya*, *kāsu* < *kassu* < *kasya* and similar gen. sg., *kāyavva* < *kartavya*, *ṇāsai* < *naśyati*, also *ṇāsira* < *naśya-ira*, *dāhiṇiya* < *dakṣiṇiya*, also *dāhiṇa* < *dakṣiṇa*, *dāḍhā* < *damṣṭrā*, *khāla* < *khalla*.

SAP. *Āsōya* < *Āśvayuja* (?) 'pertaining to the month of Āśvina,' *gāva* < *ganva*, *tāyatiṇsa* < *trayastrimśa*, but most probably from **trā-trimśa* on the analogy of *dvātrimśa* "thirty two," *dāhiṇa* < *dakṣiṇa*, *phāsa* < *sparśa*.

EAp. *ābhāsa* < *abhyāsa*, *bājīna* < *vajrin*, *lābhaṭ* < *labhyate*, *kāsu* < *kasya*, *sāndhi* < *sandhi*.

(ii) In open syllables :

WAp. *gāla* < *gala*, *pāroha* < *praroḥa*, *pāyaḍa* < *prakaṭa*, *bāhira* < *bahiḥ*, also *bāhirau*, *bāhiri*, *bāhim*, cf. *bāhera* in *DKK.* 2 (EAp.).

SAP. *kāliṅga* < *kaliṅga*, *cāuṭṭha* < *caturtha*, *pāyaḍa* < *prakaṭa* cf. *Hc.* 8.1.44, *sāyatta* < *sapatnī* *pāikka* < *padātika* or *pādika* as equated by P. L. VAIDYA in glossary to *JC* p. 142? Some trace it to Old Persian.

EAp. *ṇāhi* or *nāhui* < *nahi*, *ālē* < *alam*.

(B) Ap. *a-* < OIA *ā-* :

(i) With the doubling of the next consonant even though simple : WAp. *khaddhaṭ* < *khādati* in SAP. (*Nc.* 7.13.5) used figuratively for *hata*. cf. *Dn.* 2.67,

²⁸ TURNER *Nepali Dictionary*, p. 30. See under *ānu* where he compares the semantic cognate Eng. get=arrive. See also FISCHER, op. cit., § 264 for *āvat*=*āvāti*.

EAp. *natha* < *nātha*.

- (ii) When the following syllable is simple.

WAp. *ahāṇa* < *ābhānaka*, *palu* < *pālita*.

SAp. *chaṇṇa* < *chādita*,

EAp. *aṇṇa* < *ācārya*, *amanā* < *āgamana*, *pharāa* < *sphārila*, *Banāraṣi* < *Vārāṇasī* This is more frequent in EAp.

- (iii) When the following syllable is a consonant cluster

WAp. *amva* < *āmra*, *gatta* < *gātra*, *pabbhāra* < *prāgbhāra*,²⁹
vajjiya < **vādyita* = *vādita*

SAp. *athāna* < *āsthāna*, *kamci* < *kāñci*, *gatta* < *gātra*, *Jambāvaṭi* < *Jāmbavatī*, *nātta* < *nāṭya* or **nṛta*?, *Tamralitti* < *Tāmrāṭṭi*,
thatti < **sthā-p-ti* in the sense of *sthati*³⁰ *patthiya* < *prāthita*,
bhajja < *bhāryā*, *mamjara* < *mārjāra*, *rakkhasa* < *rāksasa*, *laṃgūla*
< *lāṅgūla*, *vaggha* < *vyāghra*, *sakkhīyara* < *sāksīcara*

EAp. *adda* < *ārdra*, *appā*, *appāna* < *āṭman* (in WSAp as well),
kajja < *kārya*, *natti* < *nāṣṭi*, *bakkhāna* < *vyākhyāna* (both a sub-
stantive and a verb), *bamhana* < *brāhmaṇa*, *bhanti* < *bhrānti*, *magga*
< *mārga*, *sattiha* < *sāstra*

As will be seen from above Ap. *a*- < OIA *ā*- is mainly found when *ā*- in OIA is followed by a conjunct consonant

§27. Generally *i*- and *-u*- (both in light and heavy syllables) are preserved in their initial position. Their elongation is due to the following consonant cluster

(A) Initial *i*- :

- (1) Ap. *i*- < OIA *i*- :

WAp. *pia* < *pryā*, *ihuyana* < *tribhuvana*, *Jina-vara* < *Jina-vara*,
piyaulliya < *pryā-ullī-ka* (both pleonastic) *cittar* < *usthati*,
kīlā < *kṛṣṭā*, *kittiyu* < *kṛiyat*.

SAp. *vijigicchā* < *vīcīkṣā*, *mhasana* < *mgharsana* = *nikasana*,³¹
√ihippa < *√stip-ya-*, *Vitthu* < *Vistu* cf. *Bitthu* in DKS 52,
contrast *Hc.* 1.85

²⁹ In *Kp.* J 102.5 this word means "a collection" as the context "*bhūsanāna pabbhāru bhāru va*" shows. In *Dn.* 4.66 it is a synonym for a collection "*sanghata*".

³⁰ P. L. VAIDYA takes it as *dehi* for *sthati*, see Glossary to *JC* p. 132. It is, however, possible to explain it as a noun ending in *-ti* from the causal base of *√sthā*.

³¹ Cf. PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 206.

EAp. *biḍambiya* < *viḍambita*, *biphāria* < *visphāritam*, *dība* < *dīpa*
dīha < *dīrgha*.

- (ii) Ap. *i* < OIA *i* + conjunct consonant :

WAp. *jihādī*, *jihāḍiya*, *jīha* < *jihvā*-, *nīrukḥa* < *nir-***rukṣa*
 (= *vykṣa*), *vīsanta* < *viśrānta*, *Sihapura* < *Siṃhapura*.

SAP. *Sihaura* < *Siṃha-pura*, *visā-suhiyā* = *viśvāsam sukhām*
karottī 'ti 'N. of a *vidyā*' (Nc. 6·6·23), *jīha-i* < *jihvayā*, *vīsamiya*
 < *vi-śramita*.

EAp. *disai* < *dīśyate*. Only one form repeated thrice.

- (iii) Sporadic changes of OIA *i* > Ap. *i* - (a) with or (b) without
 the gemination of the following consonant, though it be a
 simple one in OIA.

- (a) With the doubling of the next simple consonant :

WAp. *niccu* < *nīca*, *ṭikkaim* < *ṭikayā*, *khilla-hi* < *krīḍanti*.

SAP. *nitta* < *nīta*, *ṇicca* < *nīca*, *nitti*, < *nīti*.

EAp. *tiṇṇa* < *trīṇi*. Only one form.

- (b) WAp. *jīya* < *jīva*, *ciṇṇa* < *cīrṇa*

SAP. *tiṭṭha* < *tīrtha*,

EAp. nil.

- (B) (i) Ap. *ū* < OIA *ū* :

WAp. *sulalia* < *sulalita*, *uppari* < *u-pari*, *uttiḍaa* = *uttarīya* (Sdd 151)

ullāva < *ullāpa*, *luddha* < *ludḍha*, *nūṇa* < *nūnam*, *pūyaṇa* < *pūjana*.

SAP. *duwa* < *druma*, *duhikka* < *durbhikṣa*, *jujha* < Pk. *jujjha*
 < *yuddha*, *kumbhi-he* < *kumbhinaḥ*.

EAp. *ubaesa*, *uaesa*, *uesa* < *upadeśa*, *ūha* < *ūrdhva*, *ultima* < *uttama*.

- (ii) Ap. *ū* < OIA *u* + consonant cluster :

WAp. *ūsāra* < **utsāra*, *ūsava* < *utsava*-,

SAP. *Dūsāsana* < *Duḥśāsana*, *ūvaḍiya* < *utpatita*, *ūsasei* < *ut-śvas*.

EAp. *ūala* < *utpala* contrast Hc. 8·2·77.

- (iii) Ap. *u* < OIA *ū* :

WSAP. *puva* < *pūrva*, *ubham*, *uddha* < *ūrdhva*, *ubbhubbha*
 < *ūrdhva-ūrdhva*, *kuppara* < *kūrpara*, *suṇṇa* < *sūnya*, also in EAp.

EAp. *juttha* < *yūtha* but *jūha* in Mah., Amg. JM. (PISCHEL-
 Gram. §§ 188, 221).

§28. In Ap. initial *e*- and *o*- in dissyllabic words are long: e.g.,
ṭka (ts), *mēha* < *megha*, *ōha* < *ogha*, *jōa* < *yoga*.

Initial *e-* and *o-* are generally short before consonant clusters, and are weakly pronounced as terminal sounds giving *-i* and *-u* as Loc. and Nom. sg. Ap. *e-* and *o-* sometimes result from stressed *i-* and *u-* in OIA.

(i) Ap. *e-*, *i-* < OIA *e-* :

WAp. $\sqrt{\text{pek}}kha$ or $\sqrt{\text{pik}}kha$ < $\sqrt{\text{prek}}ṣ$, ciṭṭha < ceṣṭā , tilla < taila , ṭiḥa < lekḥā ,

SAp. cillaṇa-devi < Celanā-devī , chitta < kṣetra , tilloya < *trailoka ,
EAp. khetta < kṣetra .

(ii) Ap. *e-* < OIA *i-* :

WAp. kheḍḍa < krīḍā , cf. Hc. 8.4.168. etthu < iṭṭhā cf. PISCHEL Gram. § 107, erisa < iḍṣa . SAp. celī < cīṭī , pehuṇaya < *picchanaka , bekkhura < dvi-khura .

EAp. ettha , etthu < iṭṭhā .

(iii) Ap. *o-* < OIA *u-* :

WAp. poṭṭhaya < pustaka , also poṭṭhā , mokaḷiya < *mukna- , koḍi < MIA kudda (*deṣi*), thora < sthavira but JACOBI equates it with sthūla (Glossar to Sc. p. 124). In Sc. we have no cases of Ap. *o-* < OIA *u-*. The few stray forms e.g., hōya < bhūta (Sc. 784.6) are really $\sqrt{\text{ho}}$ < bhō < bhū + pp. term. *-ya* < *-ta*.

SAp. toṇḍa < tūṇḍa cf. Hc. 8.1.116, tōṇira < tūṇira , gomēcha , gumēcha < guccha , konti < kuntī , tolā < tulā . The number of such cases is next to that of the retention of *u-*.

EAp. sojja < śudhi , also sojjhuka , $\sqrt{\text{soj}}jha$.

Examples of reduction of OIA *ō-* to Ap. *u-*, before conjunct consonants (e.g., mukḥa < mōkṣa , cukḥa < cōkṣa) are found in common with other MIA dialects.³²

§ 29. The initial vowel and syllable were sometimes lost in OIA,³³ Pali,³⁴ and Prakrits,³⁵ as they were not stressed. Their number is on the increase as we proceed from OIA to Pkts. Cases of such aphaeresis and syncope are found in Ap. of all regions, testifying thereby to the absence of stress on the initial syllables in these cases.

WAp. vahelia < avahēḍita , bhintara < abhyantara .

WSAp. raṇṇa < arāṇya , pi , vi < api cf. *bi* in EAp. va < iva , pakkhara

32 PISCHEL op. cit., § 84.

33 J. WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. Gram.* I. § 53.

34 Cf. W. GEIGER, *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* § 20.

35 PISCHEL, op. cit., §§ 141-45.

<upaskara, bhukkiya < bubhukṣita, ḍhillaa < ṣithilaka,
 WSEAp. haṭ < ahakam,
 SEAp. baṭṭha < upaviṣṭa,
 SAp. mayāsi < amṛtāśī, rahaṭṭa < araghaṭṭa, valagga < avalagna,
 viṭṭāla < apavitra-la, nesara < dinēśvara.

As the treatment of vowels in non-initial position is much the same as in other Pkts., we may pass on to the treatment of vowels in contact.

VOWELS IN CONTACT

§30. Due to slackness in articulating OIA intervocalic stops, the unaspirated stops, *k, g, c, j, t, d, p*, became spirantised, and finally lost their occlusion in MIA. The *udvṛtta*-vowels came in contact and resulted into :

- (1) Retention of the hiatus.
- (2) Preservation of the individuality of the vowels by insertion of *-y-*, *-v-*, *-b-*, *-h-* and sometimes *-r-* as 'hiatus-tilgers.'³⁶
- (3) Contraction into a single vowels.

Ap. shares (1) and (2) in common with other MIA dialects. Literary Ap. does not attest to diphthongisation of *udvṛtta* vowels, although (3) tends to show the possibility of its existence in spoken Ap. As the contraction of such vowels into a single one is interesting from the point of NIA, it is briefly noted here. As these are general developments in Ap., the venue is sometimes not indicated before some WSAp or WSEAp. forms.

CONTRACTION OF VOWELS

§31. The following are the results of vowel-contraction when the first vowels is *ā* :

- (1) $a + i > e$:

³⁶ Insertion of such vocalic glides is an old phenomenon. For such glides in Pali see GEIGER, *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* § 36, in AMG. FISCHER, op. cit., § 187; for a historical discussion see S. K. CHATTERJI, *ODB* § 170.

Out of the above-mentioned *śrutis*, *-ba-śruti* is the same as *-va-śruti*, and is found in EAp. only e.g., *ubesa* (uddesa), *ubāharana* (udāharana). *-ha-śruti* is rare e.g., *catura* < *cakura*, *chāhi* < *chāyā*, and perhaps *stina* (*stana*) and EAp. *gāha* < **gāyita* = *gita*. *-ra-* glide is rarer still e.g., *pariṭṭhiya* < *prati-ṣṭhiṭa*, *marāṭṭa* < *mada-iva* < **mṛd*?

cha < *aīsa* < **ā-dṛśa*, similarly *jeha* < *jaīsa* < *yādṛśa*, *teha* < *taīsa* < *tādṛśa* and other pronominal adjectives. *suhellī* < *sukha-kelī* in *NG* 1.15.2. Is -ellī pleonastic, as the word means 'sukha' only, in *Dn.* 8.36?

The problematic forms in *NIA* e.g., *M. āṣī*, *Guj. aisi* 'eighty', *M. baṣṇē* 'to sit' do not appear in this stage. We have for them *asī* < *asii* < *aṣīti*, *baṭṭha* < *upaviṣṭa*.

(2) *a + u* > *o*, sometimes reduced to *u* :

WSAp. mora, moraa, morullaa < *mayūra*, *coṭṭhī* < *caturthī*, *coddaha* < *caturdaśa*, *bholau* < *bahulaka*, *poma* < **paduma* = *padma*, *Pomāvatī* < **Padumāvati*.

SAp. āhuta < *ardha* - **tūrtha*.

(3) *ā + ā* :

(i) *ā + a* > *ā* :

OIA -āga : *āya* < *āgata*, *EAp. āmana* < *āgamana*

-āja : *rāula* < *rāja-kula*, *bhāṇa* < *bhājana*, but *WAp. rei* < *rājate* has -e- due to -ya- < -ja.

OIA -āda : *khāi* < *khādati*, *khāṇa* < *khādana*.

WAp. chāṇa < *chādana*, *√chāya* < *√chāday*

OIA -āya : *palāṇa* < *palāyana*, *SAp. pacchittu* < *prāyaścitta*; *ā* is contracted to *a* due to the next heavy syllable.

EAp. shows the contraction of *OIA -āya* to *a*, e.g., *rasaṇa* < *rasāyana* *atthamaṇa* < *asta-māyana* (?) It is traceable to simple *astamāna*.

WSAp. kera < *kārya*, *pāṭi-hera* < *prāti-hārya* show an -e- development.

OIA -āva > *ā* or *o* due to the labial element -v- : *talāra* < *talavāra*³⁷ *salona* < *salāvanya*, *ōli* < *āvati*.

(ii) *-a + -ā* > *ā* :

OIA -akā : *SAp. soṇṇāra* < *suvaṇṇakāra*.

WAp. piyāri < *priyakāri*.

WSEAp. andhāra < *andhakāra*, *sāhāraa* < *sahakāra*

³⁷ PISCHEL, op. cit., § 167; P. L. VAIDYA equates it with *talavara* (Glossary to *JC.* p. 130) in which case it will be an unusual development for *OIA -ava-* > *Ap. -o-* is the general rule. See §31 (iv) b. below.

EAp. *ūāra* < *upākāra* if the lengthening of *u-* be not due to *ua-* < *upa-*.

OIA -*avā* : *akkhāḍaya* < *akṣavāṭaka*.

(iii) -*ā* + -*ā* > *ā* :

OIA -*ākā* : EAp. *āra* < *ākāra*.

(iv) -*a* + -*a* when separated by -*y-* or -*v-* :

(a) OIA -*aya* : > -*e-* : *Ujjēni* < *Ujjayanī*, *Ujjenta* < *ūrjayanta*, *Ujjanta* in *Hv.* 89.17.3 is traceable to **ūrjanta*. *te-* < *traya-* as in *teraha* < **traya-daśa*, *teltiya*, < *trayastrimśat*.

(b) OIA -*ava* : > -*o-* : SEAp. *loṇa* < *lavāṇa*.

WSAp. *ohulliya* < *ava-phullita*, *thora* < *sthavira*, *dora* < *davaraka*.

WAp. *ovagga* < *apa-valg-*, *orālia* < *ava-raṭita*, √ *olagga* < *ava-lagna*.

(c) Others :

OIA -*aka* - : When no *ya-śruti* develops :

e.g., *campā*-(*vaṇṇī*) < *campaka*-(*vaṇṇā*),

EAp. *tālā* < *tālaka*, *dohā* < *doddhaka*.

-*aga-* : SAp. *Tera* < **Tayara* < *Tagara*, -*ē-* due to -*ya-śruti*.

-*a* :

-*ata* : PP. Participles e.g., *gaa* (*gata*), *maa* (*mṛta*) etc., seem to have been reduced to **ga-*, **ma-* in spoken, Ap., as the NIA forms with the -*la* terms of the past (although originally pleonastic) go to prove e.g., M. *gelā*, Konk. *gello* (MIA *gaa-*).

OIA -*ada* : *kelī* < **kayalī* < *kadalī*. -*ē-* due to -*ya-śruti*.

It is the -*ya-śruti* which solves satisfactorily why -*a* + -*a* is contracted into -*e-* in Marathi.³⁸

OIA -*apa-* < -*ava-* < *o* : √ *osara* < *apasara*,

SAp. *karoḍi* < *karapatrikā*

WSAp. *soā* < **svāpa-ti*,

WAp. *voiya* (PP. of √ *vyap-*).

§32. When the first vowel is *-i-* (or *-e-*), it results into *-ĩ-*, *-ũ* when combined with *-i-* or *-u-*. But when the first vowel is *-u-* or *-o-*, it remains predominant.

- e.g. OIA *-ĩ- + -ĩ->-ĩ-* : *biā < dvīñya*, *tiā < tññya*.
-i- + -u->-ũ : *dūṇa < dvi-guṇa*.
-u + -a->-o : *ślakṣhāĩ < upalakṣayati*, *soṇṇāra < suvarṇakāra*,
poṇṇphala < pūga (or *pūgĩ*)-*phala*.
-u + -u->-u- WAp. *umbara < udumbara*,
 SAp. *ukhala < udūkhala*.

As there are very few instances of the contraction of more than two vowels (e.g. *ujjhā < upādhyāya*, *dora < davaraka*, *vivarāra < viparīta + ira*) we may ignore these here.

NASALISATION OF VOWELS

§33. Nasalisation of vowels is a late MIA characteristic which has come down to the NIA languages.³⁹ Spontaneous and compensatory nasalisation are noted below (§ 34.)

In a vocable with a final nasal, when the last two vowels contract, there is nasalisation e.g.

- WSEAp. *haũ < ahakam*,
 WSAp. *saĩ < svayam*, *avasaĩ*, *avasē*, *avasi < avaśyam*.
 EAp. *ālĩ < alakam = alam*.

The Neut. direct Pl. in *-āĩ < -āni*, Ins. sg. *-ē < -ena* (if these be the correct derivation) are the instances of this. It is, however, the class-nasal *-m-* which has brought about nasalisation of the preceding vowel e.g. the nasalisation in the desinence of Pres. 1 sg. *-ũ* or *-aũ*. There is no orthographic evidence of the nasalisation of other class-nasals although we find a few forms e.g. *pāka < paṅka*, *-payāgama < pataṅgama* in EAp. This, coupled with the nasalisation in old NIA, leads one to believe in its existence in spoken Ap.

Words e.g. WSAp. *peranta < paṇyanta*, *cunca < cañcũ* and *vañjha < vandhyā*, *sañjha < sandhyā*, *tonḍa*, *tuṇḍa < tuṇḍa*, *añjaṇa (ts)*., go to show that in Ap., in the group short vowel + nasal + consonant (both voiced and unvoiced) there is no lengthening and nasalisation of the short vowel as we find it in some NIA languages.

³⁹ For nasalisation in Bengali see S.K. CHATTERJI, ODB §§ 175-77, and that in Marathi vide BLOCH, FLM § 68 ff.

SPONTANEOUS NASALISATION

§34. Spontaneous nasalisation i.e. the tendency to insert nasals though none existed in the corresponding OIA form, belongs to earlier MIA, as we find it in Pali,⁴⁰ and in Prakrits.⁴¹ GRIERSON showed that most NIA words with nasalised vowels can be referred to MIA forms actual or hypothetical.⁴²

In Ap. spontaneous nasalisation comes as a compensation for the loss of a consonant or sporadically, e.g. SWAp. *ṣayampa* < *pra-√ jalp*, *ṣimcha* < *prcch*, *imcha* < *√ icch*, *phaṁsa* < *sparśa*, *vaṁka* < *vakra*, SAp. *gomcha*, *guṁcha* < *guccha* < *gutsa*, *kaṁcāṇi* < *kātyāṇi*, WSAp. *daṁsana* < *darśana*, *baṁhiṇa* < *barhiṇ*, *maṁtha* < *mṛṣṭa*. WAp. *ṣankhi* < *ṣakṣin*, *āluṁkhiya* < *ārukṣita*, SAp. *vinḍhat* < *vidhyati*, WAp. *īsim* < *īṣat*, *ṇiyaṁsana* < *nivasana*, *maṁjara* < *mārjāra*, *vimbhala*, *vembhala* < *viḥvala*, *thimbha* < *√ step*- EAp. *ṣimghat* < *jighrati*.

DENASALISATION

§35. As opposed to spontaneous nasalisation, we have some cases of the loss of OIA nasals in Ap. e.g. SWAp. *ṣiha* < *ṣimha*, *viṣa* < *viṁsati*, *tiṣa* < *triṁsat*, *dāḍhā* < *daṁṣṭrā*, SAp. *agāa* < *agamyā* (?), *pacchāhuṁ* < *paścāt-mukhaṁ*

The treatment of post-consonantal nasal i.e. that of stop + nasal, of nasal + nasal, and of sibilant + nasal is the same as in literary Pkts..⁴³

§36. In Ap., as in NIA, the OIA group of vowel + conjunct or double consonant, reduces itself to

- (i) long vowel + single consonant after assimilation and reduction with compensatory lengthening of the vowel, if short, or
- (ii) short vowel + double consonant after assimilation and retention of the group with reduction of the vowel, if long.
- (i) Long vowel + single consonant :
 WSAp. *sahāsa* < *sahasra*,
 WAp. *jayāsi*, < *jayaśrī*.
 WESp. *ḍiha* < *ḍirgha*.
 SAp. *Sarāsaī* < *Sarasvatī*, *vaṇāsaī* < *vanaspati*, *bambhaṇa-cāra*
 < *brahma-carya*, *ṣisakka* < **śiṣṛaska*.

40 GEIGER, *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* § 6.3.

41 FISCHER, op. cit., §§ 74, 86.

42 GRIERSON, "Spontaneous Nasalisation in the Indo-Aryan Languages," *JRAS* (1922) pp. 281 ff.

43 See for example FISCHER, op. cit., §§ 289, 348, 349. For sibilant + nasal §§ 312-14.

EAp. *ūha* < *ūrdhva*, *ūala* < *utpala*.

- (ii) Short vowel + double consonant :

WAp. *kaḍaccha* < *kaṭākṣa*, *dukkhannu* < *duḥkḥāṇava*.

SAp. *Paṇḍava* < *Pāṇḍava*, *Kammuya* < *kārmuka*. We may include examples, e.g., *nikka* < *nika*, *niccu* < *nica*, *kucca* < *kāca*, *pujja* < *pūjā* etc.

For further examples see §§26 (B)(i), 27 (A) iii (a), and (B) iii.

VOWEL-COLOURATION

§37. In Ap. we find labial and palatal colouration of *a* more conspicuous than that of *i* and *u*. The presence of a labial vowel or *v* is generally responsible for labialisation while that of *y* for the palatalisation of *a*.⁴⁴

- (A) Labialisation of *a* :

WSAp. $\sqrt{j}ura$ < $\sqrt{j}var$, $\sqrt{m}urā$: *maṇṇa* < $\sqrt{m}an$ cf. OIA *muni*, *jhuṇi* < *dhvani*.

SAp. *paūlaṇa* : *jalaṇa* < *pia-jvalana*, *viusa* < *vidvas*, *guhila* < *gahvara* + *gabhīra*?, *khuruppa* < *kṣuraṇa*, *puḍhama* : *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma* : *paḍhama* < *prathama*.

EAp. *biṇua* < *viṇa* or **viṇuka* or the analogy of *savvaṇṇu* < *sarvajña*.

- (B) Palatalisation of *a* :

SAp. $\sqrt{p}icca$, WAp. *pikka* : *pakka* < *pakva*, WAp. *avasi* : SAp. *avasu* < *avaśyam*, *ṇidala* : *naḍāla* < *lalāṭa*,

WSAp. $\sqrt{a}bbhida$ < **abhyaṭ* (*abhi-√af*), SAp. *akkhiya* < *ākhyāta*, *aṇnetta-he* < *anyatra*, (*aho-*) *gainam* : *°gaganam* < (*adho-*) *-gaganam* WAp. *tiriccha* < *tiryakṣa*.

For a few more see § 22.

There are very few examples of vowel-discolouration in Ap. e.g. *halola* < *hilola*, *ucchu* < *iḥṣu*, *kāim* < *kim* (?). It is more prominent in NIA,

ANAPTYXIS

§38. As in other literary Pkts., we meet with a number of cases of Anaptyxis in Ap. They are found in learned borrowals from OIA.

⁴⁴ Although this phenomenon is more prominent in NIA (for which see, for example, BLOCH, *FLM* §§ 75, 76), examples e.g., *pūñjila* : *piñjūla* in OIA (for more WACKERNAEGL, *Aht. Gram.* § 277) shows its antiquity.

as we have distinct *tbhs.* used in the same works. They are greater in number in -r- and -l- conjuncts, although Pk. grammarians allow the use of -r- conjunct in Ap.

- WSAp. *paṇayamāṇa*: *paṇ'amāṇa* (*paṇyāṇṇā*).
 WAp. *murukkha*: *mukkha* (*mūrkkha*).
 WAp. *kārima*: *kamma* (*karman*).
 WSAp. $\sqrt{\text{varisa}} < \sqrt{\text{varṣ}}$, *kileśa* < *kleśa*, *arahanta*, *arihanta*,
 . < (*arhat*),
 WAp. *aruha* < *arhat*, *arisaya* < *arśa*, $\sqrt{\text{garaha}}$ < $\sqrt{\text{garh}}$, *kilīṇa*
 < *klinna*, *kaṣaṇa* < *kṛṣṇa*, but EAp. *kāṇha*.
 SAp. *vātrāyas* < *vairāgya*, *bhaviya* < *bhavya*, *vāhiyāli* < *vāhyāli*,
barihaṇa < *barhin*, *sukkila* < *śukla*, *gilāṇa* < *glāna*, $\sqrt{\text{sala-}}$
hijja < $\sqrt{\text{ślāgh-}}$

PROTHESIS

§39. Prothesis is rare in Ap. The groups of *sk*, *st*, *sp*, *sm* were either assimilated or changed to *kh*, *th* (*ṭh*), *ph* and *mh*. A few forms e.g., WAp. *ittiya* < *strī-ka*, *hedisa* < *īdṛś*, *yevva* < *eva* show the existence of this tendency in Ap. No instance of prethetic *v* was traced in Ap.

EPENTHESIS

§40. As in other literary Pkts., there are some cases of the epenthesis of -i- and -u-, in Ap. e.g.

- WSAp. *kera* < *kārya*, *beranta* < *baryanta*.
 SAp. *mera* < *maryāda*, *acchera* < *āścarya*.
 WAp. *accheraya* < *āścarya*.
 WSAp. *boṁbhacera* < *brahma-carya*,
 SAp. *sundera* < *saundarya*, *pāḍihera* < *prāṭihārya*.
 WSAp. *ṭoma* < *padma*, *Pomāvai* < *Padmāvatī*.

UMLAUT

§41. Instances of the qualitative change in a vowel through the influence of another vowel or semi-vowel of a different quality, are found in Ap. Sections on vowel-contraction (§§ 31, 32), vowel-colouration and discolouration (§37) and Epenthesis (§ 40) contain sufficient examples some of which are found in other literary Pkts. as well.

CONSONANTS IN APABHRAMSA

§ 42. The history of IA consonantism is well-nigh clear from the works of J. WACKERNAGEL⁴⁵, W. GEIGER⁴⁶, R. FISCHER⁴⁷, J. BLOCH⁴⁸, R. L. TURNER⁴⁹, S. K. CHATTERJI⁵⁰, S. M. KATRE⁵¹ and others. Its history in our period is briefly as follows:

- (a) Final consonants of OIA > lost in early Pkts. > lost in Ap.
- (b) Initial consonants of OIA > preserved in Prākritis > preserved in Ap.
- (c) Intervocalic stops of OIA :
 - (1) Surd in OIA > sonant in Prākritis > possibly spirant in Ap. leading to zero in NIA.
 - (2) Surd aspirate in OIA > sonant aspirate or -h- in Pkts. dialectically > sonant aspirate or -h- in Ap. leading to loss of occlusion in NIA.
- (d) Consonant clusters of OIA > double consonants in Pkts. through assimilation
 - (1) Single consonants with compensatory lengthening in Ap., or
 - (2) Double consonants in Ap.

The following table of Ap. occlusives will show the general nature of Ap. consonantism :

Initial or resulting from consonant groups or double consonants.				OIA intervocalic consonants.			
Unaspirated				Aspirated	Unaspirated		Aspirated.
Velars ..	k	g	kh	gh	g, γ, zero	gh	h

45 J. WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. Gram.* I §§ 96-239.

46 W. GEIGER, *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* §§ 35-64.

47 R. FISCHER, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, pp. 135-239.

48 BLOCH, *La Langue Marathe*, §§ 14-15 for Marathi consonantism §§ 81-175. The general development of consonants in YA is treated in *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 50-95.

49 R. L. TURNER, "Gujrati Phonology," *JRAS* (1921), 505-508.

50 S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of Bengali*, pp. 36-63, 82-98, 239-61. For Bengali consonantism, see pp. 433 ff. For the general development in IA, see *Indo-Aryan and Hindi Lectures II and III* (pp. 28-95).

51 *Form. Konk.* § 76. Konk. Consonantism §§ 77-174.

WAp. *pharasu* < *paraśu*; if *dhamdha* < *dvandva* as understood by Brahmadeva in his Kannaḍa gloss on *PPr.* 2·21 be correct, its meaning 'business,' 'transaction' or 'shame' as in *Pd* 122 (see *Pd* 7, 91 also for 'business') seems semantically connected with *Sk. dvandva* although the phonological equation may be doubtful. *lhasuṇa* < *lasuṇi*.

SAp. *khujjava* < *kubjaka*, *ghoṇasa* < *gonasa*, *jhuṭṭha* < *juṣṭa* (?) at least semantically, *pharusa* < *paraśa*, also *ḍharusattaṇa* = °*tva*, *bhisiya* < *bṛsikā*. Is *b* > *bh* due to *r*?

EAp. Nil

Forms in which the aspiration is due to the presence of *r*, *ṛ*, a sibilant, or metathesis of *h* are not, strictly speaking, cases of real aspiration. Hence forms e.g., *ghara*, *gharini* etc. < *IE* **gʰoro*, or the changes of *sk* > *kh*, *st* > *th*, *ap* > *ph*, *sn* > *ṇh* and *sm* > *mh* are excluded from this section.

(2) Non-Initial :

Non-initial aspiration is very rare in Ap. The following instances are, however, exceptional :

- WAp. *vaḍha* < *baṭu* (?) also in *DKS.* *dhandha*,

EAp. *dhandhā*, *dhandhī* < *dvandva* (?).

SAp. *sa-jhuṭṭha* < *sajuṣṭa* (?); -*h*- in *Bharaha*, *Bhārahī*, *Bharahe-sara* implics *-*th*-for regular -*ta*-. Thus the original forms are **Bharatha* **Bhārahī*, **Bharotheśvara*, rather than the usual *Bharata*, *Bhāratī* etc. Can we include instances of -*h*- *śruti* e.g., *sihiṇa* < *stāṇa*, *bhaūha* < *bhrū-*, *chāha*, *chāhi* < *chāyā*, etc., under this?

DEASPIRATION

§ 44. The process of de-aspiration is found in OIA,⁵³ Pali,⁵⁴ and Pkts.⁵⁵ in pre-Ap. IA, as well as in post-Ap. period, as in Marāṭhi⁵⁶ Bengali,⁵⁷ Kōṅkaṇi,⁵⁸ and Sindhi. In Ap. de-aspiration is comparatively rare when compared with NIA.⁵⁹

53 WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. Gram.* I §§ 104, 109.

54 GEIGER, *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* § 40.

55 FISCHER, *Grammatik*, §§ 213-4.

56 BLOCH, *FLM* §§ 87-9.

57 CHATTERJI, *ODB* §§ 241-3.

58 KATRE, *Form. Kōṅk.* § 80 ABORI 18.4 (1937).

59 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 60-62.

The natural position of de-aspiration is the final one, especially the terminational endings, but as the use of the stem itself for the direct case has been proved to be the characteristic of MIA Sk. (e.g., Buddhist Sk.) we need not assume that forms e.g., *sappa* < *sarṣāḥ*, *ghaṇṭa* < *ghaṇṭāḥ*, are due to this process.

In other cases, it is sometimes due to dissimilation and metathesis of *h*. To take a few examples :

kuhia < **khuhia* < *kṣubhita*, *sandhukki* < *sandkukṣita*, *saṃkala* < *śrīkhalā*, *cuppai* < Pk. *√chupa-*, *dihi* < *dhyti*, *bahiṇi-hi* < *bhaginī*, the intermediate link *bhaiṇi* is also traced, *bīha* < *bhī*, *jagaḍanta* < *jhakaṭa* (a Sk. vocable according to Hc. 442.2), EA. *jatta* : *jattha* < *yatra*, *tatta* : *tattha* < *tatra*, *n(n)icca* < *niṣcala*.

It seems that the process of de-aspiration was accelerated in the post-Ap. period, as there are fewer cases of de-aspiration in Ap. than in NIA. Some de-aspirated forms in NIA, e.g., M. *bhūk* < Ap. *bhukkha* (*bhubhukṣā*), *māj* < Ap. *mājja* (*madhya*), appear to be aspirates in Ap. The NIA languages however show no uniformity in de-aspiration. Thus along with Ap. *cumbhala*, *combhala* > M. *cumbaḥ*, Ap. *dhandha* > M. H. *dhandā*, Ap. *ghuraghwa* > M. *gurgurnē* we find Ap. *√sikkha* < *śikṣ-* leading to *śikne* in M. and *sikhnā* in H.

CEREBRALISATION

§15. The problem of cerebrals and cerebralisation in the different stages of IA is sufficiently discussed by different scholars.⁶⁰ As in OIA and Pkts. Ap. has the following retroflex sounds—*ḷ*, *ḥ*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *v*, *ṭ*. OIA dentals undergo cerebralisation in Ap. under the following circumstances.

- (1) Preceded immediately by *r*.
- (2) Preceded at a distance by *r*.
- (3) Preceded immediately by *r*.
- (4) Followed immediately by *r*.
- (5.a) Single and intervocalic dentals.
- (5.b) Double and Intervocalic dentals.
- (5.c) Initials dentals.
- (6) Initial *n-* and *l-* and intervocalic *-n-* and *-l-* :

⁶⁰ For OIA see WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. gram.* I. §§ 143-51; for Pali vide GEIGER, *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* § 42 and § 64; for Prakrit, PISCHKE, *Grammatik* §§ 289-94, 308, 309, 333; for Marathi, BLOCH, *FLM* §§ 108-119, for Bengali, S. K. CHATTERJI *ODB* §§ 266-72, for Konk., S. M. KATRE, *Form. Konk.* §§ 84-90, ABORI 18.4, for Sindhi, TURNER, "Cerebralisation in Sindhi," *JRAS* (1924) pp. 558 ff., for that in IA, BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 53-9.

As TURNER points out in his critical review of *L'indo-aryen*, the 2nd case is an ablaut of *r*.⁶¹ Thus Ap. $\sqrt{paḍha} < \sqrt{paṭh} < \sqrt{*prth-}$, $paḍhama < prathamā < *prthama$, show that cases 1 and 2 are identical. Each of the above cases has exceptions where dentals are not cerebralised. These testify to the survival of old dentals in two currents: dentals and cerebrals.

§46. The following are the examples of cerebralisation in Ap. The retention of dentals under the same circumstances is also noted side by side.

(1) *Preceded immediately by r :*

- (a) Cerebralised : WAp. $kaḍa < kṛta$, $otthāḍiṃ < ava-\sqrt{str-maṭṭi}$ $< mṛṭṭikā$. SAp. $uḍu < rṭ$, $vāuḍa < vyāṇṛṭsa$, $vaḍḍa < vṛṭṭha$
- (b) Dental remains : WSAp. $samiddha < samṛddha$, WEAp. kia , WSAp. $kaya < kṛta$, WAp. $aṇuvitti < anuvṛtti$.

(2) *Preceded at a distance by r :*

As noted above, TURNER regards this as an ablaut of *r* in OIA⁶².

- (a) Cerebralised: WSAp. $caṭṭa$, EAp. $cellu < * \sqrt{crt}$, also $ciḍaulla$ 'a sparrow,' a cognate of Sk. $caṭaka$. WSEAp. $paḍhama < prathama$, SWAp. $ḍhilla < srithira$, $paḍicchavi < *prāṭicchavī = prāṭisya$, WAp. $gaḍḍāyara < *gartākaraka = gartaka$. $pāḍihera < prāṭihārya$, SEAp. $paḍhai < prathati < *prṭhati$, EAp. $paḍi < prati$, $paḍibakkha < pratipaṣa$, $paḍijjai < prāṭiyate$.
- (b) Dental remains : WSAp. $bhāya$, $bhāyara < bhrātar$. SAp. $paija$, WAp. $paijja < prāṭijjā$, SAp. $paisāra < prāṭisāra$.

§47. (3) *Preceded immediately by r :*

- (i) *rt* (a) cerebralised : WAp. $vaṭṭaḍiyā$, SAp. $vaṭṭa < vartman$, WAp. $vaṭṭai < vartate$ cf. SAp. $vaḍḍa-u$, SAp. $vaṭṭula < vartula$, SAp. $bhaḍāra$, °rī WAp. $bhaḍāraya$, $bhaḍāriya < bhartāra-ka$, °rī- $kā$.
- (b) Dental remains : WAp. $atta < āṛta$ but $aṭṭa$ in SAp. $vatta < vāṛtā$, $kattī < kartari$, SAp. $kattiya < kārtika$.
- (ii) *rth* : (a) Cerebralised : $āhuṭṭha < arḍha$ - $*turtha$, $gamanatṭhiya < gamanārṭhiya$.

61 BSOS VIII. i. p. 205.

62 BSOS. 8.1.205.

- (b) Dental remains : SWAp. *attha* < *artha*, WAp. *anāttha* < *anartha*, SAp. *samattha* < *samartha*. EAp. *paramattha* < *paramārtha*.
- (iii) *rd* : (a) Cerebralised : WSEAp. $\sqrt{\text{chaḍḍa}}$, $\sqrt{\text{chaṇḍa}}$ < *chard-*, WAp. *kavaḍḍiya* < *kapardikā*, SAp. *niḍḍāriya* < *nir-√dr* usually explained as 'niskāsita.'
- (b) Dental remains : WAp. *addiya* < *ārdrita*, *gaddaha* < *gardabha*, *niddaya* < *nirdaya*, *maddala* < *mardala*, SAp. *kitti* < *kirti*.
- (iv) *rdh* :
- (a) Cerebralised : WAp. *uḍḍha* < *ūrdhva*, SAp. *saḍḍha* *sārdha*, *pavaḍḍhaī* < *pravardhate*.
- (b) Dental remains : WAp. *vaddhavaṇa* < *vardhāṇa*, *uddhikaya* < *ūrdhvi-kṛta*, SAp. *uddha-hatta* < *ūrdhva-hasta*, *addhaddha* < *ardārdha*.
- EAp. shows a further development viz., reduction to *h*. e.g., *ūha* < *ūrdhva*, and not *ubbha* and *uddha* as elsewhere.
- In general it appears that WAp. retains the dental to a greater extent than SAp.
- (4) *Followed immediately by r* .
- (i) *tr* : (a) Cerebralised : SAp. *viṭṭala* < *apavitra-la* by haplogy.
- (b) Dental remains: WAp. *khetṭi* < *kṣetrita*, SAp. *chetta* < *kṣetra*, WAp. *tigu* < *trika*, WSAp. *kattha* < *kutra*, SAp. *pattala* < *patra-la*.
- (ii) *ntr* : WSAp. *anta* < *antra*, WSEAp. *manta* < *mantra*. EAp. *tanta* < *tantra*. No cerebralisation.
- (iii) *dr* : WSAp. *nidda* < *nidrā*, WAp. *suhadda* < *subhadra*. Cerebralised : WSAp. *tevaḍḍa* < **tayavadra* and similar other forms from pronouns, according to PISCHEL, but actually < **vṛddha-* ?
- (iv) *ndr* : (a) Dental remains : WSAp. *canda* < *candra*-and proper names derived from it. Exception *Caṇḍa-utta* < *Candra-guṇṭa*.
- (v) *dhr* :
- (vi) *ndhr* : SAp. *purandhi* < *purandhrī*, *randha* < *randhra*, SAp. *Andha* < *Āndhra*.

It will be observed that generally dentals are preserved in such cases although cerebralised forms are not wanting.

§48. (5a) *Single intervocalic dentals* :

Out of these some are elided, some take vocal glides (*śrutis*), some become voiced, some are retained while some are cerebralised. Cases under the last category are noted here:

-t- : WSEAp. $\sqrt{paḍa} < pat-$, $nivaḍa < nipat$, WSAp. $saḍiya < sāṭita$, $sāḍa < sāṭay$, $Dhāḍai-saṇḍa < Dhātaki saṇḍa$.

-d- : $\sqrt{vaḍa} < vad-$ and its frequentative $vaḍavaḍa$, $khudā < *kṣudita$, SAp. $\sqrt{ḍara} < \sqrt{dar}$, $niṣāḍa < niṣāda = miṣā-$

-th- : *cara*. SAp. $\sqrt{kaḍha} < \sqrt{kvath-}$ also $\sqrt{kaḍhakaḍha}$

-dh- :

(5.b) *Double and intervocalic dentals* :

These are generally preserved either as double consonants or single ones with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. §27A [iii.a], B. iii, 36, 72) a tendency so common in NIA. Cerebralisation due to the influence of immediately preceding *r* is noted in §47. The remaining cases are given below :

-t- : EAp. $cautthaa < catuṣṭaya$ but *cauttha* is due to -r- in *caturtha*.

-th- : WSEAp. $utṭhiya < utsthita$, $kavittha < kapittha$, $aṭṭh < asthi$, $paṭṭhava < prasthāpay$.

-d- :

-dh- : SAp. $thaḍḍhattaṇa < stabdhatva$.

In many of these, sibilant + dental has resulted into cerebralisation due to the influence of the sibilant.

(5.c) *Initial dentals* :

As in §48 (5.b) above, the cluster of a sibilant + dental leads to cerebralisation of the dental, although there are some cases of 'spontaneous' cerebralisation.

-t- : $ṭhaḍḍha < stabdha$ - For aspiration of *t-* see §44 a.

-th- : SEAp. $\sqrt{ṭhā} < OIA sthā$. Hence the following forms WAp. $ṭhāharai$, $ṭhāvai$, $ṭhāya$. SAp. $ṭhāu$, $ṭhaaalu$ 'a stake at dice.' EAp. $ṭhāi$, $ṭhīa$, $ṭhāna$, $ṭhāb < sthāman$,

-d- : WAp. $\sqrt{ḍaha} < \sqrt{dah}$, $\sqrt{ḍasa} < dāsa$,
 SAp. $\sqrt{ḍahu} < dahara(?)$ 'a child.'
 EAp. $\sqrt{ḍahābia} < *dahāvita = dāhita$.

-dh- : SAp. $\sqrt{ḍhamkha} < *dhvaṅkṣa$ 'dry, withered.'

§49. (6) *Initial and Intervocalic n and l* : (a) *Initial n- and l-* :

There is so much irregularity regarding the use of *n* and *ṇ* in Mss. that eminent text-critics like PISCHEL, VAIDYA, JAIN and UPADHYE have set an editorial tradition of levelling all *n* to *ṇ*. JACOBI and SHAHIDULLA differ and retain *n* initially (JACOBI preserves -*nn*-).

Initial *l-* is not cerebralised e.g., WAp. $\sqrt{laṁgūla} < lāṅgūla$, $\sqrt{lāyaṇṇa} < lāvanya$, $\sqrt{loṇa} < lavaṇa$, EAp. $\sqrt{loyai} < lokayati$, $\sqrt{loṇa} < locana$.

There is no documentary evidence (except in Southern Mss) of the change of intervocalic *-l-* to *-l-*. In Ap. intervocalic *-d-* and *-ḍ-* were changed to *-l-*, but the Northern Mss. do not give a *-l-* although we find this phonetic habit in Vedic and in Pali, and the change of intervocalic *-l-* to *-l-* is common in NIA. e.g., Marathi⁶³

(b) *Intervocalic and double n and l* :

Intervocalic double *-nn-* and *-ll-* remain dental. The editorial convention of cerebralising all *n* is noted above (§ 49.a) Thus in JACOBI's editions e.g. that of *Sc.* we have *kanna* < *kanyā*, *mannāṇ* < *manye* etc., and SHAHIDULLA has *sunna* < *sūnya*, *anna* < *anya* etc., in EAp.

-ll- : WAp. $\sqrt{sallai} < sallakī$ SAp. $\sqrt{vallaha} < vallabha$, $\sqrt{pallala} < palvala$, WAp. \sqrt{salla} , $\sqrt{sella} < Salya$.

It will be found that in many of these cases of cerebralisation, Ap. follows the main out-lines of literary Pkts.⁶⁴

CONSONANTS IN INITIAL POSITION

§50. Final consonants being already lost very early in MIA, we have to consider consonants only in their initial and intervocalic positions. Although Ap. does not differ much from Pkts. in its treatment of initial consonants, it is worthwhile to consider some of them, due to their regional and other importance.

NASALS

§51. Normally the class-nasals *ṇ*, *ṇ* and *n* (?) are not found in literary Ap. According to S. K. CHATTERJI there is some epigraphic

⁶³ BLOCH, *FLM.*, §§ 144-7, S. M. KATRE, *Form. Kōṣh.*, § 80 (b).

⁶⁴ See PISCHEL, *Gram.* §§ 289-94, 308, 309, 333.

evidence of *ṇ* pronunciation in the Tipperah Inscription of Lokanatha (700 A.D.).⁶⁵ But its contemporary work, *DKK*, does not show it, probably due to stylisation, as the persistence of this pronunciation in Bengali suggests its existence at least in spoken Ap.

ṇ is found only in the *dhātuvādeśa* for *√vraj*, viz., *vañña* (Pu. 17·81) or *vañā* (Hc. 8·4·392). Whether this is a relic of Magadhisim or a special development of OIA **vrajñāti* as suggested by PISCHEL,⁶⁶ does not concern us as this form or *ṇ* never recurs in Ap. literature except in the illustrative work *Kc.*, and there, too, rarely.

n was definitely used in EAp. region as we find it initially and intervocalically in the *Dohākośas* and the *Dākārṇava*. Examples like *gaana* : *gaṇa* < *gagana*, *paṇa* : *paṇa* < *pavana* in the *Dohākośas*, show the irregularity in the use of intervocalic *-n-*. Regarding this SHAH-DULLA remarks, "To sum up, the use of *n* is more frequent than that of *ṇ* with Saraha and less frequent with Kāṇha."⁶⁷

Initially *n-* is retained by JACOB in *BhK.* and *Sc.*, and even by P. L. VAIDYA in his edition of *Hc.*, (Poona, 1928). The hesitation between initial *n-* and *ṇ-* in Mss. of the IA region, the consistent use of *n-* by Southern scribes, and the new editorial tradition of the use of *n-* consistently both in initial and intervocalic positions are already noted above (§ 49). NIA preserves initial dental *n-*. The same might have been the case of Ap. in WAp. region.⁶⁸ We hear an initial *ṇ-* occasionally in the speech of peasant (Jains, Marathas etc.) of the Southern Maratha country. Is it a relic of the Ap. period (especially of SAp.) as *ṇ-* is absent in standard Marathi? *n-* is absent in SAp. texts.

A few instances of initial *n-* are noted below from WEAp. texts :

EAp. *naggala* < *nagnaṭa*, WAp. *nāha*, EAp. *nattha* < *nātha*, WEAp. *niccala* < *niścala*, WAp. *niśavanu* < *niś-sāmānya*, *nūṇa* < *nūnam*, but the *ts.* form used in *DKS* 12, *nevaltha* < *nepalṭhya*. EAp. *neha* < *sneha*.

Initial *ṇ-* being so much common in modern editions of Ap. works, needs no illustration.

Initial *m-* : WSEAp. *maṇa* < *mīna*, *māi*, *mīyī*, *mīya* < *mīlā*. SEAp. *micca* < *muthiyā*, *mukka* < **mukhna* = *mukta*, WAp. *metta* < *metta* < *māṭṭa* + *mitra* or IE **m^{tr}om* giving *metta* in WAp. and *malla* in EAp.; WSEAp. *mokkha*, < *mokṣa*.

65 ODB p. 518.

66 Grammatik, § 237.

67 Les Chants Mystiques, p. 36.

68 TURNER "Guj. Phonology," § 48, JRS 1921.

SEMI-VOWELS (*y* and *v*)

§52. With the exception of words e.g. *ycaḷai* (*calati*), *yjaḷai* (*jvalati*) in *Mk.* 17·2 which is an attempt of the grammarian to represent one type of palatal pronunciation, initial *y*- always becomes *j*- in Ap. In EAp. *yena* (*Dkk.* 19), *yojjaṭ* (*DKS.* 10), *yojaṭ* (*DKS.* 82) are *v*. *ll* for *jena*, *pabbajjaṭ* and *poḷaṭ* respectively. As the editor does not accept them, and the speech habit of Bengal does not support it, we may ignore them. It is non-existent in SAP. and Marathi.⁶⁹

The following are some examples of initial *y*- in OIA.

EAp. *Jamuṇā*, WAp. *jaṃṇā* < *Yamuṇā*, WSAP. *jāma*, WAp. *jāva*, EAp. *jāba* < *yāvat*, WSAP. *juṇṇao* < **yuvānakah*, WSEAp. *jeṇa* < *yena*, *joi* < *yogin*.

Thus *y* has no phonemic value in Ap. except as a *hiatus-tilger* and as a palatizing factor when it followed the dental or *r*- in consonant clusters. Its revival in NIA is due to the influence of Sanskrit and the factors noted by BLOCH¹.

§53. Ap. *v* stands for OIA *v*, *p*, *b*, intervocalic *-m-* and MIA *-vv-*. The conjunct of a dental with *-v-* has two treatments—dental and labial. The labial treatment seems to be favoured in spoken WEAp. regions where it is found even today. The consistent use of *b* for *v* in EAp. as opposed to its preservation (except in clear borrowals) lends support to the theory that the labial treatment of dento-labial consonant conjuncts is a loan from the East and the Midland in NIA. Sometimes *v* and *b* are interchanged in SWAp. due to the resemblance in the characters in the Devanāgarī and cognate scripts.

(1) Initial *v*- retained :

SAP. *vaddala* < *vardala*, WAp. *vāḷi* < **vāḷya*, Absolutive of *√val-*,
SAP. *vihatthi* < *vitasti* with *ha-śruti*,

WAp. *vīṣai* (*viṣati*), WSAP. *vuṣṭha* < *vrddha*, *vihavia* < *vaibhāvita*.

(2) Initial *v*- < OIA *b*- :

WSAP. *vāha* < *bāṣpa*, WAp. *vībhacca* < *bībhatsa*.

(3) Initial *b*- < OIA *v*- :

An EAp. characteristic e.g. *bajja* < *varjya*, *bajjai* < *varjyate*, *bāsa* < *āvāsa*, *bāsia* < **vāsita* = *uṣita*, *biappa* < *vikalpa*, *bira* < *vīra*, *Bea* < *Veda*.

⁶⁹ BLOCH, *ILM*, § 154.

This is still the trait of the EAp. region. In WAp. we occasionally meet with *b-<v-* e.g. *baṁsa<vaṁśa*. There too we find this tendency even today.

SIBILANTS

§54. Out of the three sibilants in OIA, Ap. conserves only *s* in all regions except the East and *ś* in EAp. *ś* is exceptional in the *Dotā-koṣas* though it became more popular later on in the *Ḍakārṇava tantra*. Ap. *s<OIA ch* was probably a dento-palatal, in other cases it was a dental fricative.

Initial *ś-*, *ṣ-* became *ṣ-*, while *s-* was retained in WSAp. Its treatment in EAp. is irregular although *ś-* was preserved only in that region.

- (1) *ś->s-*: WSAp. *saṁkha<śaṁkha*, WAp. *sakhaṇḍa<śākhaṇḍa* (Sdd. 61), WSEAp. *siri<śrī*, SAP. *sukkila<śukla*, EAp. *suṇā*. SEAp. *suṇṇa<śūṇya*, SAP. *seni<śreṇi*. WSEAp. *sosa<śoṣa*.

- (2) *ś* conserved in EAp.

e.g. *śattha<śāstra*, *śhara<śikhara*, *śuna<*śuna=śvan* (DKS. 7). Only 8 cases of initial *ś-* (5 in DKS and 3 in DKS).

- (3) *ṣ->ch-* or *s-*:

*chaḥḥama<ṣaṣṭha- *ma* analogical, *solasa<ṣoḍaśa*.

- (4) *s->s-*:

WSAp. *savva*, WAp. *savu<sarva*, WSAp. *sāyara<sāgara* WEAp. *√sijjha<śidh-ya*, EAp. *suratta*, SAP. *suraya<suratva*, WSAp. *sevijjanta=sevyamāna*, WSEAp. *sokkha<saukhya*

- (5) For the treatments of sibilant *ṣ*-nasal see § 65.

- (6) For *kṣ-* see § 61.

(7) Lastly there is one important treatment of *s* viz. its change into *h* in terminations, numerals and other words. e.g. Abl. and Gen. sg. *-ha<-ssa<-sya?* (§83), Loc. sg. *-hī, -hi<-smin* (§82), the augment of Future *-ha<-ssa<-sya*. Numerals e.g. *daha<dāśan*, *eyā(gā)raha<ekdāśan*, *bāraha<dvīdāśa*, *hulā<śūlayati*.

INTERVOCALIC CONSONANTS

§55. According to Pk. grammarians intervocalic stops are voiced. Thus *-k-*, *-t-*, *-p-* become *-g-*, *-d-*, *-b-* (see *Pu.* 17.6, 13; *Hc.* 8.4.396, *Tr.* 3.3.2 followed by *Sh.* 22.2 and the com. on it, also *Ld.*'s comm. on *Tr.* 3.3.2; *Ki.* 5.1 *Mk.* 17.2)⁷⁰. Intervocalic *-kh-*, *-th-*, *-ph-* were changed into *-gh-*, *-dh-*, *-bh-*. (*Pu.* 17.7, 13. *Hc.* 8.4.396, *Tr.* 3.3.2 followed by *Sh.* and *Ld.*, *Mk.* 17.2.).⁷¹

In literary Ap. intervocalic *-k-*, *-g-*, *-c-*, *-j-*, *-t-*, *-d-*, (and *-p-* also) lose their occlusion and disappear. It is only at times that *-k-*, *-c-*, *-t-* become voiced. *-p-*, is sometimes changed to *-v-*. Ap. writers are more inclined to drop these intervocalic stops or use vocal glides (*śrutis*) in stead, rather than change them to *-g-*, *-j-*, *-d-* according to the prescription of Pk. grammarians. (see §56 below).

Similarly intervocalic aspirated stops *-kh-*, *-gh-*, *-th-*, *-dh-*, *-ph-*, *-bh-* generally become *-h-*. It is only occasionally that *-kh-*, *-th-*, *-ph-* were changed to *-gh-*, *-dh-*, *-bh-* respectively. But that might be a relic of the older stage as in Ap. literature such forms are few although Pk. grammarians have sanctioned them specially for Ap. (For the treatment of aspirated stops in Ap. see §57 below.)

Literary Ap. follows literary Pkts. to a greater extent than the rules of Pk. grammarians.

§56. The following is the treatment of intervocalic stops (*k*, *g*, *c*, *j*, *t*, *d*, *p*) in Ap.⁷²

- (1) (i) *-k->-g-* : WAp. *maragau*, *maragaya* < *marakata*,
WAp. *aḥgāra* < *adhikāra*, *pagāma* < *prakāma*.
EAp. *jegaḍa-ha* < *jhakaḥa* also in WAp. (*Bkh.* 3.8).

- (ii) *-k-* simply dropped :

WAp. *parāiya* < *parakiyā*,
SAp. *soṇnāra* < *suvarṇākāra*.
EAp. *āra* < *ākāra*, *maṭṭi* < *mṛttikā*.

⁷⁰ *Pu.* 17.5 notes the loss of occlusion of *k*, *g* and others but gives no indication about their intervocalic nature. *Ki.* 5.1 combines *Pu.* 17.13, 6, 7 into one, and amounts to the same as *Hc.* 8.4.396 or *Tr.* 3.3.2, while in *Ki.* 6.3 we find the loss of single, intervocalic *-k-* in some words (cf. *Pu.* 17.5). *Rt.* 3.2.2 does the same and follows *Pu.* 17.13 (viz., voicing of intervocalic *-k-*, *-kh-*, *-t-*, *-th-*). *Mk.* gives no rule like *Pu.* 17.5 for his Nāgara Ap. but prescribes optional voicing of *-k-*, *-c-*, *-t-* etc. *Hc.*, *Tr.*, *Sh.* and *Ld.* however, are unanimous regarding the voicing of intervocalic *k*, *c*, *t*, *kh*, *th*, *ph*.

⁷¹ *Pu.* 17.8 states that *kh*, *gh*, *th*, *bh* become *h*. Thus *Pu.* 17.8 is not in accord with *Pu.* 17.7 or 17.13. The *adhikāra* "bahulam" is not given probably due to the corrupt nature of the text. Ap. literature including the illustrative *dohās* in *Hc.*, however, reduces these aspirated surds to *-h-* rather than voice them according to grammarians' injunctions.

⁷² Cf. *Pischel*, *Gram.* §§ 186, 187, 192, 202.

(iii) -k- with vocal-glides :

WAp. *loydloya* < *lokāloka*, *ghūyada* < *ghūka*,SAp. *Alaya* < *Alakā*, *sayajja* < *sva-kārya*.WSAp. *thovaḍa* < *stoka*, *thova* also in WAp.

(iv) -k- retained :

WAp. *ika*,WAp. *anukiya* < *anukṛta*,SEAp. *eka*,SAp. *jīva-kae* < *jīva-kṛte*-EAp. *ekku* < *eka*,

The first may be due to MIA *ekka*-, and the last two need not be considered as instances of intervocalic -k-, since *kiya*- < *kṛta*- has independant existence.

2. (i) -g- dropped :

SWAEP. *jōi* < *yogin*,SAp. *Raiveya* < *Rativegā*,EAp. *bhaa-hā* < *bhagavān*.

(ii) -g- with vocal glides :

SAp. *Nāyadatta* < *Nāgadatta*, *avayapñiu*-PP. of *ava* √ *gan*.WAp. *juyala* < *yugala*, *uvveva* < *udvega*.(iii) -g- remains in *tss.* and *tḥs.* e.g. *pari-gana*, *sugaya* < *sugata*.3. (i) -c- > -j- : SAp. *vijigicchā* < *vicikitsā*.

(ii) -c- dropped :

WAp. *goroṇa* < *gorocana*.EAp. *aīrīva* < *ācārya*.

(iii) -c- > hiatus-tilgers :

WAp. *āyamvilaya* < *ācāmīla*, *āyariya* < *acārya*.SAp. *riāyā* < **īcā* = *īc*, *ullova* < *ullocā*. *paḍi-vayanu* < *prati-vacana*(iv) -c- is retained in *tss.* and *tḥs.* e.g. *acala*, *aceryana* < *acetana*.

4. (i) -j- dropped :

WSAp. *rāa* < *rājan*, SAp. *rāi* < *rāji*,WSEAp. *tea* < *tejas*.(ii) -j- > -y-, -v- *īrutis* :WAp. *ayānuya* < **a-jānaka* = *ajīla*, *Gayaura* < *gajapura*,SAp. *jhasoddhaya* < *Jhasadhva*, *manuva* < *manuja*, *bhuvanṅgama*,
< *bhujanṅama*.

(iii) -j- conserved in *tss.* and *tbhs.* e.g. *aḷa*, *aḷaḍḍara*, *Aḷiya* < *Aḷita*.

5. (i) -t- < -d- :

WAp. *āgado* < *āgataḥ*.

SAp. *samidi* < *samiti*, *samii* also.

(ii) -t- dropped :

WSAp. *caūttha* < *caturtha*, EAp. *caūttha* < *catustaya*.

WAp. *cauraṁsa* < *caturasra*.

SAp. *Vaivasa* < *Vaivasvata*, EAp. *kiau* < *kṛta*

(iii) -t- > -y-, -v- glides :

WAp. *saṁkeya* < *saṁketa*, *dāyāra* < *dātā*.

SAp. *Amayamaī* < *Amṛta-matī*.

WSAp. *bhūva* < *bhūta*, *suva-paṁcamī* < *śruta*-°

SAp. *huvasana* < *hutāsana*, *aḥabbhuva* < *atyadbhuta*.

(iv) -t- preserved :

EAp. *eta* < *etāvat* but *etta*, *ettiya* etc., in SWAp.

Normally -t- is not preserved in Ap.

6. (i) -d- dropped :

WSEAp. *pāa* < *pāda*, SAp. *pāikka* < *pādika*.

WSAp. *cyāraha* < *ekādaśa*, (-*ra* śruti,)

WSEAp. *jai* < *yadi*.

WSAp. *paiṁa*, *poma* < **paduma* = *padma*.

EAp. *uśa* < **udesa* < *uddeśa*.

(ii) -d- > -y-, -v-, -b- śrutis

SAp. *Viṇyara* < *Vṛkodara*.

WAp. *kheviya* < *khedita*, *uvahi* < *udadhi*.

SAp. *mahovahi* < *mahodadhi*, *Jasova* < *Jaśodā*.

EAp. *ubāharana* < *udāharana*, *ubesa* < **udeśa* < *uddeśa*.

(iii) -d- > -l- :

WSAp. *galatthiya* < *kadarthita*.

WAp. *palitta* < *pradīpta*, *Kālambiṇī* < *kādambinī*.

(iv) -d- retained in *tss.*

WAp. *udaya-sela* < *udaya-saila*,

7. (i) $-p > -b$ $-v$:

WSAp. *ṇaravaṭi* < *ṇarapati*, WAp. *khavaṇau*.

EAp. *khabaṇa* < *kṣapaṇaka*. SAp. $\sqrt{}$ *khavaya* < *kṣapaya*.

EAp. *ḍiḥa* < *ḍiṭṭa*, *uḥesa* < *upadeśa*.

SAp. *vāvāra* < *vyāpāra*.

- (ii) $-p$ dropped :

WSAp. *pāa* < *pāpa*.

EAp. *uarī* < *upareṇa*, *vāra* < *upakāra*, *uala* < $*\tilde{u}pala$, *uppala* < *utpala*.

- (iii) $-p > -y$ glide :

SAp. *sāyatta* < *sāpatna*.

8. (i) $-b$ retained : In *ts*, e.g. EAp. *ṣabara* (*ts*).

- (ii) $-b > -m$ or $-v$: Out of this $-v$ is a scribal confusion for $-b$ and SAp. *Kuvera* < *Kubera*, *siviya* < *śibikā* may be due to that confusion.

WSAp. *samara* < *śabara*. SAp. *savara* also,

SAp. *simira* < *śibira*, *samari* < *śabari*, are due to the development and confusion of $-m$ ($> -\tilde{m} > -v$) $> -b$.

§57. The following are the treatments of intervocalic aspirated surds in Ap.⁷³

1. (i) $-kh > -gh$: Probably a relic of older stage before its reduction to $-h$, e.g. WAp. *sughī* < *sukhena*. But rare in Ap. literature.
(ii) $-kh > -h$:

WSEAp. *sahi* < *sakhi*.

WSEAp. *tiha*, *leha* < *lēkhā*.

EAp. *suha-base* < *sukha-vāsah*.

SAp. *suhelli* < *sukha* + *elli* pleonastic.

2. (i) $-gh > -h$:

WAp. *viḥāya* < *vighāta*. The context (*BhK*. 18.4.2 in GUNÉ's edition suggests 'vidhāta,' as the original form as the line in question is : *paramesara taho kaim viḥāyau*

SAp. $\sqrt{}$ *salahijja* pass. of $\sqrt{}$ *slāgh*,

EAp. *ḍiḥa* < $*\tilde{d}iḥa$ < *diggha* < *dirgha*.

73 Cf. PISCHEL, *Gram.* §§ 188, 192, 202.

3. (i) *-th->-dh-* : A Śaurasenism. Although attested to in *Hc.* 8.4.397.3 as *sabadhu* < *śapaham*, *kadhidu* < *kathitam*, it is rare in WAp. itself, and practically absent in SAp. and EAp.
- (ii) *-th->-h-* : WSAp. *ahava*, EAp. *ahabā* < *athavā*.
 WSEAp. \sqrt{kaha} < $\sqrt{kath-}$, SAp. *mehunaya* < *maithunaka*.
 EAp. *pūhabī* < *pṛthavī*.
- (iii) *-th->-ḍh-* : Cerebralisation. See §48 (5.b).
4. *-dh->-h-* :
 WAp. *ahṛtṭha-ham* < *adhastāt*, *sahitṭha* < *sadhṛṣṭa*, *Sohamma* < *Saudharma*.
 SEAp. *bohi* < *bodhi*.
 EAp. *sāhia* < *sādhita*, *nibboha* < *nirbodha*.
5. (i) *-ph->-bh-* :
 Although *Hc.* (and other grammarians also) regard this as a characteristic of Ap., it is as old as Mah. e.g. *Sebhālia* < *śephālīka*, *Sibhā* < *śiphā* etc. See *Hc.* 8.1.236. Instances like *Sabhalaum* < *Saphalakam* (*Hc.* 8.1.396.3) are rare in Ap. literature.
- (ii) *-ph->-h-* : As in Mahārāṣṭrī. See *Hc.* 8.11.236. *bimbāhala* < *phala*, *muttāhala* < *muktāphala* etc. (See also PISCHEL, *Gram.* §200.)
- (iii) *-ph-* is retained when it forms the initial syllable of the 2nd member of a compound. e.g. EAp. *sirī-phala* < *śrīphala*.
5. *-bh->-h-* :
 WSAp. *sahāu*, EAp. *sahāba* < *svabhāva*.
 WSAp. *soho* < *sobhā* EAp. $\sqrt{nihāla}$ < *nibhālay-*, *guhira*.
 SAp. *gahirāu*, WAp. *gahira* < *gabhira*.

It will be observed that literary Ap. follows Pkt. rather than the rules of Pkt. grammarians regarding the voicing of intervocalic aspirated stops.

§ 58. There is little to add to the treatment of *-n-* as all *-n-* has been normalised to cerebral *-n-* by most of the modern editors. The treatment of *-m-* is important since it is looked upon as a phonological characteristic of Ap. by Pk. grammarians (e.g. *Hc.* 8.4.397), and secondly it served as a distinguishing point in the early isoglosses.⁷⁴

A glance at the comparative Table § 58A will show that the treatment of -m- depended upon its position in the vocable. It is generally retained, and especially so when followed by a conjunct consonant, and in *trs.*, although the examples selected in the Table § 58A show that -m- was conserved in positions where it is (or ought to be according to Pk. grammarians) changed to -ñ- in other works. The conservative tendency of retaining -m- persisted throughout the Ap. period in all regions. Thus we have such pairs e.g., *gāmra* *gāñra*, *sāmala*: *sāñala*, *paṃāṇa*: *paṃāña* and others.

The second stage in the history of -m- viz. its change to a nasalised and unnasalised -v- is also attested to from very early times e.g., WAp. *bhāvam* (*bhāmyāmi*) in *Vk.* 39, *javali* (*yamalaka*) in *PP.* EAp. *ṣṭāba* (*sthāman*), -b- for -v- is always found in EAp., SAp. *pacchuṣa* (*paśuma*) *duṣa* (*śuma*), *Gorā* (*Gomaṭi*), *Jauṇā* (*Janunā*). A reference to Pk. grammarians (see PISCHEL's *Gram.* § 251) will show that this change is not limited to Ap., but is found in Pkts. like Mah. JM. and Amg. as well. The Ap. period marks only a greater vogue of this tendency. Thus -m- > -ñ- cannot be regarded as the *differentia* between Pkts. and Ap.

Though it is understandable that ñ preceded v in the chronology of the changes of -m-, Comp. Table § 58A does not support the theory as the only form in *Vk.* is an unnasalised -v- viz. *bhāvam* < *bhāmyāmi* = *bhāmyāmi*, while in 1200 A.D., we find a number of nasalised forms e.g., *kañālu* (*kamalam*), *bhañaru* (*bhramarah*), *jañūya* (*jānātika*).

KKc. the last SAp. work of 1100 A.D., presents an interesting problem as we do not meet with forms with -m- > -ñ- or -v-. The only case of -m- > -v- is the doubtful form *vaṇna* (*vaṇmra* according to PISCHEL⁷⁵ but cf. Sk. *lāvanya* along with it). The other two forms are *Jauṇā* < *Jauṇa* < *Janunā* and *cavūya* < **camarika* = *camarī*. The main problem is why -m- > -ñ- should be found in the works of Puṣpadanta and in Marathi under the Yūdava dynasty (e.g., *bhavāra* < *bhramara*, *kuvaṇi* < Pk. *kumari*, *cavai* < *cāmara*) and why it should be absent in KKc.

The further stage in the development of -m- < -ñ- or -v- viz. the loss of -v- leaving a hiatus or the use of a hiatus-tilger instead, are also noticed in Ap. from 1000 A.D., in WSAp. It is not found in EAp.

We have more examples of unnasalized vowels *e.g.*, *dhūa* (*dhūma*), *indriya-gāa* (*indriya-grāma*) in WAp. than in SAP. where we have SEAp. *dhūma* (*ts.*) and *-gāma* and the vowels are nasalized *e.g.*, *saūhū* (*sammukham*) : *samuhū*, *kheum* (*kṣema*) : *kheva*. SAP. *kūyari* < *kūmārī* (as well as *kumari*) has a nasalized vocal glide for *-m-*.

Regionally the following treatments of *-m-* are seen.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
10th	(1) <i>-v-</i> , at times <i>-v̄-</i> .	<i>-v̄-</i> sometimes <i>-v-</i> .	<i>-b-</i>
	(2) un-nasalized vowel.	Nasalized vowel, sometimes unnasalised one.	
11th.	(1) un-nasalized vowel.	unnasalised vowel.	

Paucity of WAp. literature in 1100 A.D., makes it unsafe to generalize but in spite of the mixed state of isoglosses in our period, 10th cent. A.D. provides us with some regional differences in the treatment of *-m-*.

§ 58A. Treatment of Intervocalic *-m-*

Cent. A.D.	Region	Examples.
500	WAp.	1) <i>-m-</i> retained : <i>sāmalo</i> (<i>śyāmalah</i>), <i>bhamanteri</i> (<i>√ bham</i>), <i>kumkuma</i> (<i>t.</i>), <i>pia-ama</i> (<i>priyo-tamā</i>). 2) <i>-m-</i> > <i>-v-</i> : <i>bhāvami</i> (<i>bhrāmyāmi</i>). Only one instance <i>Mt.</i> 34.
600-1000	WAp.	1) <i>-m-</i> retained : <i>gāmu</i> (<i>grāmah</i>), <i>paṁāṇu</i> (<i>pramāṇam</i>) <i>sāmaluu</i> (<i>śyāmalah</i>), Majority of cases. 2) <i>-m-</i> > <i>-v-</i> : <i>javalā</i> (<i>yamalaka</i>).
700-1200	EAp.	(1) <i>-m-</i> retained : <i>bhumayanti</i> (<i>√ bham</i> -), <i>bhama-hu</i> (<i>√ bham</i>), <i>gāma</i> (<i>grāma</i>), <i>-m-</i> generally conserved. 2) <i>-m-</i> > <i>-b-</i> : <i>thāva</i> (<i>sthāman</i>). <i>nibesi</i> (<i>nimiṣya</i>).
1000	WAp.	1) <i>-m-</i> conserved : <i>kunkuma</i> : (<i>ts.</i>), <i>paḡāma</i> (<i>prakāmam</i>) <i>sumāṇasa</i> (<i>sumanas</i> , <i>sumana</i>).

- 2) -m->-v̄-, -v-: *paṇṇa* (*pramāṇa*), *dāvaṇu* (*dāman*), *ujjāvaṇa* (*udjyamaṇa*), *suvaṇa* (*sumara*, *sumanas*), *kuṇkuṇu* (phonetically *ṇvā-kuṇkuma*), *kuṇvara* (*kumāra*).
- 3) -m->un-nasalsed vowel: *dhūa* (*dhūma*), *indiyagāa* (*indriyagrāma*).
- 1000 Sap. 1) -m- retained: *sāmisāla* (*svāmi-sāra* †), *Sīrmai* (*Sīrmatī*), *Amayamai* (*Amṛtamati*).
- 2) -m->-v̄-, -v-: *pacchiṇṇa* (*paścima*), *duṇṇa* (*druma*), *jāṇṇa* (*jāmāta*); *ārāva* (*arāma*), *bhāviṇī* (*bhāminī*) *Govatī* (*Gomatī*), *vāvaṇa* (*vāmana*).
- 3) -m->nasalsed or unnasalsed vowels: *saṇṇhū* (*sammukham*) also *samuhū*, *kheum* (*kṣema*). *kheva* also, *Jouṇṇa* (*Yamunā*).
- 1100 WAp. 1) -m- retained: *nāma-hi* (*nāman-*), *sāmala* (*śyāmala*) *bhamaī* (*bhramati*), *samuha* (*samukha*).
- 2) -m->-a vowel: *nāu* (*nāma*), Only 1 form in *Mt*.
- Sap. 1) -m- retained: *Veyamaī* (*Vegamati*), *Amitavega* (*Amitavega*) *sāmi-sāla* (*svāmi-sāra*), *samāhi* (*scmādhi*).
- 2) -m->-v̄->unnasalsed vowel: Rare. *Jouṇṇa* (*Yamunā*), *cuṇṇiya* (*camarī*) and the doubtful form *ravanṇa* (**ramanya*=*ramaṇiya*) but cf. Sk. *lāvanya*. Only 3 forms, out of which the first two are -m->-a vowel.
- 1200 WAp. 1) -m- retained: *sāmala* (*śyāmala*), *kaṇṇala* (*ts*), *paṇṇa* (*pramāṇa*), *kumārī* (*ts*), *bhamaru* (*bhramaraḥ*), *Rāma-ha* (*Rāma-*); *majjhima* (*madhyama*), *sāmi-sala* (*svāmin-*).
- 2) -m->-v̄-, -v-: *asavaṇṇa* (*asāmāṇya*), *navakāra* (*namaskāra*), *kaṇṇalu* (*kaṇṇalam*), *bhaḍḍaru* (*bhramaraḥ*), *jaḍḍiya* (*jāmātṛka*), *dāvaṇa* (*dāman-*).

§58 B. TREATMENT OF INTERVOCALIC -m-

A.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
500 ?	1) -m- retained 2) -m->-v̄-		

600-1000	1) -m- retained	..	..
	-m->-v- (rare)		
700-1200	..	..	1) -m- generally conserved. 2) -m->-b-
1000	1) -m- conserved 2) -m->-ñ-, -v- 3) -m->-vowel (unnasalised)	1) -m- retained. 2) -m->-ñ-, -v- 3) -m->nasalised or unnasalised vowel.	
1100	1) -m- retained 2) -m->a vowel	1) -m- conserved. 2) -m->-r- rare. 3) -m->a vowel. Not frequently.	
1200	1) -m- retained 2) -m->-r-, -r-		

§59. The treatment of other intervocalic consonants in Ap. is practically the same as in other Pkts. In the treatment of sibilants, we find -ś- and -s- for OIA -ś-, -s-, -ṣ-, in EAp. There the -s- influence is probably external, and is more predominant in later works e.g., *DKṣ.* and the *Dākṛṇavatānta*.

-ś- remains : EAp. *pabeśa* < *praveśa*, *deśa* (ś), *ubeśa* < *upadeśa*.

-ś->-s- : EAp. *beśa* (resa), *bīśaya* (viśaya).

In WSAp. we have uniformly -ṣ- for -ś-, -ṣ-, and -s-. Even in EAp. we find -s- < -ś-, -ṣ-.

-s->-ṣ- : EAp. *āṣa* < *āśā*.

-ṣ->-s- : EAp. *sośa* < *śośa*, *bīṣaya* < *viśaya*.

Sibilants > -ha :

WSEAp. *cha* < *eśah* WSAp. *daha* < *daśan*.

WAp. *pāhaṇa* < *pāśāṇa*.

CONSONANTS IN CONTACT

§60. The changes of OIA consonant clusters to MIA have been ably discussed by BLOCH⁷⁶ and CHATTERJI⁷⁷ in general and by GEIGER and PISCHEL with reference to Pali and Prakrits. Ap. does

⁷⁶ *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 79-90.

⁷⁷ *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, pp. 79-83.

not differ much from Pkts. in its treatment of conjunct consonants. The treatments of the following consonant clusters, however, deserve attention:

OIA $k\dot{s}$, tv , dv , $ṣṇ$, sm , consonant + r .

The importance of these clusters lies in the fact that these were the crucial points in the isoglossal distinctions in olden times and their development in our period is linguistically interesting.

TREATMENT OF OIA $k\dot{s}$.

§61. A chrono-regional study of the treatment of OIA $k\dot{s}$ (see Comp. Table § 61A leads us to the following conclusions:

(1) In EAp. OIA $k\dot{s}$ whether initial or non-initial, was uniformly changed into $-kh-$ and $-kkh-$. There is not a single exception to this rule.

(2) WAp. was originally $k\dot{s} > kh$ dialect. In *Vk.* $k\dot{s}$ is always changed to $kh-$ or $-kkh-$ according to its initial or non-initial position. In 600 A.D. $ks > ch$ forms began to appear in *PPr.* Thus initially $k\dot{s} > ch$ is found in *chāra > kṣāra* in *PPr.* 2.90, but that is exceptional, the normal treatment being $k\dot{s} > kh-$ as we find it in *khaṭṭiu < ksatriya*, *khavaṇau < kṣapaṇakaḥ* and many other forms. Similarly intervocalic $-k\dot{s}- > -kh-$ is the general development. $-ks- > -ch-$ as in *acchu (akṣi)*, *vaccha (vṛkṣa)* and a few more forms mark the beginning of a new tendency if they be not loan-words from SAp.

This tendency was very slowly gaining popularity in WAp. Thus, excluding the repetitions, we find only two forms with initial $k\dot{s} > ch-$ in *Sdd.* viz., *chaṇasasi < kṣaṇa-śasi* (*Sdd.* 177), and *chijjau < kṣijyatām* (*Sdd.* 135), but here too the form is traceable to $\sqrt{chid-}$ as well, as the line in question is

mohaṇu chijjau dubbalaṇu hoṇi yaru parivāru *Sdd.* 135

There is no $k\dot{s} > ch-$ in *Pd.* In the big WAp. work of the 10th cent. A.D., *BhK.*, there are only two $ks > ch-$ forms viz., *chaṇa < kṣaṇa-* and *chitta < kṣetra*, $\sqrt{chuha} = \sqrt{kṣip}$ is a *dhātuvādeśa* in *Hc.* 8.4.143, and is not its linguistic equation as is clearly indicated by JACOBI (*Glossar* to *BhK.* p. 150). So initially $ks > kh-$ is the normal rule.

In its non-initial position $k\dot{s} > -ch-$ is more in use, although it was a slow process in the 10th cent. In *Pd.*, in 933 A.D., *picchāḥ (prekṣ-)* and *acchata (ā-kṣi)* are the only two examples of this. In *Sdd.* we have only three forms of this. It is only in *BhK.* that we get some more

instances of $-kṣ->-ch-$. It is thus clear that $-kṣ->-ch-$ forms whether borrowals or genuine were slowly on the increase in 1000 A.D.

In 1100 A.D., in the anthology of Ap. verses in the *Sarasvatī-kaṇṭhābharāṇa*, *khṭṭaa* (*kṣṭṭaka*) appears twice and it is the only vocable with $kṣ->kh-$, and we have no example of $kṣ->ch-$. Intervocally $-kṣ->-cch-$ is found in the majority of cases, *pekkhami* (**prekṣyāmi*) is the only instance of $-kṣ->-kkh-$. The treatment of $kṣ$ in these verses illustrates how $-kṣ->-cch-$ went on increasing in WAp. In 1100 A.D. As we do not know the sources of these verses, we cannot infer anything regarding the venue of these from this small selection of *dohās*.

In 1200 A.D., we find $kṣ>kh$ initially and intervocally as usual. There are a few cases of initial $kṣ->ch-$. We have only two in Sc., viz., *churya* (*°kṣurikā*) and *chuha* (*kṣudhā*). Though there are a few more examples of $-kṣ->-cch-$, WAp. prefers $-kṣ->-kkh-$ treatment rather than the $-cch-$ one.

It may now be safely asserted that in spite of mutual borrowings, standardisation as a literary dialect, and other levelling factors, the treatment of OIA $kṣ$ is more inclined to $kh-$ or $-kkh-$ rather than to $ch-$ or $-cch-$ in WAp. This fact is in consonance with TURNER's findings regarding old isoglosses noted in *Position of Romani in Indo-Aryan*, §27.

When we come to SAp., we have a mixed state of affairs in the changes of $-kṣ-$ in the non-initial position, even from the 10th cent. A.D. The same confusion is found in *KKc*. But initially $kṣ->ch-$ is quite frequent in the works of Puṣpadanta, but in *KKc* the proportion between $kh->ch-$ treatments is 8:3. In the early MIA isoglosses $kṣ>ch$ was the peculiarity of the south-west. The discussion of the $kṣ>kh$, ch problem in Pkts. as found in PISCHEL's *Grammatik* §§318-21 does not clarify the position. That WAp. and SAp. show a mixture of $kh-$, ch forms is certain. But just as WAp. is mainly based on a $kṣ>kh$ dialect, SAp. may be said to be a $kṣ>ch$ dialect to a less extent. We find a similar state in Marathi,⁷⁸ and in spite of the mixture of kh forms in Puṣpadanta and Kanakāmara, SAp. is more or less a literary form of $ch-$ dialect. $kṣ->jh-$ as in SAp. *jhīna* (*kṣīna*) has correspondence in Pkts. For example see PISCHEL, *Gram.* §326 also $\sqrt{jhara} < \sqrt{kṣar}$ quoted therein. In NIA Ap. *jh-* has been conserved as *jh-* e.g., M. *jharaṇē* $< \sqrt{jhara}$ in Ap. *jhijñē* $<$ Ap. *jhijja-*. For more BLOCH, *FLM* §107.

§ 61A. TREATMENT OF OIA *kṣ*

Cent.	Region	Examples
500 ?	WAp.	<p>a) Initially : <i>khuhia</i> (<i>kṣubhita</i>).</p> <p>b) Non-Initially : <i>ṣekkhu</i> (<i>*prekṣa</i>), <i>sikkhia</i> (<i>śikṣita</i>), <i>lakkhijjai</i> (<i>lakṣyate</i>), <i>ā-akkhiu</i> (<i>*ā-caṣṣitam</i>).</p>
600-1000	WAp.	<p>a) 1. <i>khirai</i> (<i>kṣarati</i>), <i>khattiu</i> (<i>kṣatriyaḥ</i>), <i>khavaṇau</i> (<i>kṣapaṇakah</i>).</p> <p>2. <i>chāra</i> (<i>kṣāra</i>). <i>kṣ->kh-</i> the normal treatment.</p> <p>b) 1. <i>rukkha</i> (<i>*rukṣa</i>), <i>pekkha</i>, <i>pikkha</i> (<i>prekṣ-</i>), <i>viyakkaṇu</i> (<i>vicakṣaṇaḥ</i>), <i>lakkhana-</i> (<i>lakṣaṇa</i>)</p> <p>2. <i>acchi</i> (<i>aṣṣi</i>), <i>vaccha</i> (<i>vṛkṣa</i>), <i>√accha</i> <i>√(*ā-kṣi-)</i>. <i>-kṣ->-kkh-</i> the normal treatment.</p>
700-1200	EAp.	<p>a) <i>khaṇa</i> (<i>kṣaṇa</i>), <i>khiti</i> (<i>kṣiti</i>), <i>khabāna</i> (<i>kṣapaṇaka</i>), <i>khetta</i> (<i>kṣetra</i>).</p> <p>b) <i>takkhaṇe</i> (<i>takṣaṇe</i>), <i>akkhara</i> (<i>aṣṣara</i>), <i>akkhoha</i> (<i>aṣṣobha</i>), <i>lakkhai</i> (<i>lakṣate</i>) also <i>lakkha</i> (<i>lakṣya</i>).</p>
1000	WAp.	<p>a) 1. <i>kṣ->kh-</i>: <i>khoja</i> (<i>kṣoda</i>), <i>khāra</i> (<i>kṣāra</i>), <i>khettī</i> (<i>kṣetritā</i>), <i>khoī</i> (<i>kṣapayitā</i>), <i>khayara</i> (<i>khadira</i>), <i>khuhiya</i> (<i>kṣubhita</i>), <i>ghitta</i> <i><*khitta <kṣipta</i> (?).</p> <p>2. <i>kṣ->ch-</i>: <i>chaṇa-</i> (<i>kṣaṇa-</i> ?), <i>chijjau</i> (<i>kṣīyatām</i>), nil in <i>Pd.</i> <i>chitta</i> (<i>kṣetra</i>). Only 2 in <i>Bh.K.</i> repetitions excluded.</p> <p>b) 1. <i>-kṣ->-kkh-</i>: <i>mokkha</i> (<i>mokṣa</i>), <i>rukkhada</i> (<i>*rukṣa-</i>), <i>rakkha-hu</i> (<i>rakṣ-</i>), <i>-kkh->-kh->-h-</i> in <i>rahanti</i> (<i>rakṣ-</i>) <i>Sdd.</i> 138.; <i>mokkha- ha</i> (<i>mokṣa-</i>), <i>akkharada</i> (<i>aṣṣara-</i>) <i>aṇu--pehā</i> (<i>anuprekṣā</i>). <i>-kṣ->-h-</i> as above. <i>abhakkha</i> (<i>abhakṣya</i>), <i>akkhara-</i> (<i>aṣṣara</i>).</p> <p>2. <i>-kṣ->cch-</i>: Only 3 in <i>Sdd.</i> <i>picchai</i> (<i>prekṣate</i>), <i>-acchau</i> (<i>ā-kṣi</i>), <i>Lacchi</i> (<i>Lakṣmī</i>). 2 in <i>Pd.</i> <i>picchai</i> (<i>prekṣ-</i>), <i>acchanta</i> (<i>ā-kṣi</i>). Many more in <i>Bh.K.</i> e.g., <i>-acchi</i> (<i>-aṣṣi</i>), <i>Lacchi</i> (<i>Lakṣmī</i>), <i>vacchayala</i> (<i>*vakṣa-tala = vakṣasthala</i>), <i>saccha</i> (<i>sākṣāt</i>), <i>ucchu</i> (<i>iṣṣu</i>).</p>

- 1000 Sap. a) 1. *kṣ-> kh-*: *khṛim* (*kṣireṇa*), *khundi* (*kṣud-*)
 2. *kṣ-> ch-*: *chana-* (*kṣana-*), *chohiya* (*kṣobhita*) *choha* (*kṣobha*), *-choṇi* (*-kṣoṇi*) more frequent than *kṣ-> kh-*.
 3. *kṣ-> jh-*: *jhīṇa* (*kṣīṇa*), *jhjjanta* (*kṣi-*), *√jhara* (*kṣar*).
 b) *-kṣ-> -khh-* more popular than *-kṣ-> -cch-*. *akkhāḍaya* (*akṣavāṭa*), *lekkhahi* (*lakṣ-*), *nirikkhā* (**nirīkṣa=cora*), *duhikkha* (*durbhikṣa*), *dakkhavaḥi* (**dṛkṣ-*), *Lakkhaṇa* (*Lakṣmaṇa*), *saṃkṣobhaṇikā* (*saṃkṣobhaṇikā*); *-kṣ- -cch-*: *kaccha* (*kakṣā*), *Lacchi* (*Lakṣmī*), *ucchu* (*iṣu*), *manchuḍu* (*maṇkṣu*), *ucchala-* (*ut-*kṣal-*).
- 1100 WAp. a) *kṣ-> kh-*: *khittā* (*kṣiptaka*), *khapa* (*kṣapa-*)
 b) 1. *-kṣ-> -cch-*: *-acca* (*-akṣa*) as in *-kaḍacca-* (*-kaṭṭakṣā*), *maachi* (*mygākṣi*), *tirriccha* (*tiryakṣa*). *saricchu* (*sadykṣa*), *Mahālacchihī* (*Mahālakṣmī*), *-vicchuhai* (*vi-kṣubh-*).
 2. *-kṣ-> -khh-*: Only 1 form viz., *pekkhami* (**prekṣyāmi*).
- 1100 Sap. a) *kṣ-> kh-*: 8 forms excluding repetition. e.g., *khaṇaddha* (*kṣaṇārdha*), *khīṇa* (*kṣīṇa*), *khetta* (*kṣetra*).
 2. Only 3 forms: *chana-* (*kṣana-*), *churia* (*kṣurikā*), *chuha-taṇha* (*kṣudhā-tṛṣṇā*).
 b) 1. *-kṣ-> -khh-*: *rakkhavāla* (*raksāpāla*), *lakkhārasa* (*lākṣā-*), *akkhara* (*akṣara*), *bhukkhā* (*bhukṣā*).
 2. *-kṣ-> -cch-*: *kucchi* (*kuṣṣi*), *Lacchi* (*Lakṣmī*), *vicchaya* (*vikṣobbha*).
- 1200 WAp. a) 1. *kṣ-> kh-*: *khitta* (*kṣetra*), *khivai* (*kṣipati*) *kha-* (*kṣana-*), *khaya-* (*kṣaya-*), *khavaga* (*kṣapaka*).
 2. *kṣ-> ch-*: Only 2 forms in Sc. viz., *churiya* (*kṣurikā*), *chuha* (*kṣudhā*); *chāra* (*kṣāra*) Very few forms.
 b) *-kṣ-> -khh-*: *rakkha* (*rakṣā*), *Lakkhaṇa* (*lakṣaṇa*), *ahikaṇkhira* (*abhikāṇkṣin*), *rakkhejjahu* (*rakṣ-*), *lakkhehim* (*lakṣa-*) *mokkha* (*mokṣa*), *cukkha* (**cokṣa*), *akkha-* (*akṣa-*).

-*kṣ*->-*cch*- : *acchi* (*akṣi*), *icchu* (*ikṣu*), *Lacchi* (*Lakṣmī*), *acchōḍḍiya* (*ākṣoḍḍita*).

§ 61.B. TREATMENT OF OIA *kṣ*.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	a) Initially : <i>kh</i> - b) Non-initially : <i>-khh</i> -		
600-1000	a) Initially : (1) <i>kh</i> - (normally) (2) <i>ch</i> - (rare). b) Non-initially : (1) <i>-khh</i> - (Normally) (2) <i>-cch</i> - not frequently.		
700-1200	....	a) Initially : <i>kh</i> - b) non-initially : <i>-khh</i> -	
1000	a) Initially : (1) <i>kh</i> - (2) <i>ch</i> - still rarely. b) Non-initially : (1) <i>-khh</i> - (2) sometimes <i>-khh</i> > <i>kh</i> - > <i>-h</i> - (3) <i>-cch</i> -	a) Initially : (1) <i>kh</i> - (2) <i>ch</i> - more frequent than <i>kh</i> -. (3) <i>jh</i> - b) Non-initially: (1) <i>-khh</i> - more popular than <i>-cch</i> -. (2) <i>-cch</i> -	
1100	a) Initially : <i>kh</i> - b) Non-initially : (1) <i>-cch</i> - normally (2) <i>-khh</i> - only 1 form	a) Initially : (1) <i>kh</i> (2) <i>ch</i> - only 3 forms. b) Non-initially : (1) <i>-khh</i> - (2) <i>-cch</i> -	

1200 a) Initially :

- (1) *kh-*
- (2) *ch-* few forms.

b) Non-initially

- (1) *-kkh-*
- (2) *-cch-*

GROUPS OF DENTAL + *v*TREATMENT OF *tv*

§ 62. In the early isoglosses OIA *tv* was changed to *tt* in the Southwest, *pp* in the centre, *pp* (?) in the East and *tt* (?) in the South. This leads us to expect *tv* > *pp* in WAp., *tv* < *tt* in SEAp. The facts, however, are as follows :

(1) EAp. changes OIA *tv* to *tu-* initially and *-tt-* intervocalically.

(2) In WAp. in 500 A.D. *tv* > *p-* is the only change in the initial position, and *-v-* i.e., *-evipu* < *-tvīnam* indicates the same treatment (*-tv* > *-pp* > *-p-* > *-v-*). It is from 600 A.D. that the *tv* > *-t-* and *-tv* > *-tt-* > *-cc-* changes begin to take place initially and intervocalically, and from the 10th cent. A.D., there is a free admixture of *-tt-* and *-pp-* as well as *t-* and *p-* treatments in WAp. The same is found in the subsequent centuries, both in initial and non-initial *tv*.

(3) In SAP. from the very beginning, we find that OIA *-tv* > *tu-*, *p-*, and *-tt-* > *-tt-*, *-pp-* are freely mixed together. The same is the case in *KKc* in 1100 A.D.

It is probable that most of the forms with initial *tv-* being 2nd person pronouns, and *-tv-* forms being Absolutives and abstract nouns already in vogue in the WAp. tract (as Ap. was a literary *lingua franca* in this contiguous region) such mixture was inevitable, although the original tendency was evident in early WAp. works. EAp. however, preserves its special characteristic.

§ 62A. TREATMENT OF OIA *tv*.

Cent. A.D.	Region	Examples
500?	WAp.	a) Initially : <i>tv</i> > <i>p-</i> : for examples e.g., <i>paī</i> (* <i>tvayam</i> = <i>tvam</i>) see 2nd p. Pronoun §120.

- b) Non-initially : -*tvīnam* > (e)*viṇu*. For exs. e.g., *rundhēviṇu* (*rundh-tvīnam*) see Absolutives § 152.
- 600-100 WAp. a) *tv->tu-*: For exs. s.e.g., *tuhum* (*tvam*) see 2nd p. Pron. § 120.
- b) 1. -*tv->-v-* : As in -*evi*, -*eviṇu* from Vedic -*tvī*, -*tvīnam*. For ex. see Absolutives § 152.
2. -*tv->-tt-* -*cc-* e.g., *taccu* (*tatvam*).
- 700-1200 EAp. a) *tv->tu-*: e.g., *tuhu* (*tvam*) for more see 2nd p. Pron. § 120.
- b) -*tv->-tt-* e.g., -*tta* < -*tva*, -*ttana* < -*tvana* of Abstract nouns see Ch. IV. *tatta* (*tatva*).
- 1000 WAp. a) 1. *tv->tu-*: See 2nd p. Pron. § 120. for ex. see ✓*tura* (*tvar-*)
2. -*tv-<p-* : Forms e.g., *paī* (*tva-yā* etc.) see 2nd p. p. Pron. § 120.
- b) -*tv->-tt-* e.g., -*tta* (-*tva*), -*ttana* (-*tvana*) of Abstract nouns. See Ch. IV. *mitthetiya* (*mithyāiva*).
2. -*tv->-pp-* or -*p-* e.g., -*eppi*, -*ppi* (-*tvī*), *eppiṇu* -*ppiṇu* (-*tvīnam*). For exs. see Absolutives § 152.
3. -*tv->-tt->-cc* : *taccu* (*tatvam*).
- 1000 SAp. a) 1. *tv->tu-*: For exs. see 2nd p. Pronoun § 120.
2. *tv->p-*: for exs. see 2nd p. Pron. § 120.
- b) 1. *tv->tt-* e.g. Suffixes of Abstract nouns -*tta* (-*tva*), -*ttana* (-*tvana*).
2. -*tv->-pp-*: Suffixes of Abstract nouns e.g., -*ppa* < -*tva*, -*ppana* < -*tvana*.
- 1100 WAp. a) *tv->p-*: e.g. *paī* (*tvayā*) see 2nd p. Pron. § 120.
- b) 1. -*tv->-tt-* : e.g., *visittī* (*viśitvī*) see Absolutives § 152.
2. -*tv->-p->-v-* : e.g. *supivī* (**śrunitvī*) see § 152.
- SAp. a) *tv->tu-*: e.g. *tuhum* (*tvam*). see 2nd p. Pron. § 120, *turia*, *turanta* (*tvar-*).
- tv->p-* : See 2nd p. Pron. § 120.

- b) 1. *-tv->-tt-* : *caccara-vanta* (*catvara-*), *<-tt-* of Abstract Noun see Ch. IV.

2. *-tv->-v-* : *-ivi*, *-evi*, *-evinu* *<-tvī*, *-tvīnam* of Absolutives §152.

- 1200 WAp. a) 1. *tv->tu-* : see 2nd p. Pron. § 120. *turiu* (*tvaritam*), *turanta* (*tvar-*).

2. *tv->ta-*, *pa-* : see 2nd p. sg. § 120.

- b) 1. *-tv->-pp-* : *-ppi*, *-ppinu* *-eppi*, *-eppinu* *<-tvī*, *-tvīnam* of the Abslutive. *-ppaṇa* *<-tvana* of Abstract Nouns.

2. *-tv->-pp-*, *-p-<-v-* : *-ivi*, *-evi*, *-evinu* *<-tvī* *-tvīnam*, See Absolutives §152.

3. *-tv->-tt-* : *-ttaṇa*, *<tvana*, *-tta-<-tva* of Abstract nouns. *tatta* (*latva*).

§62B. TREATMENT OF OIA *tv*.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	a) Initially : <i>p-</i> b) Non-initially : <i>-v-</i>	....	..
600-1000	a) Initially: <i>tu-</i> b) Non-initially (1) <i>-v-</i> (2) <i>-tt->-cc-</i>	.. .	..
700-1200	....	a) Initially : <i>tu-</i> b) Non-initially : <i>-tt-</i>	
1000	a) Initially : (1) <i>tu-</i> (2) <i>p-</i> b) Non-initially : (1) <i>-tt-</i> (2) <i>-pp-</i> , <i>-p-</i> (2) <i>-tt->-cc-</i> ,	a) Initially : (1) <i>tu-</i> (2) <i>p-</i> b) Non-initially : (1) <i>-tt-</i> (2) <i>-pp-</i>	
1100	a) Initially : <i>p-</i>	a) Initially : (1) <i>tu-</i> (2) <i>p-</i>	

- b) Non-initially : b) Non-initially :
- (1) -*tt*- (1) -*tt*- sometimes
-*tt*- > -*cc*-
- (2) -~~p~~- > -v- (2) -v-
- a) Initially : (1) *tu*-, (2, 3) *ta*-, *pa*-
- b) Non-initially : (1) -~~p~~p-, (2) -~~p~~- > -v-
(3) -*tt*-

- 1200 a) Initially : (1) *tu-*, (2, 3) *ta-*, *pa-*
 b) Non-initially : (1) *-pp-*, (2) *-p->-v-*
 (3) *-tt-*

§63. The treatment of OIA *dv* shows a mixture of *dv* and *bb* forms from the very beginning of our period both initially and intervocally. *Vk* is the only Ap. work showing purely *-vv-* (*-bb-*) treatment. The reason of this admixture from 600 A.D. is most probably due to the fact that the majority of *dv-* forms being numerals have spread beyond their provinces, or have been freely borrowed in the interprovincial communication from very old times. This was the state before Ap. period, and it is due to the paucity of Ap. material in 500 A.D. that adherence to the older phonological tendency is seen.

The old isoglossal line of demarcation appears to have been lost in Ap. from 600 A.D. onwards and WSEAp. between 600 A.D. to 1200 A.D. shows a free inter-borrowing among the provinces regarding the changes of *dd* and *bb*.

§63A. TREATMENT OF OIA *dv.*

Cent A.D.	Region	Examples
500 ?	WAp.	a) Initial : nil. b) Non-initial : <i>-dv->-vv-</i> : <i>uvvelliā</i> (<i>udvelita</i>), <i>uvvelliā</i> (<i>ud-vel-</i>)
600-1000	WAp.	a) 1. <i>dv->d-</i> : <i>d̥ṣu</i> (<i>dveṣa</i>), <i>do-h̥i</i> (<i>dva-<u>y</u>oḥ</i>). 2. <i>dv->b-</i> : <i>b̥ihi</i> (<i>dvayōḥ</i>), <i>be</i> (<i>dvau</i>). b) <i>uvvasu</i> (<i>udvasaḥ</i>) PPr. 1.11.
700-	EAp.	a) 1. <i>dv->du-</i> : <i>duāra</i> (<i>dvāra</i>) only 1 form in DKK. 22. Nil in DKK.

2. *dv->b-*: *beṇṇi*, *benna* (*dvi-*), *biṇṇa* (*dve*), *beṇima* (*dvidhā*).
- b) *-dv->-d-*: *adaa* (*advaya*) only 1 form in *DKS*. 100
- 1000 WAp. a) 1. *dv->d-*: *do*, *dui*, *duṇṇi* (*dvi*), *duviha* (*dvididha*).
 2. *dv->b-*: *bāraha* (*dvādaśa*), *biyaya*, *bidia* (*dviṭṭiya*), *bihim* (*dvābhyām*).
 3. *dv->v-*: *ve-* (*dvi-*), *vāra* (*vāra*), *vijjaya* (*dviṭṭiyaka*).
 b) *-dv->-vv-*: *uvveva* (*udvega*), *uvvali* (**udvali=udvartana*)
- 1000 SAp. a) 1. *dv->-d-*: *Divāyana* (*Dvīpāyana*), *Dujaḍa* (*Dvi-jaḷa*), *deha* (*dvidha*), *dohāviya* (= *dvidhākṛta*), *doh-āihuya* (*dvibhāgē bhāṭita*).
 2. *dv->b-*: *Bārāvaipura* (*Dvārāvati-pura*), *bāvīsa* (*dvāvimśat*) and numerals with *dvi-* as the first part of compounds.
 b) 1. *dv->-dd-*: *addaiyavāya* (*advaitavāda*). *caūdāra* (*catur-dvāra*).
 2. *-dv->-vv-*: *uvvāra* (*udvāra-ṇa*), *uvvevira* (*ud-vep-*).
 3. *-dv->-u-*: *riusa* (*vidvas-* but rather **viduṣa*).
- 1100 WAp. a) *dv->d-*: *dopha* (*dvayoh*) only 1 viz. *Mt*. 16.
 b) *-dv->-vv-*: *viuvvittḥi* (*vyudviṣṭa*)- *Mt*. 19 only one form.
- 1100 SAp. a) *dv->d-*: *doṇṇi* (*dvau*), *dovālasa* (*dvādaśa*). *dv->b-*: *bāraha* (*dvādaśa*) - *KKc* 5.10.1 only one form.
 b) *-dv->-d-*: *Jambu-dīva* (*Jambu-dvīpa*) but this is really initial *dv-*.
- 1200 WAp. a) *dv->d-*: *dāra* (*dvāra*), *duha* (*dvidhā*), *do* (*dvi*) *duguna* (*dvi-guṇa*).
 2. *dv->v-*: *vāra* (*dvāra*).
 3. *dv->b-*: *be*, *behim* (*dvi-*).
 b) 1. *uvvasiya* (*udvasita*), *uvvigga* (*udvigna*), *uvveya* (*udvega*).
 2. *viusa* (*vidvas*).

§63B. TREATMENT OF OIA *dv*.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	a) Initially : nil b) Non-initially : - <i>vv</i>-	.... ....	.. ..
600-1000	a) Initially : (1) <i>d</i> - (2) <i>b</i> - b) Non-initially : - <i>vv</i>-	....	..
700-1200	....	.... (a) Initially : 1) <i>du</i> - only one form in <i>DKK</i> . 2) <i>b</i> - (b) Non-initially. 1) - <i>d</i> - only one form in <i>DKs</i> . (1).	
1000	1) Initially : (1) <i>d</i> - (2) <i>b</i> - (3) <i>v</i> - b) Non-initially : - <i>vv</i> -	(2) Initially : (1) <i>d</i> - (2) <i>b</i> - (b) Non-initially : (1) - <i>dd</i> - (2) - <i>vv</i> - (3) - <i>u</i> - (?)	
1100	a) Initially : <i>d</i> - b) Non-initially : - <i>vv</i> - Both (a) (b) rare.	(a) Initially : (1) <i>d</i> - (2) <i>b</i> - only 1 form (b) Non-initially : - <i>d</i> -	
1200	a) Initially : (1) <i>d</i> - (2) <i>v</i> - (3) <i>b</i> - b) Non-initially : (1) - <i>vv</i> - (2) - <i>u</i> -		

GROUPS WITH *r*

§64. According to Pk. Grammarians *r* as a second member of consonant clusters is optionally retained. (Cd. 3.37, NS. on Rudrata's *Kāvyaśālikāra* 2.12, Pu. 17.15 and 18.3 for Vṛcada Ap., Hc. 8.4.398 and

examples on *Hc.* 8.4.329, *Tr.* 3.3.5 followed by *Sh.* and *Ld.*, *Ki* 5.2.5, 16, *Mk.* 17.4 and 18.4 for *Vrācaḍa* Ap.). The illustrations probably express the real state of affairs in spoken Ap. as *tss.* with *r* as the second member are used even in the oldest stage of NIA and Dravidian literature contemporaneous with the Ap. works. Thus *grāmo* (*grāma*), *vaghro* (*vyāghra*) in *Cd.*, *hhrāyara* (*hhrātar*), *vaghreṇa* (*vyāghreṇa*) in *NS.*, *priyeṇa* (*priya-*) in *Hc.* etc., show how *tss.* were used in spoken Ap. with an admixture of Pk. influence on the vocable.

In Ap. literature we do possess such clusters e.g., *tss.* like *prāṇa*, *priya*, pro-*ts.* forms e.g., *praṇgaṇa* < *prāṇgaṇa*, *praāvadi* < *prajāpati*, *prāu*, *prāiva* < *prāyaḥ*, *dhruvu* < *dhruvaṃ* and *-r* conjuncts like *dhrum*, *tram*, *jrūm*, etc. These forms are enough to show that *-r* conjuncts were in existence in our period, although the general tendency is towards assimilation due to the stylisation in literature. Exceptional as these forms are in the mass of Ap. literature, they show that it was nearer to the spoken idiom than we are usually apt to regard it.

The following examples show that the treatment of conjuncts with *-r* as the second member of the group in Ap., is practically the same as in literary Pkts.⁷⁸

kr- > *k-*, *kh-* : WSAp. *√kanda* < *kranda-*, *√kheḍḍa*, *√khella*, *khilla* < *√krīḍ-*.

-kr- > *-kk-* : WSAp. *cakka* (*cakra*).

WAp. *ahakkamina* (*yathā krameṇa*)

-kr- > *-nik-* : WSAp. *vaṃka* < *vakra*.

gr- > *g-* : WSAp. *gāma* < *grāma*, *gimbha* < *grīṣma*

-gr- > *-gg-*, *-g-* : WSAp. *agga* < *agra*, EAp. *sāmaggi* < *sāmagrī*

WAp. *asagāha* < *asad-grāha*.

ghr- > *gh-* : SAp. *ghāṇa* < *ghrāṇa*.

-ghr- > *-ggh-* : WAp. *agghāiya* < *āghrāta*.

-mgh- : EAp. *jimghai* (*jighrati*)

ḍr- > *-d-* : SAp. *ṣuriduccu* < *ṣuṇḍra* + *iḥṣu*.

For the treatment of *tr*, *dr*, *dhr* see § 47(1).

pr- > *p-* : WAp. *pāvami* < **prāpami*, *pesu* < *praveśa*.

SAp. *paṭṭha* < *praviṣṭa*, EAp. *pabiṇa* < *pravīṇa*.

-pr- > *-pp-* : WAp. *viṣṭa* < *viṣṭa*, SAp. *sippā* < *śi* (*kṣi*) *prā*.

br- > *b-* : SWAp. *Bambhu* (*Brahman*), E. *Bamha*, *Bamhaṇa* (*Brāhmaṇa*).

78 For the treatment of *-r* clusters in Pkts. see FISCHER *Grammatik*, §§ 287-95.

bhr->bh-: WSAp. *bhamei*, *bhamijjā* < $\sqrt{bhram-}$,
EAp. $\sqrt{bhumaya-}$ < $\sqrt{bhram-}$.

-bhr->-bbh-: WAp. *abbha* < *abhra*.

-mr->-mb-, *-mv-* See § 67 (1).

vr->v-: WAp. *vajjā* < *vrajati*, SAp. *vaya* < *vrata*.

śr->s-: WSAp. \sqrt{sunu} < $\sqrt{śru-nu}$, SAp. *soniyāhin* (*śiṇyoh*)

-śr->-ms: WSAp. *aṃsuya*, *va* < *aśru*.

-sr->-ms-: WAp. *caurāṃsa* < *caturasra*.

These changes, being common to Pkts. and Ap., need not be discussed.

GROUPS WITH SIBILANT + NASAL

§ 65. Out of the OIA clusters of sibilant + nasal only *-ṣṇ* and *sm* deserve attention. As in Pkts., in Ap. also, such groups result in *h-* + nasal, and consequent Metathesis reducing them to nasal + *h*. But the regional differences in the treatment of *-ṣṇ* are too obvious to be ignored (especially in Proper names). Thus *-ṣṇ* is changed to *-tṣh-* in SAP. e.g., *Viṭṭhu* (*Viṣṇu*), *-Viṭṭhi* (*-Viṣṇi*). *Biṭṭhu* (*Viṣṇu*) is the only form (DKS. 52) in EAp., and may be a loan-word there. The normal treatment of *-ṣṇ* is *-ṇh-* in WAp. *tiṭṭha* < *tṣṇā* in PPr. 2.132 is properly **tṣṣā* the corresponding form in SAP. being *tiṭṭhi* < **tṣṣi* in 1000 A.D. In SAP. also, the majority of forms (even *nomina propria*) shows *-ṣṇ->-ṇh-* treatment. e.g., WSAp. *Kaṇha* < *Kṛṣṇa*, EAp. *Kāṇha*, WSAp. *taṇhā* (*tṣṇā*) etc.

(ii) *sm* :

a) Initial *sm->s-*: WSAp. \sqrt{sara} < *smar* as in *sarevau* < *smaravau* *sarivī* (*smṛtvā*), *sara* < *smara*; *visārijjā* < *vismāyale*, EAp. *bi-sarāu* < *vi-smṛtaka*.

In the last two examples, *sm* is initial in the second member of the compound.

b) Non-initial *-sm-*: Plur. form of 1st person pron. e.g., *amha*, *amhaṭ*, *amhāṇam* < OIA **asma-*. For this see 1st P. Pron. § 119 A.

c) *-sm->-h-*

Loc. sg. *-him* < *-smīn*, also found as *-hi*, *-hi* as in *jahī* (*yasmin*), *kaḥī* (*kasmin*) etc., through normal MIA *-mhi-*.

d) Insertion of the plosive *-b-* between *-m* and *h-* resulting from *-sm-*. See § 67.

In Jc. 1.13.8 *bhaḥpa-ra* < *bhasman-* is an exceptional form showing *-sm->-pp-*.

ANAPTYXIS (SVARABHAKTI)

§66. Like other Pkt. dialects, Ap. sometimes inserts a light vowel to break a consonant cluster. The instances are noted in §38.

INSERTION OF PLOSIVES

§67. In a group of nasal+liquid in Ap., as in literary Pkts., a voiced plosive of the same class as the nasal is at times used between the nasal and the liquid. Thus we have:

- (1) OIA *-mr->***mbr->*Ap. *-mb-* at times written as *-mv-* e.g., WSAp. *tamba<tāmra*, *tamba-cūla<tāmra-cūḍa* in SAp., *āmba*, WAp. *amva<āmra*, SAp. *āyamba<ātāmra*.
- (2) OIA *-ml->***mbi->*Ap. *-mb-* or *-mv-* with anaptyxis. e.g., WAp. *amvīla<amla*, *āyamvīla<ācāmīla*. SAp. *semva(ba)li<śālmālī*, after Metathesis; but initially *ml->m-* is seen. e.g., *meccha<mleccha*.
- (3) A similar insertion of plosives is found in the OIA cluster of *-h-*+nasal which results into nasal+*-h-* by Metathesis in Ap. *-hn->***-nh->-ndh-* e.g., *cindhā<cihva*. *-hm->-mh->-mbh-* e.g., *ba(va)mbhāna<Brāhmana*, but EAp. has *Bamha<Brahmā*, *bamhaṇa<brāhmana*.
- (4) When the OIA cluster of sibilant+nasal results into *-mh-* (*<-sm-*, *-sm-*), we sometimes find *-b-* inserted between *-m-* and *-h-* e.g. WSAp. *sambhariya<*saṁsmvrita=samsmṛta*, *vimbhaya<viśmaya*. SAp. *sembha<śleṣma*, *gimbha<grīṣma*, *vimbhaiḥ<viśmitena*.

INSERTION OF *r*.

§68. According to Pk. grammarians, the insertion of *-r-* as a second member of a consonant group where no such historical relation is traceable to OIA, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Ap. (See *Pu.* 17.14, *Hc.* 8.1.399, *Ki.* 5.2.5, 16; *Tr.* 3.3.6, *RT.* 3.3.2, *Mk.* 17.3). The retention of *-r-* in *r-* clusters is a different phenomenon for which see §61. We find the following examples in treatises on Pk. grammars: *vraṇala*, *uvraṇa*, *vraṇau*, *krāka*, *krukhi* in the Com. of Ns. on Rudrata's *Kāvyālaṁkāra* 2.12, *ṛam* (*Pu.* 17.55), *ṛum* (*Ki.* 5.49), *dhṛum=yad* (*Hc.* 8.1.360, 438, 1; *Sh.* 40), *tram=yad* or *tad* (*Hc.* 8.1.360), *drum=tad* (*Ki.* 5.49), but *yad* in *Tr.* 3.4.31 and *Ld.* on the same *sūtra*. *prassadi<paśyati* (*Hc.* 8.4.393), *bhrantri<bhrānti* (*Hc.* 8.4.360), *bhrāsa<bhāṣya* (*Ki.* 5.5),

Vrāsa < *Vyāsa* (*Hc.* 8.4.369, *Ki.* 5.5, *Ld.* 3.3.6). In *etrula*, *jet-rula*, *ketrula*, *tetrula* for *iyat*, *kiyat*, *yāvat*, *tāvat* (*Hc.* 8.4.435) the -r- is probably due to the influence of *Sk. atra*, *kutra*, *yatra*, *tatra*. *Mk.* 17.3. gives *vrākrośa* (*vyākrośa*), *vrāḍi* (*vyāḍi*), *vrāgaraṇu* (*vyākaraṇa*).

It is important to note that this is not the characteristic of literary Ap. Exceptional forms like *Vrāsu*, *prassadi* are found very rarely, and in a work like *Kc.* which is specially written to illustrate his own Pk. grammar by Hemacandra.

PROTHESIS

§69. See §39.

INTERCHANGE OF CONSONANTS

§70. The following consonants are interchanged in Ap. Many of these are found in literary Pkts. as well :

- (1) -ḍ- and -l-, (-l-) interchanged. e.g.

WAp. *ārālia* < *avaraṭita*, *duddhaḷā* < **duddha-ḷaa dugdha-ḷa-ka*.

SAP. $\sqrt{pāla}$ < $\sqrt{pāḍ}$

EAp. *naggala* < **nagga-ḷa* < *nagna-ta*, *cellu* < *cetaka* or its cognate like *ceḍa* < $\sqrt{*crl}$.⁷⁹

SAP. *ciḍaulla*.

- (2) -d- and -l- interchanged :

WSAP. *galatthiyu* < *kadarthita*,

WAp. *palitta* < *pradīpta*, cf. *Hc.* 8.1.221,

SAP. *kālabinī* < *Kādambinī*.

- (3) -n- and -l- interchanged.⁸⁰

WSAP. *loṇa*, *loṇiu*, *lavanīya* < *navanīta*, *nāhala* < *lāhala*, *ulūkhana* < *ulūkhala*, *ṇālāla* *nalāda*, < *lalāḷa* or from *mitala*?

- (4) -m- and -b- interchanged :

WSAP. *samara* < *śabara*, SAP. *sinura* < *śibva*.

- (5) -m- and -v- interchanged :

WSAP. *jāma*. WAp. *jāmu* < *yāvat*, also, *tāma*, *tāmu* < *tāvat*,

SAP. *Dumaya* < *Dumaya* < *Drupada*.

⁷⁹ S. M. KATRE, 'Pk uccardima' in *Mm P.V Ann Festschrift*, pp 258-9.

⁸⁰ For corresponding changes in OIA e.g. *naktaka*, *laktaka*, see WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. Gram.* I, § 175.

(6) -v- and -b- interchanged :

The use of *b* for *v* is an EAp. characteristic e.g., *baṇa* < *vacara*, *bāca* < *vācā*, *biḍambā* < *viḍambita*, *butta* < **vukta* = *ukta*, *bohitha* < **vohitra* = *vahitra*. Rarely in WAp. *baṁsa* < *vaṁśa*. Sometimes we find *v* < *b* e.g., WAp. *vāha* < *bāṣpa*, WAp. *vībhacca* < *bībhatsa*. The phonetic habit of pronouncing *b* for *v* and, the corresponding scribal practice may be the reason of this.

(7) -r- and -l- interchanged :⁸¹

(a) Ap. -l- < OIA -r- : WAp. *dālidā* < *dāridrya*, *soṁāla* < *sukumāra*, (*saumya* + *āla*?) *ālumkhiya* < *ārukṣita*.

Ap. -r- < OIA -l- : *sāmari* < *sālmali*,

EAp. *ebamkāla* < *evamkāra*.

METATHESIS

§71. As in OIA,⁸² Pāli⁸³ and Pkts.⁸⁴ we have some cases of metathesis in Ap. e.g., *Vāṇārasī*, EAp. *Baṇārasī* < *Vārāṇasī*, *dīhara* < *dirgha*, *paḥirāvīya* < *paridhāpita*, *halua* < *laghu-ka*, *draha* < *hrada*. MIA has, by nature, a repulsion for a consonant cluster beginning with *h-*, and hence transposed it by Metathesis. *śn*, *śm* *sm*, *sn*, *sm*, *hn*, *hm* became *nh* and *mh* in Ap., but as it shares these in common with Pkts., they need not be illustrated.⁸⁵

CONSONANTAL GEMINATION

§72. Sometimes non-initial single consonants are doubled simply, or to compensate the shortening of a long vowel. We find this in Ap. of all regions.⁸⁶

WAp. *kacca* < *kāca*, *kōuholla* < *kautūhala*, *ṭikka* < *ṭikā*, *nāikka* < *nāyaka*, *nihitta* < *nihita*, *tella* < *taila*, *duritta* < *durita*, *pemma* < *preman*.

SAP. *ujjuya* < *rjuka*, *uppari* < *upari*, *ekka*, *ikka* < *eka*, *callia* < *calita*, *niccapphala* < *niscāpala*, *pāikka* < *pādika*.

EAp. *abikkala* < *avikala*, *ekka* < *eka*, *juttha* < *yūtha*, *ṇakka* < *nakha*, *nattha* < *nātha*, *paṇḍilla* < *paṇḍita*.

See §27 (A) iii (a), (B) iii.

⁸¹ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 257, § 259

⁸² WACKERNAGEL, *Alt. Gram.* I. § 351

⁸³ GEIGER, *Pali Lit u. Spr.* § 47.

⁸⁴ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 354

⁸⁵ PISCHEL, *Ibid.*, §§ 312-4

⁸⁶ For similar examples in literary Pkts and their explanation see PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 90, § 194.

COMPENSATORY NASALISATION

§73. Sometimes a consonant cluster becomes a nasalized simple consonant, the nasalisation being a compensation for the loss of one member of the conjunct. e.g.

WSAp. *daṁsaṇa* < *darśana*, *√jampa* < *√jalp-*, *vaṁka*, *vaṁkī* < *vakrā*,

WAp. *√piṁcha* < *√pṛcch-*, *paṁkhi* < *pakṣin*, *āḷuṁkhiya* < *āruṁkṣita*,
baṁhina < *barhin*, *maṁṭha* < *mṛṣṭa*,

SAp. *goṁcha*, *guṁcha* < *guccha* or *gutsa*, *Kaṁcāṇi*, < *Kātyāyaṇi*, *vayaṁsi*
< *vayasyā*.

EAp. *jiṁghaṁ* < *ṅghrati*.

See § 31 also.

CHAPTER II

DECLENSION IN APABHRAMŚA

§74. AP. MORPHOLOGY—IN A SYNTHETICO-ANALYTIC STAGE

Ap. Morphology represents the essential *differentia* between literary Pkts. and Ap., and as such its importance cannot be exaggerated. A synthetic review of the general development of IA Morphology shows a continuous process of reduction and regularisation.¹ Ap. morphology represents a phase later than that of Pkts.²

In Ap. we find that the number of stems is practically reduced to one type—the *-a* ending one. The number of cases is reduced to three as the Nom. and Acc. are identified, the Instr. merges into Loc., and the Abl. and the Dat.-Gen. become one. As a matter of fact, we have three and sometimes (in Fem. stems) practically two cases here—the Direct and the Oblique. The analytic tendency is set in. Ap. Morphology is in a synthetico-analytic stage. Its comparison with the old flexional system in NIA, shows that Ap. is only a precursor of the old NIA.

§75. DECLENSION IN AP.

Ap. preserves the declensional system of Pkts. in a reduced degree but to a greater extent than the old stage of NIA. It has regional variations, but all of them show that the ground is being prepared for NIA. The direct case was already formed in Ap., and the remaining two supplied the oblique bases to NIA.³

As in other MIA dialects, all themes or stems in Ap. end in vowels. Normally they end in *-a, -ā, -i, -ī, -u, -ū*. Stems in *-e* and *-o* (their number is negligible), are reduced to *-i* and *-u* ones respectively. Thus we have :

-a : *nāha*, *ṇattha* (*nātha*), *rāya* (*rājan*), *kamma* (*karman*), *vijja* (*vidyā*).

Masc. Fem. and Neut. genders.

-ā : *kilā* (*krīdā*), *cīriyā* (*cīrikā*), *riyā* (*rc*). All Fem.

-i : *latthi* (*jaṣṭi*), *māi* (*mātr*), *suh* (*suhṛd*), *risi* (*rsi*), *dahi* (*dadhi*).

¹ Bloch, *L'indo-aryen* pp. 99-300

² Although Pischel mixes up these stages, his description of the Morphology of Pkts. (*Gram.* pp. 241-407) is still worth reading.

³ Bloch *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 172-78.

Masc., Fem., Neut. genders.

-ī : *rāñī* (*rājñī*), *Lacchī* (*Lakṣmī*), *Amarāurī* (*Amarapurī*). All Fem.

-u : *mahu* (*madhu*), *Vi(Bi)ṣṭhu* (*Viṣṇu*), *vahu* (*vadhū*), *vijju* (*vidyut*).

All genders.

-ā : *bhū* (*bhrū*). Fem.

In actual declension all the long end-vowels merge into short ending ones, and we have practically stems ending in short -a, -i, -u out of which the declension of -a ending stems remains predominant.

§ 76. GENDER IN AP.

It was long before the beginning of our period that disruptive influences had set in, in the OIA gender system. Aśokan Inscriptions,⁴ Pali,⁵ and Pkts.⁶ show that there was already a confusion of genders in pre-*Ap.* period.

Ap. represents a state in which the old gender-system was crumbling down rapidly. It baffled the Pkt. grammarians so much that they declared the impossibility of laying down definite rules for the gender system in *Ap.* (See *Pu.* 17.21, *Hc.* S.4.445, *Tr.* 3.4.67, *Mk.* 17.9). PISCHEL correctly remarks that gender in *Ap.* is more fluctuating than that in all other dialects, although it is not completely irregular as Hemacandra implies it in *Hc.* 4.445.⁷

A passing reference to the comparative Tables of Declension in the following sections will show that though gender in *WSAp.* is a continuation of the same system in Pkts., the confusion is on a larger scale. There is a greater disintegration in the gender-system in *EAp.* than in that of *WSAp.*

It appears that normalisation in declension was an important factor which affected Gender in *Ap.*, as many times, it was the ending rather than its gender in OIA, which seems to have influenced the declension of a word. The neut. gender tends to disappear morphologically in *Ap.* Masc. and Fem. -ī and -ū stems have many desinences in common, and the reduction of Fem. -ā stems to -a ending ones has resulted in the borrowal of Masc. terms on a large scale.⁸ (see § 89, 95, 98).

4 BLOCH, *FLM.* § 180 where he quotes SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi II*, p. 339.

5 GEIGER, *Pali Lit. u. Spr.* § 76, p. 78.

6 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 356-59.

7 Ibid., § 359.

8 For details see Comparative Tables.

In Ap. there is very little difficulty regarding the gender of stems ending in *-ā*, *-ī* and *-ū*. They were always Fem. irrespective of their gender in OIA. e.g., *vaṭṭā* (*varṭman*- Neut. in OIA), *antraḍi* (*antra*-Neut. in OIA); *Tss.* and *tbhs.* ending in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū* were naturally Fem. e.g., *Rāhā* (*Rādhā*), *Ramā* (*ts.*), *Lacchī* (*Lakṣmī*), *vahū* (*vadhū*). The real difficulty arises about the gender of themes ending in *-a*, *-i*, and *-u*, as these endings are common to all genders. Thus in *-a* stems we get *kumbhām* for Masc. *kumbhān* (the use of Neut. for Masc.), *rehaīm* for *rekḥāh* (Neut. for Fem.) *amhaīm* < **asme* (Neut. for common gender). Pkt. grammarians quote many examples of this confusion (literally "a change") of genders, *linga-viparyaya*, which is only a preparatory stage to the state of affairs in NIA.⁹

§77. NUMBER IN AP.

Although OIA had three numbers as in IE. and II, the dual was lost very early in MIA. In Aśokan Edicts the word *dvi* was used with a noun ending in the Plur. in order to express duality e.g., *duve morā* (Girnar 14). The same is the case in Pali¹⁰ and in Pkts.¹¹ Ap. also expresses duality by the use of the numeral "two", the following noun being Plur. in Number e.g.,

thiyaī ve vi ganjollīya-gattai BhK. 85.4.

avarāha doṇṇi aḷja vi khamīsu KKK. 2.18.3.

We find the same in NIA. The use of the honorific plural is not a speciality of Ap. as it is found even in OIA.

§78. The tendency to normalisation and reduction of cases in IA has resulted in the formation of two cases in NIA—the direct and the oblique. It is in Ap. that Nom. Acc. and Voc. merged together and formed the Direct case, although Prakritisms sometimes obscure this achievement during our period. The fusion of the Dat. and the Gen. took place in pre-Ap. MIA,¹² (and sometimes in OIA also).¹³ In Ap. the Abl. was gradually absorbed in the Dat.—Gen. case, so that after 1000 A.D. we have one comprehensive Dat.-Gen.-Abl. case supplying the basis for the oblique in NIA.

Comparative Tables of the Ap. Morphology and the free use of Instr. and Loc. absolutive constructions in the same sense in Ap. (which is also evidenced in J.M.) show that the merging of the Loc. and Instr.

⁹ BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp 152-3. For the treatment of gender in NIA see FLM § 180 and *L'indo-aryen*, pp §§ 150-53.

¹⁰ MULLER, *Pali Gram* §§ 61-2 as quoted by BLOCH FLM § 177.

¹¹ PISCHEL, *Gram* § 360.

¹² Ibid., § 361, in spite of Hc. 8 3.132.

¹³ SPEYER, *Ved. u Sansk Syntax* §§ 43, 71-2, as quoted by BLOCH, FLM § 183.

was complete in Ap. Although some desinences of the Loc. Instr. and the Dat.-Gen.-Abl. are common especially in the declension of Fem. stems, the Loc-Instr. seems to have retained its distinct existence to the end of our period, and supplied some bases for the oblique in NIA.¹⁴

§79. We shall now discuss the declension of Nouns ending in different vowels and trace the chrono-regional developments in declension in our period on their pre-Ap. MIA (literary Pkts.) back-ground, and their contribution to the formation of NIA in different regions. The Ap. desinences, as given by Pkt. grammarians, are juxtaposed with those which are traced in actual Ap. literature. It will be observed that the rich variety of terminations as found in Ap. literature is not seen in the sections on Ap. in Pkt. grammars.

DECLENSION OF NOUNS

Stems ending in *-a* (Masc. and Neut.)

Singular

§80. The Nom., Acc. (and Voc.) sgs.

The following are the terms of Nom. sg. of *-a* ending stems (Masc. and Neut.) according to Pkt. grammarians.

- (1) *-u* (*Pu.* 17.12, *Ns.* on Rudraṭa's *Kāryāṭankāra* 2.12, *Hc.* 8.4.331, *Āt.* 5.22, 23, *Tr.* 3.4.2, *Sh.* 22.27, *Ld.* 4.2, *Rt.* 8.16, *Mk.* 17.10. In *Cd.* 27 (Appendix) if the quotation 25 *kālu laheviṇu*. . . from *PPr.* 1.85 be a part of *Cd.*'s genuine work *-um* (Neut. with *-ka* suffix *Hc.* 8.4.354).
- (2) *-o* (*Cd.* 3.37, *Pu.* 17.42, *Hc.* 8.4.332, *Āt.* 5.23, *Tr.* 3.4.3, *Sh.* 22.6, *Ld.*, 4.3, *Mk.* 17.13).
- (3) Zero (*Cd.* 3.37, *Pu.* 17.42, *Hc.* 8.4.344, *Ld.* 1.17. Examples in the grammars of *Hc.*, *Sh.*, *Ld.* and *Pu.* suggest the optional lengthening of the final vowel).
- (4) *-i* (*Mk.* 17.12).

The following are the desinences of Acc. sg. :

- (1) *-u* (The same as the above for Nom. sg.)

¹⁴ For the general development of the case in IA, see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 156-61, also *FLM* § 183.

- (2) -o (In the works of Southern Pkt. grammarians e.g., *Tr.* 3.4.3, *Sh.* 22.8.
- (3) -i (*Mk.* 17.12).

The following are the terms of this case in Pkts.¹⁵

Nom. : -o ; Mg. Amg. -e.

Acc. : -m.

The Comp. Table (§ 80A) of chrono-regional classification of desinences shows that -u is the only common and stable term. throughout the Ap. period in all regions. This is generally regarded as weakened form of the nom. sg. -o in Pkts. as the phonetic weakness in the terminational endings in IA is a well established fact.¹⁶ This desinence is older than 500 A.D. as it is found in the Ap. illustrations in *Bh.* 17. e.g., *moru* (*mayūra*), and probably in the protocanonical Buddhist Texts under-lying the extant texts of Sanskrit Buddhism e.g., *Saddharma-puṇḍarika*.¹⁷

The term. -o, though sanctioned by Pk. grammarians and used freely in WAp., is less frequent in EAp. and SAP. In EAp. it is used for Neut. direct sg., showing thereby a confusion of gender in that region. -o, being common to Pkts. is a classicism in Ap., but it may be traced to -ao and au (?) also.

The frequent use of zero as a term. of the direct case in EAp. deserves attention. The tendency to use the stem itself for the direct case is found in Buddhist Sanskrit, and EAp. writers, being Buddhists, assimilated this speech-habit. But the use of this from the beginning of our period in WAp. shows that this tendency was not limited to the East alone, although the term. zero never enjoyed the popularity in WAp. as it did in EAp. There are a few cases of vowel discolouration (e.g. §37) but they are too few to base the theory of the discolouration of -u to -a, as early as 500 A.D. in WAp. This desinence is not found in SAP.

-e is the characteristic term. of EAp. The influence of Mg. -e on EAp. is understandable. But the direct sg. -e of EAp. is *not* the same as Mg. -e. It is just probable that this is the result of the -aka (>-aya->-e) of the extended stem which was used by itself for the direct case. Thus

¹⁵ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, §§ 363-4.

¹⁶ Although TURNER's theory regarding the Phonetic weakness of Terminational Elements in IA (*JRAS* 1927, pp. 227-39) is a sufficient explanation of this change—Pk. -o > Ap.-u Louis H. GRAY regards this -u as a "dulling" of *[ŋ :] < *a < *az of which z is not a Sk. phoneme. GRAY supposes that *az was pronounced in spoken Sk. and Sk.-B (before sonants) for -as, -ah is a mere *façon d'écrire* for this *az (*BOS* VIII.ii-iii p. 564).

¹⁷ F. EDGERTON, *BOS* VIII.ii. iii.

maarandae < *makarandaka* in Kāṇha and *home* < *homaka*, *abbhāse* < *abhyāsaka* in Saraha, can be explained. We cannot rule out the possibility that Mg. -e was reduced to -*i and gave rise to -e after its combination with the -a of the (extended or unextended) stem.¹⁸ The use of -e for the nom. sg. in Mg. in that region afforded a favourable ground for such development, but that Mg. -e could not have remained intact when the general tendency was towards weakening such flexional ends in IA.

This -e appears as -ae or -aye (in EAp.) when it is applied to the stem extended with pleonastic -ka. e.g., *arabiṇḍae* (*aravindaka*), *maarandae* (*makarandaka*), *paramatthaye* (*paramārthaka*), *surattaye* (*surata-ka*). (For the consonantal gemination in the last see §72). There are four such forms in DKK. 6 and 8, and one in DKS. 63—all of which take -ae. The remaining three are in DKS. 63, and they take -aye.

-ē < -akam is found only in three forms in DKS. Thus we find *tullē* < *tulyakam*, *bhullē* < *bhraṣṭam* in DKS. 3. It is absent in DKK.

The next important term. is -ā. Though it is sanctioned by a standard western grammarian like Hemacandra (Hc. 8.4.330), it was never popular with WAp. writers. The two forms with -ā in VK. viz., *cakḥā* (*cakravāka*), *morā* (*mayūra*) are due to syncope. This desinence is rare in PPr. and Pd. Even the 12th cent. WAp. works e.g., Sc. and Kp. do not use it, although they were contemporaries of Hem. The examples in Hc. are due to the compilatory nature of the work. This desinence is practically absent in SAp.

-ā is not used as a Voc. term. upto 1000 A.D. in WAp. It is less frequent even after that. -a ending vocatives are popular throughout the Ap. period (500-1200 A.D.) in WSAp.

It is EAp. which uses -ā for the direct Sg. It is largely used in the neut. gender also in EAp. where it is the normal desinence. From 1000 A.D. some -ā forms of the neut. gender appear in WAp. e.g., *thakkā* (**stha-kka* or -*kna*), *bhaggā* < *bhagna-ka*. in Pd. They persist down to the end of 1200 A.D. e.g., *bhallā* < *bhad-ra-ka*, *huyādā* < *hṛdayaka* etc. Only SAp. resisted this innovation. The use of -ā both for Masc. and Neut., indicates the confusion of gender in those regions at that time (see §76).

As -ā appears earliest in EAp. where it is used as a general rule, we may regard it as the contribution of EAp. We have a number of such forms which substantiate this claim. e.g., *tālā* (*tālakam*), *biphārā*

¹⁸ Cf. S.K. CHATTERJI's explanation of Beng. Nom. sg. -e in ODB § 497. L.H. GRAY regards the Mg. -e in *putte* as the "dulling" of *putta* (BSOS VIII.ii-iii, 564).

(*visphāritakam*), *dhannā* (*dhanya-kaḥ*), *paḍi-bakkhā* (*prati-pakṣa-kaḥ*). The OIA genders are given to show how this was a common term. both to Masc. and Neut. in *DKK* and *DKS*. This *-ā* is probably nothing but the use of an extended stem without any term. in the direct case in which the final *-aka* developed into **aa* > *-ā*.¹⁹ The usual explanation of the use of Nom. plur. *-ā* (<OIA *-āh*) of Pkts. for Nom. sg. need not be repeated.

Closely connected with this is *-ḍā* which is nothing but pleonastic *-ḥaka* > Ap. *-ḍaa* > *-ḍā*. This *-ḍā* of nom. sg. is a special characteristic of WAp. It was a fashion in Ap. period to extend the stem by adding pleonastic *-ka* > *-a* resulting into *-au*, *-aū* and *-ao* in the direct case. Neither Pk. grammarians nor PISCHEL have noted *-ū* and *-aū* as the morphemes of the direct sg. In EAp. we have very few forms like *jāṇaū* < *jñātam*,²⁰ *bhaabā* < Pk. *bhaavam* (*bhagaīṣṇ*) which end in *-ū* or *ā*. WSAp. contains many examples of this term. ALSDORF's remark that forms with *-ū* are from stems ending in *-ma*,²¹ is doubtful, e.g., WAp. *kaya-unṇū* (*kyta-punyah*), *antarāū* (*atarāya*), *jampanayū* (*jalpanaka*), *loṇavantaū* (*locanavat*) etc., do not end in *-ma*. Similarly SAp. *hittaū* (*hṛta*), *bhallaū* (**bhad-la-ka*). *jhullantaū* (Pres. part of \sqrt{jhulla}) cannot be explained that way. This *-ū* is due to the contamination of nom. sg. *-u* + acc. sg. *-m*, as the direct case is a fusion of Nom. and Acc.

In EAp. we have *-ha*, *-ha*, *-hō* as the special terms of this (direct) case. M. SHAHIDULLA explains them as the cases of *-haśruti*.²² The explanation appears satisfactory as we cannot regard this as the extension of the gen. to the direct case as *-ha* (and not *-ho*, *-hō*) is the normal desinence of gen. in EAp.

Though the date of Kāṇha be disputed, he does not seem to be a contemporary of Saraha. The following comparative table of frequency of terms. in the direct case, is based on SHAHIDULLA's calculation of the desinences.²³ This table will clearly indicate that they are separated by some 2 or 3 centuries, and that Kāṇha is probably the older of the two. The *DKn.* is such a corrupt text, and so late in date, that it is difficult to give a consistent evolution of Ap. flexion in EAp.

19 For PISCHEL's explanation see *Grammatik*, p. 249.

20 SHAHIDULLA takes this as Pres. 1 P sing in *Les Chants Mystiques*. The words *mai jānaū* are taken here as *māyā jñātam* as *jñāmi* is a regular verb in the next line (*DA S* 92).

21 Introduction to *H.* § 41 remarks.

22 SHAHIDULLA, *Les Chants Mystiques*, p. 38.

23 Ibid.

A COMPARATIVE TABLE OF RELATIVE FREQUENCY OF

TERMINATIONS OF THE DIRECT CASE IN EAp.

(The percentage is based on SHAHIDULLA's calculations of the frequency of terms.)

S. No.	Termination	% in <i>DKK</i> (700 A.D.)	% in <i>DKS</i> (1000 A.D.)	Remarks.
1	-a i.e., Zero			General in both, hence not calculated.
2	-u	28.57	41.04	
3	-au	10.71	13.43	Generally used with pp. though Saraha used it with 3 nouns.
4	-o	17.86	17.16	In <i>DKK</i> . for adjs. and verse-ends. In <i>DKs</i> . with 5 nouns and 15 verse-ends.
5	-ao	7.14	2.98	In <i>DKK</i> with adjs. at the end of the Sorattha metre. In <i>DKs</i> . with 1 noun and 3 verse ends.
6	-ē	7.14	5.22	
7	-ē	nil	2.21	
8	-ae, -aye	14.28	2.98	
9	ā	nil	12.68	In 5 final verses in <i>DKS</i> .
10	-ha	3.57	1.49	
11	-ho	10.71	0.71	
Total		99.98	99.96	

§80A. Stems ending in -a (Masc. and Neut.)

DIRECT SINGULAR

Cent A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500?	1) <i>varu, kolu, nisiaru</i>	..	..
	2) <i>juāṇ.10, nāhao, santāvio</i>	..	..
	3) <i>parahua, haṁsa,</i>	..	..
	4) <i>morā, cakkā</i> (syncope)	..	..
	Voc. <i>morā, boṁhiṇa</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>Masc.</i>		
	1) <i>mohu, kālu, būḍhau, khoraṇu,</i> <i>khavaṇcu, khaḍḍillau.</i>		
	2) <i>rova, sayala, mokkha.</i>	..	..
	3) <i>sāsaḍḍā, jiyā.</i>	..	..
	Voc. <i>jīya, joīya.</i>	..	..
	<i>Neut.</i>		
	1) <i>jagu, daṁsaṇu, suhṛ</i>	..	..
	2) <i>dhuttima, siddhi-suha</i>	..	..
	WAp.	SAp	EAp.

700-1200	..	..	<i>Masc.</i>
			1) <i>nāhu, tasu, paramesaru, bhamarū</i> (DKs. 73)
			2) <i>haṁkāro, sariso</i> (fcw).
			3) <i>kānha, siddha, Suraha, bohi-cia.</i>
	..	..	4) <i>biralā, paḍibakkhā, (5) sunnae, paripunnāe.</i>
	..	..	5) <i>uesi, bhaṁge, sahābe,</i>
	..	..	5A) <i>paramatthave, rohiye.</i>
			6) <i>loa-ha.</i>
			7) <i>dība-ho, pabanaho.</i>
			Acc. :
			1) <i>ujjoa, bharba, māṇa, gabba.</i>
			2) <i>bhaṭṭāra-ha</i> (DKs. 82).

3) *karahā* (DKs. 45).Voc. *baḍha*, *baḍhie* (DKK. 8).

Neut.

1) *jagu*, *jalu*, *jāṇau* (DKs. 92).2) *nibbāṇo*, *biruddho*.3) *mahāsuha*, *nīra*, *jaga*.4) *thāṇā*, *biphāriā*, *tuḍiā*, *dinnā*, *tālā*.5) *cange*, *arabindae*, *maarandae*.5A) *tolle* (DKs. 3), *bhulle* (DKs. 3).6) *kahiye*, *surattaye*.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	Masc. Nom.	Masc. Direct (Nom. Acc.)	
	1) <i>pesu</i> , <i>uvvevu</i> , <i>Rāmanu</i> <i>vilalullu</i> , <i>sukhiyau</i> <i>vappuḍau</i> , Acc. <i>samsāru</i> , <i>bheu</i> , <i>pettu</i> .	1) <i>kāu</i> , <i>Sudattu</i> , <i>aruḥu</i> , <i>vesu</i> , <i>sāhūrau</i> <i>varaittu</i> , <i>bholau</i> , <i>vittalau</i> , <i>a-</i> <i>cokkhaū</i> , <i>nāṇau</i> .	
	2) <i>kaya-uṇṇū</i> <i>aṇuharamūnaū</i> <i>antarāū</i> .	2) <i>samprāīyaū</i> , <i>jhullantaū</i> , <i>ḍhalīyaū</i> .	
1000	3) <i>ḍhuraḍhullio</i> , <i>uppiyo</i> , <i>suo</i> . (Acc.) <i>saratti-</i> <i>vehao</i> (Bhk)	Neut.	
	4) <i>hariya</i> <i>valaa</i> , <i>bhāya</i> . Acc. <i>Sumiṭṭhāhāra</i> .	1) <i>pacchittu</i> , <i>kheu</i> , <i>juṇṇau</i> , <i>āiddhau</i> <i>manimgiyau</i> .	
		2) <i>bhallaū</i> , <i>cūlisāvanaum</i> , <i>hittaū</i> .	
	5) <i>dusahā</i> .		
	Voc. : 1) <i>jiya</i> , <i>joīya</i> , <i>vaḍha</i> , 3) <i>carapa-juyala viusattana</i> (rare) <i>bhaviya</i> .		
	2) <i>mūḍha</i> (Pd. 13).		
	Neut.		
	1) <i>sāsu</i> , <i>loṇiu</i> , <i>pāu</i> , <i>khemu</i> , <i>kheu</i> , <i>thoḍau</i> , <i>thovaḍau</i> , <i>ḍhillaū</i> , <i>gharu</i> , <i>suhu</i> , <i>jampanayū</i> .		
	2) <i>pāniya</i> , <i>siva</i> , <i>suha</i> .		
	3) <i>thakkā</i> , <i>bhaggā</i> (Pd.)		

1100

Masc.

Masc.

- 1) *sariṇāu, moru, sarosīru*
khittāu, khapparaū,
Janaddaṇaū,

- 1) *siu, vaccharāu, vinjjhu,*
 2) *pukkāra, sāmīsāla*
 Acc. *rukkha.*

(Acc.) *kantu, kālu.*

Neut.

- 2) *aūho, bhullallio*

- 1) *gamu, caraṇu, maṇu.*

Neut.

Acc. *kittānu, vayaṇu, ṇararūu*

- 1) *loṇavantaū, gaṇu.*

- 2) *duddhalā*

1200

Masc. Nom.

A.D.

- 1) *viṇṭalu, kumaru, mukku, kāu, huaū,*
asāraū, pāraū, ghaḍiaū.

- 2) *khagga, vaḍavānala, sārasa.*

- 3) *beṭṭā, ḍhollā, ghoḍā, nehaḍā.*

Acc.

- 1) *kantu, ghāu, vāyasu, māṇu.*

- 2) *aggalaūm, viśāmvū.*

- 3) *vamkima, kara, kāvāliya.*

Neut.

- 1) *ṭhāṇu, kamalu, taṇu, uṇhau.*

- 2) *vallahauṁ, hiaḍaūm, hiaūm, vaḍḍattaṇaūm.*

- 3) *daḍḍhā, bhallā, hiaḍā, viśamā.*

- 4) *kavala, kuḍḍa.*

Voc. (both Masc. and Neut.)

- 1) *ḍhollā, bappihā, puttā, hiā, hiaḍā.*

- 2) *pia, kumjara, priya, vaḍha.*

- 3) *bhamaru.*

§80B. STEMS ENDING IN -A (MASC. AND NEUT).

DIRECT SING.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.	
500 ?	Nom. Acc. : -u -o, -ao, (Pkt.) zero -ā (syncope ?) Voc. : -ā -zero.			
600- 1000	Masc. Nom. Acc. : -au, -u zero -dā Voc. : zero. Neut. Nom. Acc. : -u, zero.			
700-1200	..	Masc. Nom. - u- -o (few) zero -ā -e, -e' -ha (few) -ho, -ho. Acc. : zero (majority) -ha (DK. 82) -ā (DKS. 45) Voc. : zero, -ie (DKK. 8) Neut. : -u, -ū (DKS. 92) -o, zero. -ā, -e, -ē, -ye.		

- (2) *-ena* (*Pu.* 17.46, *Hc.* 8.4.333, 342, *Sh.* 12, *Ld.* 4.5, *Ki.* 24, *Mk.* 29.)
- (3) *-enam* (*Mk.* 17.29)
- (4) *-e* (*Ld.* 4.5, *Rt.* 15 also 12).

The following terms. in literary Pkts. serve as a background for Ap. developments.²⁴

- (1) *-ena* (Mah. Amg. JM. JS. Śaur. Mg. Pais. CP.)
- (2) *-enam* (Mah. Amg. JM.)

A reference to Comparative Table §81A will show that

-ēm (sometimes represented as *-ē* or *-e ō*),

-im or *-ī* (at times written as *-i*), *-e*, *-ahi*, *-ehi*, *chī*, *-ena* and *-ina* are the chief terms of Ins. sg. in literary Ap. In the South and the West *-e* is probably a scribal error as such forms are comparatively rare in SWAp. literature. The Easterner, *Rt.*, was correct in giving this desinence, as *-e* Ins. sgs. are quite common in EAp. (see §81 A), but we cannot give the same credit to *Ld.* who does not show his knowledge of such a tract of literature like EAp., and was probably misguided by the omission of the scribes to give a nasal on *e* (*-em*) in the Mas. before him.

Out of the above-mentioned terms *-ena* and *-ina* need not detain us as they are obvious Prakritisms, *-ina* being another way of writing *-ena* < OIA *-ena*, *-enam* (which is again a Pkt. desinence as seen above) is rare although it is sanctioned by *Mk.* This does not mean that the number of *-ena* and *-ina* Ins. sgs. was negligible. It is so only in EAp. where it occurs only in two forms viz., *saddena* < *sabdena* (*DKs.* 94), and *bhanantena* < *bhanatā* (*DKK* 17) one ending with the dental *-n*. The predominance of *-ena* forms is due to the spell of Pkt. literature which Ap. never escaped throughout its career. The critical apparatus of PISCHEL's *Materialien* discloses the existence of *-ena* forms both in the Mss. of *VK.* and in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* though the editor uniformly represents *-ē* as the term. of Ins. sg. In *Hv.* the proportion of *-em* forms to *-ena* ones is 580:355 (the latter includes *-ēna* 336 + *-ena* 19). Out of the last, *-ena* is found only in the *ghaṭṭā* strophes. (*carena* in *Hv.* 87.5.8 is the only exception). In *Kp.* *-ena* forms (i.e., Ins. sgs. in *-ēna*, *-ena*, and *-ina*) are the rule, and *-em* ones (i.e., forms ending in *-im*, *-ī*, for there are no *-ēm* ones in

ALSDORF's edition of *Kp.*) are the exception. Their proportion is 95: 5. The *-i* forms in *Kp.*, as we shall see later on, have no relation with *-em*.

In WAp. there appear to have been two waves of *-ena* forms, one wave appeared in 1000 A.D., and the other in 1200 A.D. Perhaps this may be due to the paucity of published Ap. literature of the 11th cent. A.D. The published Ap. works show that *-ena* was not much popular in WAp. upto the 10th cent., and that after a temporary subsidence in the 11th cent., finally superseded *-em* (*-ē*, *-im*, *-ī*) upto 1200 A.D.

On the contrary, *-ena* was less popular in SAp. The above-mentioned proportion of *em* : *ena* (580 ; 355) is found in *Hv.* i.e., *Mp.* in which Puṣpadanta deliberately tried to imitate the high-flown, ornate style of Sk. and Pk. classics. One has simply to turn to *Ĵc.* (which is a work of a more popular nature), and one finds the popularity of *-im* < *-em* term. These *-im* Ins. sgs. remained the characteristic of *KKc.*

-ena is practically absent in EAp. of our period, and even a later work like the *Dākṛṇava* shares this speciality of EAp. to a great extent.

-em (*-ē*, *-e* ऽ, sometimes *-e*, *-im* *-em*, *-ī*, occasionally *-i* also) is a *bona fide* Ap. desinence. It is the only stable term. found in SWEAp. from 500—1200 A.D. It survived in NIA as *-ē* and *-e* in Marathi,²⁵ and *-ē*, *-ē* in Bengali,²⁶ to mention a few prominent languages. Its derivation has long been a bone of contention. Jules BLOCH traces it to Sk. *-ena*,²⁷ while GRIERSON connects it with MIA Loc. sg. *-ahē*,²⁸ TURNER traces Ins. sg. *-e* in Guj. to Sk. *-akena* > Ap. *-aem* > OWR *-aī*, with the remark that in forms with *-ena* (Ap. *-em*) and *-ānam*, *-ṇ-* probably represented *anusvāra*, but the spelling lagged behind the pronunciation.²⁹ This probably explains the predominance of *-ṇ-* element in the flexion of a late WAp. work like *Ap.*, and the number of *-ena* Ins. sgs. in *Mp.* Even the oldest stages of Marathi and Gujarati presuppose Ap. *-em* rather than *-ena* in forms of this case.

In his later paper on 'The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan'³⁰ TURNER again reiterates the connection between Sk. *-ena* and Ap. *-em*. On the analogy of Sk. *phalāni* < Pk., Ap. *phalāim*, BLOCH also repeats his old view regarding the connection

25 BLOCH, *La langue marathe* § 193.

26 S.K. CHATTERJĪ, *ODB* § 408.

27 BLOCH, *FLM* p. § 193.

28 GRIERSON, Critical review of M. Jules BLOCH's *La langue marathe*, *JRAS*, 1921, p. 260.

29 *JRAS*, 1921, pp. 525-6 § 66(2).

30 *Ibid.*, 1927 pp. 227-39 (1927).

between Ap. *-em* and Sk. *-ena*,³¹ in spite of GRIERSON's criticism of the same quoted above.³²

The crux of the problem is whether phonetic weakness affected the *-n*-element in the term. *-ena* at all (if we except Neut. Nom. Acc. Plur. *-āni* > Pk. *-āñm*, Ap. *-āñ*)³² and whether there is any other instance of such weakness of *-n*- in the whole field of IA. We have not come across such weakening of *-n*- in other cases. It appears that the Ins. and Loc. merged into one case, and the desinences of the Loc. came to be substituted for the Ins., as we find it in some forms in JM. In Ap., as in JM., we have a number of Instr. Absolute constructions for the Loc. Absolute ones.

We may explain these desinences as follows: Instr. sg. *-em* (*-ē*, *-eō*, at times *-e*, *-im*, *-ī*, sometimes *-i*) may be connected with Loc. sg. *-ahim* or *-ahī* as pointed out by GRIERSON.³³ In Kp. *-i*, the Loc. sg. term, which is clearly traceable to OIA *-e*, is repeated 15 times for Ins. sg., and we cannot treat all these as *schreibfehler* for *-ī*. The editor (LUDWIG ALSDORF) also regards *-i* as the term. of Ins. sg.³⁴ In early WAp. works we have a few *-i* Ins. sgs. e.g., *parsi* < *pradeśa* (Ys. 47), but their number being negligible, we may regard them as scribal errors. In the 10th cent., however, we have a number of Ins. sgs. in *-i*. For example in BhK., we have a number of such Ins. sgs. e.g., *sambhandhi* < *sambandha* (BhK. 8.6), *jañi* < *jana*- (BhK. 26.1), *pañri* < *pañra* (BhK. 34.10), *mahāyañi* < *mahājana*- (BhK. 34.10) *aikilēsi* < *atikleśa*- (BhK. 37.1) etc.³⁵ These show the continuation of the tradition of JM. in Ap. its immediate successor in Gujarat.

The use of *-i* for Ins. sg. was well-established in SAP. of the 10th cent. A.D., e.g., *kāli* < *kāla*-, *suhi* < *sukha*-, *dañsani* < *darśana* in Jc. It is surprising that ALSDORF's edition of Hv. should contain no *-i* forms.

The term. *-e* < *-(a)ī* < Loc. sg. *-(a)e* shows the merging of the Instr. and the Loc. The use of common terms for Instr. and Loc. Plur. point to the same conclusion. Thus in Bhk. we have *-hī* for both. JACOBI notes one such form in *turañgihi*—*turañgeṣu* (BhK. 51.10).³⁶ In *-ihī* < *-ehi* < OIA *-ebhiḥ*, the Loc. and the Instr. cases become identical. Some two centuries later in the same region i.e., Gujarat, we get, in Kp.

31 *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 143-4.

32 L.H. GRAY sees the survival of an I-I element in this. See BSOS VIII i-iii, p. 566.

33 JRAS 1921, p. 260.

34 Introduction to Kp. § 21, p. 57.

35 For more examples see JACOBI's Intro. to BhK. p. *34, footnote 1.

36 Intro. to BhK. p. *34.

-*ihī* (27), -*ehī* (25), and -*ahī* (3) for Instr. Pl., while Loc. Pl. has -*ihī* (9), -*ehī* (1), -*ehī*(1) as term.s³⁷ Both the cases are derived from Ved. Instr. Plur. -*ebhih*>Pk. -*ehim* and the identity is complete. In SAp. of the 10th cent. A.D., -*ahī* and -*ehī* are common both to the Instr. and the Loc. plurals.

That this was a common feature of Ap. is still more strongly evidenced by EAp. in which -*e*, -*ē*, -*ahī*, -*ehī* and -*chī* are common to Ins. and Loc. sgs.

They are also common to the Plur. number. It shows that the distinction between number was getting blurred in EAp. For our purpose it is sufficiently proved that during the Ap. period the Instr. and Loc. cases merged into one. This fact leads us to believe that -*e* is a regular term. of Ins. sg. in Ap., though it was originally of the Loc. sg.

Out of the remaining terms. -*ehī*, -*ehi* are directly traceable to Ved. Ins. Pl. -*ebhih*>Pk. -*ehim*. Here we cannot rule out the possibility of *ehē*<-*e*+*smm* both of Loc. sg. On the model of double term.s like Ved. -*āsah*, we have in Pkts. double desinences -*āo*, -*ādo* for Abl. sg. In Ap. also the claims of a double term. of OJA -*e*+*smm*>Ap. -*ehim* are linguistically possible. But the evidence of the confusion of number is so strong that it leans to the probability of -*ehē*<Ved. -*ebhih*, than to -*ehī*<OJA -**esmin*.

-*ahim*, -*ahī*, -*ahi* should rather be connected with OJA Loc. sg. -*a-smin* as -*ehī* and -*chī* generally weaken into -*ihī* and -*ihī* and not into -*ahī*, -*ahi*.

Chronologically, merging of Ins. and the Loc. cases appears first in DKK' (700 A.D.) in EAp. so far as Ap. literature is concerned. In SAp. it is an established usage in the 10th cent. A.D. Although it appears in JML, its popularity began to increase in WAp. from 1000 A.D.³⁸

§81A. MASC. NEUT -*a* STEMS

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR

Cent.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ? A.D.	1) <i>angem, joem, pahārem.</i>	..	..
	2) <i>cinhē, paāiē, rāṇṇē</i>	..	..

37 The term. -*em* (9) of Loc. Plur. is not discussed here as it is due to classicism. The calculation of the term is based on ALSDORF's edition.

38 The old stage of NIA inherits most of the terms discussed in this section. See BLOCH, FLM §§ 193, 194, S.K. CHATTERJI ODB §§ 498-9

- 3) *kāraṇe, ṇae, raṇṇe.*
- 600- 1) *appē ṇiygmē, pariṇāmē, pasāe* (Ys. 41)
- 1000 *aggiyae* (PPr. 101) ³⁹
- 2) *appim, nānim, ṇiyamim, appai* (Ys. 34).
- A.D. 3) *kammai, mohai, saṃsaggai.*
- 4) *paesi* (Ys. 47 Loc. ?).
- 5, *vavahāreṇa* (PPr. 2.28).
- 6) *kāraṇiṇa* (PPr. 1.7).

Cent.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
700-			
1200	-	-	1) <i>sahajē, cittē, sahābē, dhūmē, sarahē, jhāṇē</i>
A.D.			2) <i>śabare</i> (DKK. 25), <i>nehe, ṇehe</i> (DKK), <i>kajje, gahaṇe, bandhe, nāme</i> (DKs.).
			3) <i>pāṇiehi</i> (DKK.31) <i>khabaṇehi, cillehi,</i>
			4) <i>micchehē</i> (Dks.3).
			5) <i>appahi, bisahi</i> (DKs.)
			6) <i>bahanteṇa</i> (DKK.17) <i>saddena</i> (DKs. 94).

Cent.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
1000	1) <i>tilleṇ, saṃkheveṇ,</i>	2) <i>suṭicceṇ, ḍoreṇ,</i>	
A.D.	<i>pasāeṇ, aḷoeṇ,</i>	<i>parihattheṇ, rāeṇ, sae</i> (?)	
	<i>aṇumaggeṇ viaṇakkheṇ.</i>	<i>in Nc. 9.21.5.</i>	

Cent.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
A.D.			
1000-	2) <i>sappim, paritosim,</i>	2) <i>khuruppiṇ, ṇakkim, paṃguttiṇ</i>	
	<i>-ṇāhiṇ, kāyaṇim.</i>	<i>ḥc. abounds in -im Ins. Sg.s.</i>	
	<i>arahantaṇim, kāraṇaṇim,</i>	<i>-im Ins. Sg. s.</i>	
	<i>candaṇaṇim.</i>		

³⁹ Prof. A.N. UPADHYE kindly informs me that this can be taken as Loc. Sg. also in his letter dated 9-2-47.

- 3) *kaccena*, *-kameṇa* (Sdd.), 3) *kālī*, *suhi*, *damṣaṇi*, *akkhiya-* *mettī*
viaggheṇa (DS.), (MP. 2.6.2) *-ī metri causa*
dhammaṇa (BhK.).

- 4) *taṃiṇa*, *baddhaṇi* (Sdd) 4) *cāṇa*, *kaṃjieṇa*, *ammā-hīraṇa*.
raḍḍiṇa, *laḍḍiṇa* (Pd.),
gaṇaharīṇa (BhK.).

- 1100 1) *matthem*, *upparē* 1) *rāem*, *gīyem*, *jāyaeṃ*.
 2) *saī* 2) *sangaiṃ*, *nicchaiṃ*, *jharisaṃ*,
 3) *dosīṇa*, *māṇiṇa*, *dāṇaiṃ* (Majority of forms).
juvaṇiṇa (Sn.) 3) *Dhādīvāhaṇaṇa*, *rāṇaṇa*.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
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- 1200 1) *sugheṃ*, *pieṃ*, *dāveṃ*.
 2) *akkheviṇa*, *avīṇa*, *ahakkamiṇa*, *succhandiṇa* (very numerous).
 3) *āṇeṇa*, *-sareṇa*, *pavasanteṇa* (PKt. sm.).
 4) *vihavi*, *iṇvi pamāī* (Sn.), *laṇḍai*, *nicchai*, *adamsaṇi* (JdC.).

§81B INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
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- 500 ?
 -em
 -ē
 -e

600- -ē,

1000

- e (PPr. 1.1. Loc. Sg. ?)
 -im
 -ī
 -i (1s. 47 Loc. ?)
 -eṇa (Pktsm.)
 -iṇa.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
700-	-ē
1200			-e -ehi -ehī (DKS.3) -hi (DK.) -eṇa (DKS.94) -eṇa (DKK.17) rarely.
1000	-em, -ē -im -eṇa -iṇa.	-em -e (Nc. 9.21.5) -im -i (Jc.) -ī (Mp. 2.6.2 Metri causa)	
		-eṇa.	
1100	-em -ē -i -iṇa (Sn.)	-em (few) -im -eṇa (few)	
1200	-ē (rare) -iṇa (numerous). -eṇa -ī, -aī,		

82. THE LOCATIVE SINGULAR

The discussion of the Instr. leads us directly to that of the Loc. case. The following are the terms. of Loc. sg. according to Pk. grammarians :

- (1) -i (Hc. 8.4.334, Sh. 20, Ld. 1.6)
- (2) -e (Hc. 8.4.334, Sh. 20, Ld. 1.6, Ki. 28, ERt. 15, Mk. 23, 29)
- (3) -him (Ki. 28, Rt. 3.2.12, Examples in Hc. 8.1.386, 122.-15).
- (4) -em (MK. 23, Ki. 5.132 as quoted by SHAHIDULLA p. 48.

Literary Prakrits take the following desinences.⁴⁰

- (1) *-ammi* (Mah. JM. JŚ. Amg.)
 (2) *-e* (Ma. JM. JŚ. Amg. Ś. Pais. Cp. Mg.)
 (3) *-amsi* (Amg.)
 (4) *-āhim* (Mg.)

In literary Ap. we find the following inflections (see Comparative Tables §82 A).

WAp. : *-e, -i, -iṃ, -ahim, -ahī, (-mi, -mmi)*.

SAP. : *-e, -i, -iṃ, -ahim (-mi, -mmi)*.

SAP. : *-e, -ē, -ahi, -ahī, -ita* (in *DKK* 2).

The bracketed terms *-mi* and *-mmi* may be ignored as Prakritisms. It is one more proof of the strong influence of Pkts. on Ap.

Out of the remaining desinences *-e* < OIA *-e* is common to WSEAp. This Sanskritism was on its wane, and WAp. of the 10th and 12th cent. A.D., prefer its weakened form *-i* < *-ē* < *-e*, to the pure Sk. *-e* (which is really *-a* ending + the term. *-i*). *-e* in Ap. is due to the existence of the stem-widening pleonastic *-ka*, whenever it is not a Sanskritism.

The OIA and Pkt. *-e* soon weakened into *-ē*, and was pronounced and written as *-i* which is a stable desinence in WAp. throughout the Ap. period. It was applied to the stem directly or to the extended stem when it appeared as *-āḥ*. In SAP. the proportion of *-i* is greater than that of *-āḥ*. This *-i* is the source of the terms. of Loc. sg. in M., Old Guj., and Sdh.⁴¹

The next important group of terminations is *-a-him, -a-hī, and -a-hi*. These are looked upon as *bona fide* Ap. terms. of Loc. sg. This group reminds us of Mg. *-ā-him*. These desinences are clearly traceable to OIA *-a-smīn*, and it was during the Ap. period that they gave rise to *-ē* in the East (EAp.) developing into *-ē* and *-e* in Old Maithili,⁴² and *-e* in Oriya and Bengali.⁴³ GRIERSON regards this *-ahī* as the source of Ap. Ins. sg. *-ē*⁴⁴, and we have a proof of the reduction of *-ahī* into *-ē* in EAp. e.g., *rasē* (*rasa-*), *andhārē* (*andhakāra-*), *paḍhamē* (*prathama-*) etc.

41 BLOCH, *FLM* § 194.

42 GRIERSON, *Intro. to the Maithili Dialect* § 78.

43 BEAMES (*Compa. Gram.* II p. 223) and BLOCH (*FLM* § 194) differ. They connect it to the contamination of Loc.sg. *-i* and Pk. *-āhi* of the Abl. sg.

44 GRIERSON, Critical review of M. Jules BLOCH's *La langue marathe*, *JRAS*, 1921, p. 260.

-*iṃ* which appears regularly in WAp. of the 10th cent., and frequently in SAp. of the same period, should be connected with this -*ē* of the Loc. sg., as -*iṃ* or -*ī* is only a weakened form of the same. The frequency of this term, is too great to be classed as a scribal mistake for -*i*. In *Pd.* 5 there is only one exceptional form *naraya-haṃ* 'in hell,' in which -*haṃ* is inexplicable unless it is the mistake of the copyist for -*iṃ*, both of which appear alike in the Devanāgarī script.

We may now arrange the possible chronology of these terms as follows :

700 A.D., EAp. -*ē* < Ap. -*ahī* < OIA -*a-smiṇ*.

1000 A.D. WAp. -*iṃ*, -*ī* < -*ē* as above.

-*a-hī* is very rare in EAp. but it was either reduced to -*a-hi* or -*a-ī* giving rise to -*ē* by being combined with the previous -*a*. In *DKK.* 19 *khaṇehi* 'in a moment' is an instance of the fusion of Ins. and Loc., and the merger of sg. and plur., as this -*ehi* < OIA -*ebhiḥ* is a term. of Ins. plur. In *DKK.* 2:

pakka-siṃphale alia jima bāherita bhumayanti

in *bāherita* 'from outside,' -*ita* for Loc. sg. is (as M. SHAHIDULLA notes)⁴⁵ a borrowal from Bengali. The same scholar regards *pāsa*—*pāśve* (*DKK.* 23) and *taḍa* = *taḍe* (*DKS.* 102) as examples of the suppression of desinences of Loc.

§82A. LOCATIVE SINGULAR

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
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500 ?	<i>kānane, gahane.</i>		
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600-	1) <i>devali, -citti, pai, dehi, tihuyani, upphari, titthaṇi, lippaṇi</i>		
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1000	2) <i>siddhe, citte</i> (Skt. Sm.)		
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Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
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700-	1) <i>ghore, dūre, dhamme, hiyae, lirāre.</i>		
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1200	2) <i>rasā, anahārā, paḍhomā, gharā.</i>		
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	3) <i>dehahi (DKK. 3), ghahahi, desahi, jalahi</i>		
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4) *jala-hī* (DKS. 34).5) *khaṇehi* (DKK. 18).6) *bāherita* (DKK. 2).

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	1) <i>kandaīm, atthamiyaīm vibhāriyaīm, khāṭa- ghaḍaiīm, kuḍilliyaīm.</i> 2) <i>sūri, manuyattani, saravari, hiyaī, unimaṇi, devaī, hiaḍaī, dhandhaī</i> <i>khavayaī</i> (quite common). 3) <i>sāyaya-gayaīm</i> (Sdd. 3) 4) <i>kaccāsapaṇam</i> (Sdd. 13). <i>ṇarayahaṇ.</i> (Pd. 5). 5) <i>majjhami, paṣu-vāhami</i> <i>(Pkt. sin.)</i>	1) <i>-vimāṇe, -kappe, Dhāḍaī- saṇḍe, vitthiṇṇae.</i> 2) <i>jaṇṇi, gosi, vari, vicci, sviṇhāṇi, parvi, potṭhi, paraī, bhallaī, Purva- viachaī, tarumūlaī.</i> 3) <i>dhūahiīm</i> (Nc. 3.3.5). <i>pāsahiīm</i> (Nc. 1.10.10). 4) <i>jammiīm, gharakammiīm, kaddammiīm.</i> 5) <i>jiṇṇiyammi, naṇayammi, ṇahantammi, niraṣammi</i> <i>(Jc. 1.15.16).</i>	
1100	1) <i>jame, ulle, we, āhasantae.</i> 2) <i>paī, pūanti, paṇki, hatthi, āyathambū, eṭṭaī, bolantai, caupphaḍaī.</i> 3) <i>panthahī, māhahī. ṇāhahī.</i> 4) <i>ditṭhammi, ayaṇammi</i> <i>(Pktsm.)</i>	1) <i>maṇe, sivaṇahe, dine.</i> 2) <i>maṇi, pāsi, diṇi.</i> 3) <i>hiyaīm, (KKc. 1-14-12).</i> 4) <i>pahāṇahiīm</i> (KKc. 1.3.1). 5) <i>vaṇṇami, maṇṇami</i> (KKc. 1.14.9)	

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1200	1) <i>ayaṇḍi, cei-hari, desi, tali dīṇayari,</i> <i>aggai, supotthaī, thoḍāī, desaḍai.</i> 2) <i>cittaka, māsaḥa</i> (Sn. 18-468). 3) <i>kihī, gharahiṁ, (°hi, VAIDYA), desahiṁ.</i> 4) <i>kayaīṁ</i> (Jde. 34.1), <i>diṭṭhaī</i> (Hc.) <i>i</i> (VAIDYA's Ed.) 5) <i>tale, dūre</i> (Ts.) <i>appre.</i>		

§82B. LOCATIVE SINGULAR

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	-e	..	..
600-	-ī	..	..
1000	-e		
700-	..	..	-e,
1200			-ē -hī -hī (DKc. 34) -eḥ (DKK. 18) -īlu (DKK. 2)
1000	-iṁ -i -hiṁ (Sdd. 3) -haṁ -mi (Pd. 23)	-e -i -hiṁ -iṁ -(a)mmu	
1100	-e, -ī -hī -mmī (Pktsm.)	-e -i -im -hiṁ	
1200	-i -ha -hī, -hi -hiṁ -iṁ, -ī, -i -e	mu-	

§83. THE DATIVE—GENITIVE—ABLATIVE CASE.

This is the most important case in Ap., and may well be designated as the oblique case in Ap., as the oblique cases in many NIA languages are traceable to this, although the Ins-Loc. also supplies some bases in NIA oblique. The fusion of the Dat.-Gen.-Abl. cases is, however, gradual. We find that the use of the Gen. for Dat. is as old as the Brāhmaṇa period⁴⁶ and the fusion of these two cases was achieved in literary Pkts.⁴⁷ It was during the Ap. period that the Abl. and the Gen. gradually fell in together, and merged into one compound case.

Pkt. grammarians have noted the following desinences of the Abl. and the Gen. cases :

Ablative :

- (1) *-he* (*Pu.* 17.44, *Hc.* 8.4.336, *Sh.* 18, *Ld.* 4.7 but optionally, *Ki.* 30, *Rt.* 12, *Mk.* 19).
- (2) *-hu* (*Hc.* 8.4.336, *Ld.* 4.7 optionally *Sh.* 18).
- (3) *-adu* (*Ki.* 30).
- (4) *-e* (*Rt.* 15).
- (5) *-ho* (*Pu.* 17.44, *Ki.* 30, *Rt.* 12, 15, *Mk.* 19).

Genitive :

- (1) *-su* (*Hc.* 8.4.337, *Ld.* 4.9, *Sh.* 15, *Ki.* 31, *Rt.* 14).
- (2) *-ho* (The same as above except *Rt.* Here *Rt.* 13).
- (3) *-ssu* (*Hc.* 8.4.337, *Ld.* 4.9, *Sh.* 15).
- (4) *-ssa* (*Ki.* 31, *Mk.* 29).
- (5) *-hu* (*Rt.* 7).
- (6) *-he* (*Rt.* 13).
- (7) *-hassu* (*Rt.* 14).
- (8) *-e* (*Rt.* 12).
- (9) *Zero* (*Hc.* 8.4.345, *Sh.* 17, *Ld.* 4.16).
- (10) *-ham* (*Rt.* 13).
- (11) *-hnm* (*Rt.* 13).

⁴⁶ BLOCH, *FLM* § 183 where he quotes SPEYER, *Ved. u. Sansk. Syntax* §§ 43, 71, 72.

⁴⁷ FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 361.

Out of these *-he*, *-hu*, *-ho* are common to Gen. and Abl. *-e* (in *Rt.* 12, 15) is ignored as it is not found in Ap. literature, and like *-hassu* (*Rt.* 14) which is an artificial combination of *-ha* and *-ssu*, it may be a grammarian's invention. *-adu* (<Śaur. Mg. *-ado*) in *Ki.* 30 is a Śaurasenism. The rest are attested to in Ap. Literature.

The following terms in literary Pkts. show us the background of Ap.⁴⁸.

Ablative :

Mah. *-āo*, *-āu*, *-ā*, *-āhi*, *-āhimto* (-*tto*)

Amg. JM. *-āo*, *-āu*, *-ā*; JŚ. *-ādo*, *-ādu*, *-ā*.

Ś. Mg. *-ādo*; Pais. CP. *-āto*, *-ātu*.

Genitive:

Mah. *-ssa*, Mg. *-śśc*, *-āha*.

A glance at the Comparative Table of Terms (§83A) will show that with a few unimportant exceptions in WSAp., Abl. and Gen. sgs. have got common desinences, and that after the 10th cent. A.D., the distinction was practically lost in WSAp. In EAp., both *DKK.* and *DKS.* represent a complete fusion of the two cases from the very beginning (700 A.D.). Its beginning in EAp. may go back earlier still, as there was a greater disintegration of old grammatical order in EAp. than in WSAp. The NIA languages of that region have changed faster than those in the WSAp. region. It is natural that the fusion of the Abl. and Gen. should be achieved first in EAp., although such a tendency is clearly seen in OIA in the declension of Fem. nouns, and Masc. and Neut. stems in *-i*, *-u*, *-r*.

Out of the desinences of the Dat.-Gen.-Abl. case, we can easily dispose of *-ssa*, *-ssu*, *-(ā)su* as Prakritisms, as the latter two are clearly traceable to Pkt. *-ssa*, the *-u* ending being a fashion of that period in which it is used with some indeclinables also.

It is the *-h-* element in these terms which requires some explanation. If we set aside the problem of relative frequency, the following desinences are found in Ap. literature.

WAp. *-ha*, *-ham*, *-ha*, *-hā*, *-hu*, *-hi*, zero.

⁴⁸ FICHEL, *Grammatik*, § 363.

S_{Ap}. -*ho*, -*hu*, -*hum* (?)

F_{Ap}. -*ha*, -*ho*, *ho*.

It was already in pre-*Ap*. MIA that we find OIA -*s*->-*h*-. e.g., *daha* (*daśan*), *eyāraha* (*ekādaśan*), *bāraha* (*dvā-daśan*), Mg. Gen. sg. -*ha* < -**sa* < Pkt. -*ssa* < OIA -*śya*. In *Ap*. we find such a change in other term.s, as well. e.g., Loc. sg. -*a-him*, -*°hī*, -*°hi* < OIA -*a-smin*, the -*ha*-Future from OIA -*śya*-Future. This is enough to show that as in the case of Mg., in *Ap*. too, we have the -*h*-formations of OIA -*śya* for Gen. sg. One may go to the extent of regarding this -*h*-element as the survival or continuation of Magadhi -*ha*.

But these -*h*-desinences are found in WSE_{Ap}. This shows that these must have existed in spoken MIA, and that Mg. was the first literary Pkt. to record them. We cannot regard this as a survival of the I-I speech-habit to pronounce OIA *s* as *h*, because I-1 and *Ap*. are not cognate in space or time, and secondly every OIA *s* is not transformed to *h*, in *Ap*.

Linguistically these term.s may be classified into two groups :

(i) -*ham*, -*ha*, -*ha*, zero.

(ii) -*hā*, -*ho*, -*ha*, -*hum*.

-*hi* is exceptional and limited to a few forms in *Sdd*. and *Pd*. e.g., *phullatthāṇaya-hi* = *puspa-sthāṇaya* (*Sdd*. 31), *joiyah* < *yogikāśya* = *yoginah* (*Fd*. 192). This -*hi* may be connected with -*he* which was a popular desinence of Fem. -*ā* stems in WSE_{Ap}. of the same (10th) cent. Such interchange of term.s is (as we shall see later on) not unusual in *Ap*.

Out of the first group, -*ha* is used both for Gen. and Abl. Sing. and Plur., in *PPr*. OIA -*āsam* > -(a) *ham*, -(a) *ha*, or (a) *hā* is the application of a pronominal term. to nouns. OIA **putrāsam* > Pk. *puttāsam* > *Ap*. *putta-ham* (cf. Mg. *puttāham*) is another example of the change of OIA -*s*- to -*h*-.

It is doubtful whether *Ap*. -*ha* can be regarded as a simple continuation of Mg. -*ha*. It is absent in *SAp*. *EAp*. preserves this, though sometimes it uses -*ho* for Gen. sg. In *WAp*. -*ha* became popular from 1000 A.D.. We have only -*ha* in *PPr*. for Gen. Abl. sg.s. In 1200 A.D. in *Kp*. -*ha* is totally absent, and -*ha* is the most popular term. Its

⁴⁹ For the explanation of Gen. term.s in MIA vide *PISCHEL Gram.* §363, 66. Also S. K. CHATTERJI, *ODB* §§ 502, 507-8.

proportion to its alternative desinence *-hu* is 55 : 1.⁵⁰ This leads us to believe that *-ha* is simply a denasalized form of *-hā* which is of a pronominal origin. BLOCH regards this on the model of Pkt. *ma-ha*, *tu-ha* and of pronominal origin in a different sense.⁵¹

The use of terminationless Gen. is sanctioned by Pk. grammarians like *Hc.*, *Sh.*, *Ld.* But the illustrations of zero term. are doubtful. Thus in *aimattaham cattanikusaham gaya kumbhai dārantu -Hc.* 8.4.345. *gaya-kumbhai* 'temples of elephants' may be regarded as a *lat-puruṣa* compound as well. The next example of zero term. is in *Hc.* 8.4.384. But there, too, *bali-abbhatthani* is a *lat-puruṣa* compound. In *Ml.* 3, PISCHEL equates *joiā* as **yangika* with the Gen. term. dropped. But *PPr.* 1.85 which is the real source of that quotation, it is a Voc. form of *yogin* (see the *chāyā* also).

There are, however, a few forms which appear to be of Gen. sg. with zero term. e.g.

pia joantihe muha-kamalu (Hc. 8.1.332.2)

pia = *priasya*. This can be taken as Voc. sg., but that would be rather farfetched. In *Pd* 52 we have another such instance :

jīvahu janta na kuḍi gaiya

janta = *yātaḥ* qualifying the noun *jīva* in Gen. sg. However exceptional it might be, the existence of zero term. must be admitted. This might be a later development of Ap. *-ha*.

Out of the second group, *-ho* is the original desinence, *-hō*⁵² and *-hu* are the cognates of *-ho* as the latter is only a weakened form. This term. is found in WSEAp., although it was never so much popular in EAp. as it was in SWAp. It was used both for Abl. and Gen. sg. The history of this term. is given by BLOCH in *L'indo-aryen*, p. 143. The Abl. desinences in Pkt. (already quoted above), and the use of this for Abl. sing. support BLOCH's view, *-hu* its weakening.⁵²

⁵⁰ The calculation is based on ALSDORF's edition of *Ap.* In his Intro. to *Ap.* p. 57, he represents these as *-ahā -ahu* etc.

⁵¹ BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 143.

⁵² Prof. Louis H. GRAY advances an alternative theory on purely comparative grounds. He connects Ap. Abl. sg. *puttāhe* to **putrayāḥ*, *-yāḥ* being the term. of the Gen. Abl. of Fem. pronouns. (cf. Aing. J.M. Dat. sg. *puttāe* < **putrayāḥ*). Ap. Gen. Abl. sg. *fu'ta-hu* is traceable to **putra-bhas*. In other words he proposes *-hu* < formative *-bh-* + Gen. Abl. sg. *-as*, as the history of *-hu*. In support of this formative *-bh-* he gives non-IA forms e.g. *daḍu*, *lunariyā*. (BSOS VIII ii-iii). In the above mentioned paper, GRAY juxtaposes so many forms unconnected in space-time context to Ap. that one begins to think that anything is possible in Linguistics. There is no reason why **-bhas* and **-yās* should be assumed for *-hu* and *-he*. If OIA Nom. sg. *sah* > *so* : *se* is possible in Pkts. **-bha* > *-ho* : *-hu* is equally possible, and *-hu* is a weakened *-ho*. There is no need to assume a hypothetical form like **putrayās* in accepting which we have to postulate the application of Fem. term. to Masc. stem even in OIA.

karaṇḍa-ho (DKK. 21) is the first occurrence of this term. in EAp. (and in Ap. in general). It was never popular in EAp. In 1000 A.D. *-ho* began to appear in *BhK*. It was used more and more in the same region so that in 1200 A.D., *-ho* became the normal desinence in the anthology of Ap. verses in *Hc*. This *-ho* was the most popular term. in *Hv*. (SAp. 1200 A.D.) in which, according to ALSDORF's calculation, the proportion of the Gen. sg. terms. *-(a)ho* : *-(ā)su* is 421.22⁵³. The *-āsu* forms are found at the end of verses. In *KKc*. in the 11th cent. A.D., *-ho* is the chief desinence and not *-hu* as in contemporary WAp. *-hum* in *haṇaṇahum* < *hananāya* (*KKc*. 2.3.10) is rare. Is it due to the influence of Inf. *-hum* which was very popular in SAp., and which conveyed the same sense as the Dative? The line runs as follows :

asīlaya karayali parivi punu, so koheṃ haṇaṇahum uṭṭhiyau.

We can pass over the nasal in *haṇaṇahum* without affecting the metre. It appears to be a hand slip of the scribe to add one *anusvāra* to *-hu* of the Gen. sg.

This case forms an important background for the oblique sing. in NIA.⁵⁴

§ 83A. GENITIVE (DATIVE-ABIATIVE) SINGULAR

Cent. A.D.	SAp.	EAp.
600- 1000	Abl.— <i>jīva-ha</i> ~, <i>gantha-ha</i> ~ Gen.— <i>cittaha</i> ~, <i>deha-ha</i> , <i>-tayaha</i> ~, <i>taī-loyaha</i> ~, <i>jīṇanāhaha</i> ~, <i>mokkhaha</i> ~.	
700- 1200		(1) <i>karaṇḍaho</i> (DKK) <i>paḇanaho</i> (DKs.) (2) <i>saṃvāraha</i> , <i>cittaha</i> (DKs.)
Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
1000	(1) <i>ahuttha-ham</i> , <i>saṃvāraham</i> (1) <i>kamalaho</i> , <i>Coḍaho</i> , <i>Kaṃsaḥo</i> , <i>maraṇoham</i> , <i>-kālatṭayaham</i> , <i>arahanta-ho</i> , <i>siṇṇaho</i> , <i>vāyaho</i> . <i>muttāham</i> , <i>kaḷḍhantāham</i> ,	

⁵³ Introduction to *Hc* § 41

⁵⁴ For the oblique sing. in NIA see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 177-80.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
	<i>tailoyahanī.</i>	2) <i>iyarahū, Rāmaha-</i>
	2) <i>jīvcha, māṇṣaha, ka ita-</i> <i>ha, kuḍumbaha.</i>	<i>vimāna-hu.</i> 3) <i>iimaddaṇṇāsu, -mahayaṇāsu.</i>
	3) <i>sangha-hō, -rāyaho,</i> <i>dhammaho</i> (All from <i>BhK.</i>)	4) <i>pacchar, bhāṇiyac</i> (Abl. Sg.)
	4) <i>sāyahu vipphahu jūyahu,</i> <i>gottahu, timirahu gīvahu,</i> <i>siddhattaṇṇahu.</i>	
	5) <i>guṇuvahi, joṇyahi, -phullattha-</i> <i>-ṇayahi.</i>	
	6) <i>mandiṇāsu</i> (only 1 in <i>BHk.</i> 312.7), <i>mahāṇāsu, paramesārāsu ṇayaṇā-nandiṇāsu</i>	
	(7) <i>janta</i> (<i>Pd.</i> 52)	
1100	1) <i>thirahu, ṇāmahu, pia-hu.</i>	1) <i>kusuma-uraho ; ṇarindaho,</i> <i>viṇṇāsaho, tūyaho,</i>
	<i>vacchahu</i>	<i>jiṇavaraho.</i>
	2) <i>bhaṇanta-hō</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 2)	
	3) <i>vaṇṇiya-ha</i> (<i>Sn.</i> 34-199),	2) <i>ṇavarāsu.</i>
	4) <i>jaṇassu, maṇassu.</i>	3) <i>haṇṇaḥum</i> (?) in <i>KKc.</i> 2.3.10.
Cent. A.D.	WAp.	
1200	1) <i>jaṇaḥō dullahaḥō, kantaḥō, sāyarahō</i> (Quite common in <i>Hc.</i>)	
	2) <i>avaruppara-hu, tihuyaṇa-hu jaṇahu</i> (<i>Sc.</i>), <i>nahayahu</i> (Abl. <i>Sc.</i> 364.8).	
	3) <i>parassu, suaṇassu</i> (<i>Pkt.</i>)	
	4, 5) Abl. Sg. <i>vaccha-he</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 336) ; <i>sayamjja-ha</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 459.3), <i>gharavāsaha</i> (<i>Sn.</i> 25.-22).	
	6) <i>gaya</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 345), <i>Pia</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 332.2).	

§ 83B. GENITIVE (DATIVE-ABLATIVE) SINGULAR.

A.D.	WAp.	EAp.	SAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-	Abl. <i>-ha</i> Ġ	..	..
1000	Gen. <i>-ha</i> Ġ		
700-	..	..	<i>-hō</i> , <i>-hō</i>
1200			<i>-ha</i> .
1000	Abl. <i>-ham</i> <i>-hu</i> (<i>Sdd.</i>)	Abl. <i>-ho</i> . <i>-e</i> (rare)	
	Gen. <i>-ham</i> . <i>-ha</i> <i>-hō</i> (<i>Bh.K</i>) <i>hu</i> <i>hi</i> <i>-nil</i> (<i>Pd.</i>) rare <i>-āsu</i> (3 in <i>BhK</i>) Zero	Gen. <i>-(ā)u</i> (<i>Hv. Pktsm.</i>) <i>-ho</i> <i>-hu</i> <i>-(ā)su</i> (less numerous)	
1100	Abl. <i>-hu</i> <i>-ā</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 3 Skt. sm.)	Abl. <i>-ho</i> Gen. <i>-ho</i> (common)	
	Gen. <i>-ho</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 2) rare <i>-hu</i> (common) <i>-ha</i> (<i>Sh.</i> 31-199) rare <i>-ssu</i>	<i>-(ā)su</i> (rare) <i>-hūm</i> (? <i>KK.</i> 212,3-10) rare.	
1200	<i>-ha</i> (common) <i>-ho</i> (common in <i>Hc</i>) <i>-hu</i> <i>-ssa</i> (Pkt. sm.) <i>-ssu</i> (Pkt. but very rare) <i>-su</i> <i>-nil.</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 345, 384)		

PLURAL NUMBER

§ 84. THE DIRECT CASE :

The following are the terms of the Direct Plur. according to Pkt. grammarians :

Masc.

- (1) zero (*Hc.* 8.4.344, *Ki.* 21, *Sh.* 8, *Ld.* 4.17).
- (2) *-he* (*Mk.* 14, *Rt.* 10).
- (3) *-ho* (*Rt.* 18).
- (4) *-ḍā* (*Pu.* 18).
- (5) *-du* (*Pu.* 20).

Neut.

- (1) *-im* (*Hc.* 8.4.333, *Mk.* 16, *Rt.* 11, *Ld.* 4.24)
- (2) *-(ā)im* (*Hc.* 8.4.353, *Ld.* 4.24, *Mk.* 16, *Rt.* 11).

We find the following desinences in Pkts.⁵⁵

Masc.

- Nom. : Mah. *-a*, Amg. *-āo*.
- Acc. : Mah. Amg. *-ā*, (Mah.) *-e*.

Neut.

- Mah. Amg. JM. *-āim*, *-āī*, *-aī*.
- Amg. JM. *-āṇi*, *-ā*, JŚ. *-āṇi*, Ś. Mg. *-āim*.

In Ap. literature zero is the common term. in all regions throughout our period. It is derived from Pkt. *-ā*, < OIA *-āh* reduced to *-ā* before sonants. The desinence *-ā* < OIA *-akāh* is rare in WSAp. ALSDORF ignores it altogether in his analysis of the dialect of *Hv.*⁵⁶ WAp. texts of the 12th cent. A.D., e.g., *Ki.* *JDc.* *Sn.* *Kp.* do not testify to it. It is only in EAp. and some WAp. texts especially *Pd.* and *Sdd.* (both of 1000 A.D.) that we meet with numerous *-ā* forms. Forms ending in *-ḍā* < *-tu-kāh* e.g., *divahaḍā* (*diva-*), *rukhaḍā* (**rukṣa* = *vrkṣa*), *katthaḍā* (*kasta-*) are the speciality of WAp. (chiefly of *Sdd. Pd.*) and are still found in NIA of that region e.g., Raj. (For the Neut. *-ā* see below).

The remaining terms of Masc. Direct Plur. exhibit two tendencies, the space-time location of which is interesting. They are as follows :

- (1) The use of sing. for plur.

⁵⁵ FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 363.

⁵⁶ Intro. to *Hv.* § 41.

(2) Extension of the desinences of the Neut. to Masc. and vice versa.

(1) The first tendency is not so common. The use of *-u* in WEAp., and *-e*, *-ē*, *-u* in EAp. is rare. e.g., *Hari-Hara-Bamhu* (PPr. 2.8) *caubbeu* < *catur-Vedāh*, (DKS.1) *keṣē* < *keśān* (DKS. 6) as in *naggala hoia upāṭṭia keṣē*, *-baranālē* 'the chief stem or stalk' in the *dvandva* compound.

saṇḍa-puani-dala-kamala-gandha-keśara-baraṇālē karahu sosa.
'The group, the lotus plant, the lotus-leaf, the flower, the odour, the stamen, and the chief stem or stalk . . (you) dry up the spirit' (DKS. 51).

It is quite probable that the sing. no. in these forms is due to the constant association of the things or deities mentioned therein which led the authors to look upon them as one. Thus the trinity of Gods, Hari, Haia, Brahmā, or the group of four Vedas, or the mass of hair form but one idea, hence the sing. term. But this confusion of number is not limited to this case alone, but to the Instr. Loc., and the Dat-Gen. Abl. cases as well (§ 83, § 86).

(2) The second tendency is much more powerful. It is not seen in WAp. in 600 A.D., (in PPr. and T3.). Its predominance in DKK. and DKS. shows the distinction between the Masc. and Neut. genders was (morphologically at least) lost in EAp. Thus *bhūtā* (*bhūtāni*), *bhava-nirvānā* (*bhava-nirvānāni*), *bea-purāṇa* (*Veda-purāṇāni*), *sunṇāsūṇṇa* (*śūṇyāśūṇya*), *amaṇāgamana* (*āgamanāgamana*), *-maṇa* (*manāṇa*) etc. show that DKs. and DK. make little difference between Neut. and Masc., as *-a* stems of Neut. gender take desinences of the Masc., and *-im* or *-ī* which are special terms of the Neut. in WSAp. are absent.

In WSAp. though the distinction between genders is blurred, or is in the process of falling together, Masc. words take the Neut. terms from about 1000 A.D. It is chiefly in BhK. that we get numerous examples of this type e.g. *coiaī* (*coiāh*), *gāmaī* (*grāmāh*), *hāreī* (*hārāṇ*), *doṣaī* (*doṣāṇ*) and others. They are exceptional in Sdd. e.g., *airatāim* (*dīpa-*). Though ALSDORF does not notice such forms, there are some in Puspādanta e.g., *kumāraī* (*kumārāṇ*), *Viyaī* (*Vedāh*). It seems to have disappeared in KKc (1100 A.D.) and probably in the contemporary WAp., although verses in Hc. contain some such forms. SN., Sc., and Kp., do not exhibit this peculiarity of BhK.

The counter-part of this linguistic habit viz., the application of Masc. terms to Neut. nouns as in EAp. e.g., *Bea-purāṇa* (*Veda-purāṇāni*), *bhūtā* (*bhūtāni*)—both appear as early as 700 A.D., in DKK. —is seen

in WAp. from the 10th cent. A.D. Forms like *uttiṣṣ*, *viṭṭa* in PPr. show that this tendency commenced as early as 600 A.D., in WAp. It is not found in SAp. of the 10th cent. as Neut. direct plur. end in *-āi*. It is in the 11th cent. that we find zero applied in exceptional forms e.g., *kama-kamala* (*krama-kamale*), *uggaya* (*udgalāni*). Zero for the Neut. Direct Plur. are found in many forms in 10th cent. WAp. If we except some purists like Haribhadra (the author of *Sc.*), this characteristic is found in Ap. of the 12th cent. In Kp. (1194 A.D.) zero is rather the rule than an exception as according to ALSDORF's calculation we find :

Nom. Acc. Neut. : *-a* (26), *-āi* (4), *-āṭi* (4) as the terms in Kp.

We are now in a position to formulate the chrono-regional growth of these tendencies :

- (1) *The use of sing. for plur.*
 WAp.—PPr. (600-1000 A.D.)
 EAp.—DKK. DKS. (700-1200 A.D.)
- (2) *The use of Masc. terms with Neut. -a stems*
 EAp.—700-1200 A.D.
 WAp.—1000 A.D. In SAp. also (?)
 SAp.—1100 A.D.
- (3) *The use of the desinences of Neut. with Masc. -a stems*
 WSAp. 1000 A.D.
 Lost in SAp. in 1100 A.D. ?

The contributions of LUEDERS, KEITH, BARNETT, and others in *Ind. Ant.* and other journals have made it quite clear that confusion of genders is seen in other MIA dialects, and is in no way the special characteristic of Ap. The synoptic statement of the temporal and regional growth is what appears from Ap. alone.

The Neut. direct Plur. *-āim*, *-āṭi* sometimes represented as *-ī*, *-im*, *-i* are traced to OIA *-āni*. The difficulty of the change of the intervocalic *-n-* > nasalisation of the surrounding vowel is discussed above in connection with Ins. sg. *-ē* < *-ena* (§82). TURNER believes the possibility of such *-n-*, *-n-* > ⁵⁷ though it is limited to Ins. sg. *-ena* and Gen. pl. *-ānām* in addition to this *-āni*. As there is no other instance of such nasalisation in IA., this should be regarded as an open question.⁵⁸

57 TURNER, *Gujrati Phonology*, JRAS, 1921, pp. 525-6 § 66 (2)

58 L. H. GRAY, thinks that the long vowels in *phalām*, *mahām* etc., in Pkt. and Ap. are traceable to Ved. *phalā*, *madhū* etc. In Pk. and Ap. *-im*, *-i* etc., there is the survival of the I-I doublets **-ni*, and **-n*. (For details see BSOS VIII ii-iii p. 566)

Neut. Direct Plurs. in *-ā* cannot be traced to Vedic Direct Plur. *-ā* due to the IA tendency of pronouncing the terminational sounds weakly. Ap. *-ā* of the Neut. Direct should rather be regarded as the extension of Masc. *-ā* < OIA *-ākāḥ* to the Neut. Reduction of Ved. *yatrā* to *yatra* in classical Sk. is enough to show the improbability of the Ved. Neut. *-ā* surviving intact down to Ap.

Voc. Plur. *-ho*, *-hu* were independent particles for addressing, which later became case-terminations. The *pluta* vowel of the Voc. resulted in *-ā* which was perhaps reduced to *-a* (or it may be that the old *-āḥ* of OIA Voc. plur. gave rise to these). Hence we have these varieties in Ap. vocatives.

§84A. MASCULINE AND NEUTRAL STEMS IN *-a*

DIRECT PLURAL

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
<hr/>			
600-1000 <i>Masc.</i>			
	1) <i>paṣṭya</i> , <i>jīṇavara</i> , <i>roya</i> , <i>rāya</i> , <i>rosa</i> , <i>jīvājīva</i> , <i>mūla-guṇa</i> .		
	2) <i>jōiyā</i> . (<i>Voc.</i>) <i>jōiya-hu</i> (<i>Is.</i> 50)		
	3) <i>Hari-Hara-Bamhu</i> (<i>PPr.</i> 2.8).		
	<i>Neut.</i>		
	1) <i>davvāṭṭ</i> , <i>punnāṭṭ</i> , <i>duhaiṭṭ</i> , <i>kiyāiṭṭ</i> .		
	2) <i>uṭṭiyā</i> (?) <i>vihāna</i> , <i>padesa</i> .		
Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.

700-

1200

Masc.

- 1) *surāsura*, *vīrasa*, *tuḍḍia*, *sama* (*DKK.*); *naggale*, *dhammāḍhamma*, *bhābābhāba*.
- 2) *paṁḍittā*, *bisayā*, *jadā*, *dibā*, *kāyā*, *dosa-guṇā*.
- 3) *japa-home*
- 4) *kesē*, *baraṇālē* (*Acc.*)
- 5) *caubbeu* (*Nom.*)
- 6) *paṇḍia-loa-hu* (*Voc.*)

Neut.

- 1) *bea-purāṇa, -gaṇa, suṃāsana* (DKK)
bikhaṇḍia, amanāgamana, °mana.
- 2) *bhūtā, pā, bhavanivāṇā.*
- 3) *-kamme* (DKK. 29).

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.
1000	<i>Masc.</i>	<i>Masc.</i>
	1) <i>mūlaguṇa, sappa, bahuya,</i> <i>tusa.</i>	1) <i>gaya, suravara, amara, raha.</i>
	2) <i>divahaḍḍā, dummehā,</i> <i>rukkaḍḍā, kaṭṭhaḍḍā,</i> <i>bhallā, kālā.</i>	2) <i>saṇandaṇā, viṣaṇṇā,</i> <i>bhārayā, Magahā,</i>
	3) <i>dīvaḍḍai, suṇai, hārai,</i> <i>dosaī (Ac.), corai,</i> <i>gāmai (Nom.) Mostly in</i> <i>in BhK.</i> <i>Voc. joiyahu.</i>	3) <i>kumārai, veyai.</i>
		4) <i>hae</i> (Nc. 6.13.11). <i>Neut.</i>
		1) <i>pullai, jalāim, bhīsāim</i>
		2) <i>rīṇai, Puppai, sīsakkai.</i>
	<i>Neut.</i>	
	1) <i>kamma, vattha, vaya, ghara,</i> <i>saya.</i>	
	2) <i>mokaliyaim, sikkha-vayaim, ṇiyalaiṃ</i>	
	3) <i>suhā, mokkalē.</i>	
	4) <i>upalāṇahim (Pd. 42).</i>	

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAP.
1100		<i>Masc.</i>	
		1) <i>bhātīysavāra, ṇiṇa, pāya, brāya.</i>	

*Neut.**pankaḍ, (Mt. 19) 1) hariṇaiṁ, laggaiṁ, seṇṇaiṁ,**2) joyaṇṇaiṁ.**3) uggaya, kama-kamala.*

*Cent.**WAp.**A.D.*

1200.

*Masc.**1) jaṇa, sambhariya, tarugaṇa, visaya, dīha, navullaḍaa.**2) khalāiṁ, bhaggāiṁ, viguttāiṁ.**3) payaḍā, thoṇā, dosaḍā.**Voc. 1) loaho, taruṇaho, gaṇahu, suyaṇahu, bhaviyaṇahu, daṇḍadharahu.**Neut.**1) avalai or aṇivalai, soiviṇai cittaṁ (Jdc. 7.3).**2) kāyavvāi, savvāi (Sc. 459.3) rayāṇṇaiṁ.**3-5) paṇṇai (Jdc. 2.1) suddhigara (Kc.), phala maullā, (Kc.) abbhā (KHc.), lihiā, valayā.*

84B. MASC. AND NEUT. STEMS IN -a

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..
600-	<i>Masc. : zero</i>	..	
1000	-ā		
	-u		
Voc.	-hu, -ā		
Neut. :	-āi		
	-zero, -ā ?		

700-	..	..	Masc. :	zero	
1200				-ā	
				-e	
				-ē	
				-u	
			Voc.	-hu	
				zero	
			Neut. :	-ā	
				e (DKK.29)	
1000	Masc.	zero	Masc.	zero	
		-ā		-ā	
		-im, -ī		-im -ī.	
	Voc. Masc. Neut.			-e (Nc. 6.13.11).	
		-hu			
	Neut. :	zero	Neut. :	-āī	
		-im, -ī		-āī,	
		-ā			
		-him (Pd. 42).			

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
1100	Neut. : -ā	2) Neut. : ^u āim zero.	
1200	Masc. : zero -āim. -ā. Voc. : -ho, -hu. Neut. : -āī -āī -ī zero -ā	1) Masc. zero.	

§85. THE INSTR. LOC. PLURAL.

Pk. grammarians prescribe the following desinences for Ins.
Loc. Plur :

(1-2) -ahim (Pu. 43, Hc. 335, 47, Ld. 4.19, 44, 46.

-chim (Sh. 13, 14, Mk. 18.29, Rt. 3.2.12).

(3) -e (Rt. 3.2.12, Ld. 4.4).

- (4) *-su* (Ld. 4 6 with optional lengthening of the previous *-a*)

The following are the terms of these cases in Pkts.⁵⁹.

Ins Pl:

- (1) *-ehi*, *-^ohim*, *-^ohī* (Mah, Amg JM JŚ)
 (2) *-ehim* (Ś Mg)

Loc Plur.

- (1) *-esu*, *^osum*, *^osū* (Mah. Amg JM JŚ)
 (2) *-esum*, *^osu* (Ś Mg)

Literary Ap shows that the Pkt terms of Loc Plur were absolutely lost, and those of Ins Plur were extended to it, supplying thereby another proof of the merging of Loc and Instr. discussed above (§ 81). Pk grammarians admit it frankly.

The desinences in literary Ap can be divided in two groups

- (1) *-ehim*, *^ohī*, *^ohi*, *-i(ē) him*, *^ohī ^ohi*
 (2) *-ahim*, *^ohī ^ohi*

We have some forms ending in *-aham* *-ahā* (e.g., *nara nara^oaham niradanti* 'Men fall into the infernal regions' Pd 1, *kungaru annaham taru^oaham*, *kuddena ghalla^o hatthu* 'The elephant passes his trunk on other trees out of curiosity' Ilc 8 1 122⁶⁰). Such forms are exceptional and limited to WAp. They show the confusion of the Loc and the Gen. for which the accommodative nature of Gen. in OIA is responsible.

Out of these groups of terms the first group is generally traced to Ved Ins Plur *-ebhih*⁶⁰ while the second group is related to OIA *-a-smin* of Loc sg. Thus the first group signifies the merging of the cases and the second group shows the confusion of number in Ap.

The chrono-regional comp. of terms (§ 85A) shows that SEAp contains some more terms with unnasalized terms than WAp (except in an uncritical text like *Su*). *-ahim* in SAp and *-ehim* in EAp seem to have dropped then usually occasionally. Is this probably due to the pre-

⁵⁹ PISCHE Grammatik § 63

⁶⁰ PISCHE Grammatik 63. It may be noted that *him*, usually *him* < OIA Loc sg. **-ebhih* equally possible. Undoubtedly desinence *-i* < *-a* < *-i* are found in Pkt. Thus *ehim* for Loc plur. will be an extension of sing. to plur. which is not uncommon in Ap.

ponderence of *-ahī* in SAP? Thus in *Hv.* the proportion of *-ahī* : *-ehī* is 194 : 113. The denasalised *-ahī* i.e., *-ahi* forms are found in *KKc* also. In EAp. the claims of OIA *-adhi* > *-ahī* are doubtful as the exceptional term. *-ahi* may be a scribal error if not a tendency to denasalisation.

The change of *-ehīm*, *°hī* to *-ihīm*, *-°hī* etc. is explicable on TURNER's theory of the phonetic weakness of terminational endings in IA.⁶¹ We find these in WAp. Thus in *Kp.* we have :

-ihī (9) *-ehī* (1) *-chī* (1) as the terms *-esu* forms being Prakritisms need not be noted.

These *-ehī*, *-ahī* groups have supplied the following desinences to NIA.⁶²

-ehī > M. *-ī* e.g., *paṇḍaī*, 'by learned men,' *cinhī* 'by the signs.'

> Beng *-ē* e.g., *tinīē patē* 'with (or in) three.'

-ahī > Guj. *-e*, e.g., *hāthe* 'by hands,' *nayane* 'by eyes,' *nārie* 'by women.'

> Raj. Guj. *-i* e.g., Raj. *ghoraī*, Gur. *hāthi*.

§85A. THE INSTRUMENTAL LOCATIVE PLURAL

-a Stems (Masc. Neut.)

Cent. A.D.	Sap.	EAp.
500?	<i>turaehī</i> , <i>vajjantehī</i> .	
600-	Ins.: (1) <i>vayahi</i> ō, <i>paesahi</i> ō,	
1000	<i>lakkhaṇahi</i> ō.	
	(2) <i>pothā-picchiyai</i> ō.	
	Loc.: (1) <i>tīthahi</i> ō, <i>kaśāyahi</i> ō,	
	<i>dehādehahi</i> ō.	
	(2) <i>devālīhi</i> ō (I ³ . 43).	

⁶¹ TURNER, 'Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan, *JRAS*, 1927, pp. 227-30.

⁶² For details see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 172-3, 174-6.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
700-			Instr. : (1) <i>akkhohehī, pañcānanehī bamhanehī micchehī, paḍhantehī.</i>
1200			(2) <i>khanehi, -gaṇehi,</i> (3) <i>bisahi.</i>
			Loc. : (1) <i>āgama-bea-purāṇe (DKK 2).</i> <i>bhābābhābe (DKS. 61).</i>

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.
1000	Instr. :	Instr.
A.D.	(1) <i>akkharaḍehim guṇehī, duvayāṇehī -attantehī</i>	(1) <i>puttehim, īrieḥim, dahehim, kimkarehim.</i>
	(2) <i>akkharahim, maṇa-vaya-kāya-him, uvavāsahim, kusumahim, divasahī, Kaṇahim.</i>	(2) <i>jaya-vanda-him, lallakkahim, ṇāhalahim.</i>
		(3) <i>sunahahi, viddhani saṇahi.</i>
	Loc.	Loc.
	(1) <i>guṇehī, thovaeḥī</i>	(1) <i>thāvarahim, rukkhahim,</i>
	(2) <i>rāyahim, rūvahim rasahim, bhavahim, uvavāsahim.</i>	(2) <i>vayanahim, kulehim.</i>
	(3) <i>sukkāham, aravaraham, viṣayaham, bhogayaham, calaṇaham.</i>	
1100	Ins.	
A.D.	(1) <i>vaaneḥī juyaleḥī.</i>	(1) <i>bhalluehim, rayanehim, dīvaeḥim.</i>
	(2) <i>aṇṇaṇṇahī saahī.</i>	(2) <i>loyohim, dantahim,</i>
		(3) <i>jāṇahi.</i>

Cent.
A.D.

WAp.

1200 *Ins.*

- (1) *visacchīm, lakkhehīm, loṇṇehīm, payārehīm, sarehīm.*
 (2) *maṇa-pavapīhīm, -dosīhīm, -sāhīm (Sn) ; narihī, purisihī (Sc.)*
 (3) *ruddhahīm, guṇahīm, -kerahīm, sayatthahī (Kp.)*
 (4) *guṇīhi, vināhi, susānehi (All from Sn.).*

Loc.

- (1) *sacchīm, maggehīm, ḍungarihīm (Hc. 4.445).*
 (2) *kesahīm, raṇagayahīm, cittahī.*
 (3) (4) *tīhi-pavvahi (Jdc. 33.4) ; taru-arahaṃ (Hc. 4.422.9).*

§85B. THE INSTRUMENTAL-LOCATIVE PLURAL

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?	-ehī	..	..
600-	Ins.: -(a)hi	..	..
1000	-(a)hī		
	Loc.: -(a)hi		
	-ihī (Ts. 43)		
700-	..	..	Ins.: -ehī
1200			-ehī
			-(a)hi
			Loc.: -ē
1000	Ins.: - ^h hi, - ^h hī	Ins.: -ehīm	
	-(a)hi, -(a)hī	-(a)hi	
		-(a)hi.	

	Loc.: - <i>ehĩ</i>	Loc.: -(a) <i>hiĩm</i> .
	- (a) <i>hiĩm</i>	- <i>ehiĩm</i>
	- (a) <i>ham</i> .	
1100	- <i>ehĩ</i>	- <i>ehiĩm</i>
	- (a) <i>hĩ</i>	- (a) <i>hiĩm</i> .
		- (a) <i>hi</i> .
1200	- <i>ehiĩm</i>	
	Ins.	
	- <i>ihĩm</i> , - <i>ihĩ</i>	
	- (a) <i>hiĩm</i> , - (a) <i>hĩ</i>	
	- (a, i, e) <i>hi</i> (Sn.)	
	Loc. : - <i>ehiĩm</i> ,	
	- <i>ihĩm</i> (Hc. 4.445)	
	- (a) <i>hiĩm</i> , - (a) <i>hĩ</i>	
	- (a) <i>hi</i> , (a) <i>ham</i> (Hc. 4.22.9)	

§86. THE DATIVE-GENITIVE-ABLATIVE CASE

This is perhaps the most important case in Ap., and it is during this period that the fusion of these cases was achieved. Pk. grammarians supply us with following desinences of this case:

Ablative :

-*hum* (Hc. 337, Ld. 4.8, Sh. 19, Ki. 5.29, Rt. 13, Mk. 20).

-*ham* (Mk. 20, Rt. 13).

Ld. prescribes optional lengthening of final -a before -*hum*.

Dat.-Genitive

-*ham* (Pu. 45, Hc. 339-40, Ld. 4.10, Sh. 16, Ki. 32, Rt. 3.2.14).

-*hum* (Pu. 45).

Zero (Ld. 4.10 with the optional lengthening of previous -a).

Though Pk. grammarians were conscious of the process of fusion between the two (Abl. and Dat.-Gen.) cases, -*hum*, for Abl. and -*ham* for Dat-Gen. were the outstanding terms according them.

The following were the terms in Pkts.⁶³

Ablative:

-(a-,e-) *su mto*, -*āhi mto*, -(ā-,e-) *hi*, -*do*

-*āu*, -*atto*, (Mah.)

-*ehi mto*, -*ehi m* (Amg.)

-*ehi m* (JM).

Genitive:

-*āna*, -*āṇam*, -*āṇā* (Mah. Amg. JM. JŚ.)

-*āṇam* (Ś. Mg.)

-*āhā* (Mg.)

It will be found that Ap. Abl. -*hum* has no cognate in Pkts., and Abl.-Pkt. desinences are unrepresented or unrelated to Ap.

From the Comp. Morphological Table (§86A) it appears that Ap. writers made little distinction between Gen. and Abl., and that -*hum* which is unanimously sanctioned by Pk. grammarians is not favourite with them, but only a rarity in WAp. and totally absent in EAp. In *Hv.* the nine cases of -*ahñ* are doubtful,⁶⁴ while it is not seen in WAp. texts upto 1100 A.D., and in the critical editions of *Sc.* and *Kp.* in 1200 A.D. It appears that Ap. writers assumed the fusion of Abl. and Lat. Gen. from the very beginning of our period.

-*āṇa-* being a Prakritism, need not detain us. -*hi m* in *bhūvahi m*, as in

jāsu maṇu bhaggā bhūvahi m. Pd. 104.

"whose mind is turned away from material object," is (if not a scribal error) an extension of the Ins. Loc. term. to Abl. as we find Amg. and JM. -*ehi m* common to Abl. and Instr. Plur. -*a-hñ* of the Gen. pl. is derived from Gen. sg. -*a-ha* + -*ā* < MIA -*āṇam* of the Plur.⁶⁵ and is thus a double Gen. The only difficulty in this is the assumption MIA. -*ṇam* >nasalisation of the surrounding vowel. The only way to avoid this difficulty and the correct derivation seems to be Ap. -*ahñ* < Pk. OIA **-āsām*. Thus *puttahā* Pk. **puttāsam* < OIA **putrāsām* cf. Mg. *puttāham*.

63 PACHEL, *Grammatik*, §§ 303, 360-70.

64 Intro. to *Hv.* § 41.

65 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 144.

-(a)ha in EAp. is the extension of the term. of the sg. to the Plur., and has no relation with -ahā. Abl. Plur. -hū is connected with OIA Abl. dual -bhyām by PISCHEL,⁶⁶ but the change -yām>-ū is highly improbable. We have in Gen. sg. -ha : plur. -hā, so by analogy we get Abl. sg. -hu : Plur. -hū. BLOCH accepts this explanation.⁶⁷

§ 86A. THE DATIVE-GENITIVE-ABLATIVE PLURAL

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?			
600-	visayahaṭ, nāṇiyahaṭ,	..	..
1000	dehiyahaṭ, mukkahaṭ, mūḍhahaṭ, -jīvahaṭ.		
700-		(1) jarā-maraṇaha, turāṅgaha, nīlambaha.	
1200		(2) khabaṇāna (DKr. 8). (3) suṇṇāsuna (DKK. 13).	
Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	
1000	(1) Abl. dehaham, guṇaham, paṇcumbaraham.	(1) tūrahām, baṁbbhaṇahām, sarīrahām, kaṇāsanaṇahām,	
	Gen. kammaham, dosaham, baliyaham, jīvaham, rāyaham, guṇaham, sāvayaham, bhoyaham.	(2) kammayāham (Mp. 2.9.18), khalāham (Jc. 3.37.8). (3) soṇiyahum (Jc. 3.34.13), (4) jagaha (Jc. 1.6.1).	
	(2) Abl. bhuvahīm (Pd. 104).		
	Gen. mukkāham, (Sdd. 18).		

⁶⁶ Grammatik, § 369.

⁶⁷ BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 144.

1100 A.D.	WAp	SAd.
	(1) <i>maṇuvahaṁ, bhamantahaṁ, saṁsārahaṁ.</i>	
	(2) <i>sajjaṇāhaṁ, sāvaṇyāhaṁ, paṁkayaruhāhaṁ.</i>	
	(3) <i>maṇḍāṇa, pāya-pomāṇa, kammāṇa</i> (Pktisms)	
Cent. A.D.	WAp.	

- 1200 Abl. : (1) *karaṇābhāsahu*
 (2) *giriśiṅgahū, muhahū* (Hc)
 Gen. : (1) *juṇarāyahaṁ, viṣayaṁ, mattahaṁ, Paṇḍavahā, -cittaha, bhūmjaṇtahā.*
 (2) *duṣaṁga-susaṁga-ha* (Jdc. 10-3), *juḷḷa-ha* (Jdu. 77.1).
 (3) *chaddaisaṇu* (Jdc. 2.1), *viṣaya* (Kc. 22), *gaya* (Hc. 4.345),
 -āṇa forms being Pktisms. are not noted.

86B. THE DATIVE-GENITIVE-ABLATIVE CASE

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-	-(a)haō	..	..
1000			
700-	..	..	-(a) ha
1200			-(ā)ṇa (DKs. 8) zero
1000	Abl. -(a)haṁ -(a)hiṁ (Pd. 104)		
	Gen. †(a)haṁ -(a)hā -(ā)haṁ (Sdd. 18)	-(a)haṁ -(ā)haṁ -(ā)huṁ (Jc. 3.31.13) -(a)ha (Jc. 1.5.1)	

1100	..	-(a) <i>ham</i> -(ā) <i>ham</i> -(ā) <i>na</i> (Pktisms.)	
1200	Abl. -(a) <i>hu</i> -(a) <i>hū</i> Gen. -(a) <i>ham</i> -(a) <i>hā</i> -(a) <i>ha</i> -zero	..	..

FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -a, -ā.

§ 87. The OIA and Pkt. Fem. -ā stems are generally reduced to -a ending ones in Ap. This does not mean that -ā ending stems are totally absent in Ap. but that the -a stems predominate. As there is no difference in the declension of -ā stems, they are classed here under one head. Moreover the number of purely Ap. peculiarities is not so great as to deserve a detailed treatment of every case as we did with regard to Masc. and Neut. -a stems. We should leave aside the desinences which are common to other Pkts. and concentrate on purely Ap. development. But at the same time we must recognise the possibility of Ap. influence on Pk. literature as well.

The importance of the declension of -ā stems lies in the fact that it served as a model for Fem. -ī and -ū stems.

§ 88. The following are the terms of these themes in Pkts. **

STEMS IN -ā.

Singular :

Nom. : zero.

Acc. : -a *m*.

Ins. : -āe, -āi, -āa (Mah.). In other dialects -āe only.

Dat. : -āe in Amg. only.

Abl. : -āo, -āau (-ā *hūmto*, -āi, -āa, -atto) in Mah. Amg. JM.
-ādo, -āc (Ś. Mg.)

Gen. Loc.: *-āe, -āi, -āa* (Mah.) In others only *-āe* i.e., the terms are the same as those of the Ins.

Voc.: *-e* (Pktism), zero.

Plural:

Nom. Acc. Voc.: *-āo, -āu*, zero (Mah. Amg. J.M.), *-āo*, zero (Ś. Mg.)

Ins.: *-āhī, -āhī, -āhīm* (Mah. Amg. J.M.) *-āhīm* (Ś. Mg.)

Abl.: *-āhīmto* (*-āsumto, -āo -āu*) in Mah. Amg.

Gen.: *-āṇa, -āṇā, -āṇam* (Mah. Amg. J.M.) *-āṇam* (Ś. Mg.)

Loc.: *-āsu, -āsū, -āsum* (Mah. Amg. J.M.), *-āsu, -āsum* (Ś. Mg.)

A comparison of the terms of Fem. *-ā* in Ap., (§88A) with those in the chrono-regional tables of the terms. of *-a* stems in Ap. (§§80-86) discloses the following facts:

(1) The declension of Fem. *-ā* stems borrowed a number of desinences from the declension of Masc. and Neut. *-a* stems as tabulated below:

Terms common to Masc. and Fem. Stems ending in -a.

Singular:

Nom.: zero (sometimes in the case of Acc. also)

Instr.: WEAp. *-ē* (1000 A.D.) *-e* (WAp. 1000 and 1200 A.D. and SAp. 1100), *-im, -i, SAp. -i.*

Gen.: WAp. *-ha, -ham* (1000 A.D.), *-hu* (1100 A.D.) *-ha* (1200 A.D.), SAp. *-hun.*

Loc.: A distinctly different case from Gen. as contrasted with secondary MIA.

WAp. *-i* (600 A.D.), WSAp., *-i, -im, -him* (1000 A.D.) *-hi* (1100 A.D.).

WAp. *-i, -him, -hi* (1200 A.D.), *-hi* forms less common.

Plural: ..

Direct: zero, in *BhK.* 52.4 *-āi.*

Dat. Gen. : Abl. WAp. *-ham*, *-hā* (1100-1200 A.D.) Abl. pl.
WAp. *-hu* (1200 A.D.)

Loc. : *-hī*.

(2) Fem. themes in *-ā* show that the fusion of Nom. and Acc. cases (both sing. and plur.) was complete before 600 A.D. With the exception of the borrowed masc. terms. of *-a* stems, Ins. and Loc. sings. remained distinct upto the end of 1100 A.D. or even upto 1200 A.D. Ins. sg. conserved the old Pkt. term. (*ā*)*e* throughout the Ap. period—at least apparently. Gen. and Loc. appeared amalgamated in Pkts., but in Ap. they are quite distinct, while the process of the absorption of the Abl. into Gen. is seen upto 1000 A.D. Though we roughly class together Dat. Gen. Abl. sing. and plur. from their use in literature, Abl. is an independent case in Pkts., but not so in Ap. Hence *Hc.* 8.4.350-51.

§89. THE DIRECT CASE

As in NIA, Ap. shows only two important cases—the Direct and the Oblique. The former is already formed while common desinences of Dat. Gen. Abl. and Instr.—Loc. in 1200 A.D. show the formative process of the latter. In the direct case, very few terms. remain to be explained after eliminating those of the masc. *-a* stems. *ā* as in *disā* < *dīsam* in *Vk.* (*Mt.* 32) is a mediate stage between Pkt. *-m* and Ap. zero which must be assumed as the stem was used in the direct case from 600 A.D., in WSEAp. The later *-m* forms e.g., *muddam* (*mudrām*) are Prakritisms.

Vocatives in *-e* are Sanskritisms, and these with zero term. are found in Pkts. Voc. sg. in *-i* e.g., *kanti* (*kāntā*-), *vacchi* (*vaśā*-) are weakened forms of *-e* viz., *kānte*, *vatse*.

§89A. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN *-ā*

Direct Singular.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	<i>Nom.</i> : <i>saria</i> , <i>Acc.</i> : <i>disā</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 32)		
600-	<i>Nom.</i> : <i>mudda. āsā</i>		

1000	Acc. : <i>veyaṇa, bhukkha.</i>	..	..
700-	..	Nom.	<i>dakkhiṇa, bhajja</i>
1200			<i>niccala, Jamuṇā,</i> <i>dhāraṇa.</i>
		Acc.	<i>karuṇā, ghaṇḍā</i> <i>beṇu (DKs. 77).</i>

Cent.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
1000	Nom. <i>kaṃcūliya, līha,</i> <i>gira, vallaha, daya,</i> <i>kiriya.</i>	Nom. <i>rayāṇiya, aṃciya</i> <i>pasāhiya, kausiya,</i> <i>ṇāṇiya.</i>	
	Acc. <i>bhikkha, ḍāla, veyana,</i> <i>daya, dikkha, -sāla,</i> <i>-kīla, Pujja, vaṭṭaḍḍiya,</i> <i>chāyā.</i>	Acc. : <i>dhīya, sayala,</i> Voc. <i>māi, ammi (?)</i>	
	Voc. : <i>jāe, kanti.</i>		
1100	Nom. :	Nom. : <i>mahila, bāla, vijjāhariya.</i>	
	Acc. : <i>muddam soha</i>	Acc. : <i>asilaya, kaṇṇa, līla</i>	
	Voc. : <i>muddhe</i>	Voc. : <i>bhaḍārie.</i>	
1200	Nom. : <i>Jīha, dhaṇa, sila, chāyā, phukka.</i>		
	Acc. : <i>-māla, pūya, himsā, boḍḍiā.</i>		
	Voc. : <i>ammi muddhi, vacchi, ammie.</i>		

§ 89 B. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -ā.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
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Direct Singular.

500	Nom. : zero	—	—
	Acc. : ~		
600-	Nom. : Zero.

	Acc. : zero	
700-	...	Nom. : -zero
1200		Acc. : -zero -u(DKs. 77)
1900	Nom. : -zero	Nom. : -zero.
	Acc. : -zero	Acc. : -zero
	Voc. : -e, -i	Voc. : -i
1100	Nom. :	Nom. : -zero
	Acc. : -zero	Acc. : -zero
	m-	Voc. : -e
	Voc. : -e	
1200	Nom. : -zero	
	Acc. : -zero	
	Voc. : -i, -ie	

THE OBLIQUE CASES

§90. THE INSTRUMENTAL CASE

The predominance of Masc. terms. in this case is so great that although $-(\check{a})i$ is the term. of Fem. $-\check{a}$ stems even in Pkts., one is tempted to regard it as a denasalised form of Masc. $-im$ and $-i$, in Ap., instead of taking it to be a weakened form of $-(\check{a})e$ which appears in Pkts. and Ap. These $(a)-i$ forms are limited only to SAp. of the 10th cent., and in that too to *Mp.* and *ŷc.* for ALSDORF's edition of *Hv.* gives $(a)e$ for Fem. stems in $-\check{a}$, $-\check{i}$, $-\check{u}$.⁶⁹ *k'k'c.* has $-im$, $-em$ and $-(\check{a})e$ term.s which evidently shows the tendency to use Masc. term.s to Fem. stems. We find the same in *M.* for Instr. sg. e.g., *āplyā kṛbē karūn* 'by your favour' wherein $-ē$ is used with the Fem. $-\check{a}$ stem viz. *kṛpā*.⁷⁰

The evidence of WSEAp. Inš. sg. of $-\check{a}$ stems. shows that there was a very strong tendency to apply Masc. term.s to Fem. $-\check{a}$ stems, and

⁶⁹ ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* §§ 43, 45.

⁷⁰ In Coll. M. The nasal \check{a} has now disappeared and we generally say *kṛpē-karūn* in our Poona Marathi speech.

its persistence in M. tends to prove Fem. Ins. sg. *-i* < Masc. *-ī*, *-im* rather than *-i* < Fem. *-e*, though linguistically that is equally probable. *Sn.* is an uncritical text, so *līlaha* < *līlayā* (*Sn.* 334-127) may be a scribal error for *līlai*, as *h* and *i* in the Devanāgarī script look alike. Otherwise this exceptional form shows the application of the Gen. term. to the Instr. case.

Chronologically the use of Masc. term.s for Fem. Ins. sgs. is as follows :

700 A.D.—EAp.

1000 A.D.—WAp. (SAp. if the Ins. sg. *-ī* discussed above be traceable to *-im*.)

1100 A.D.—SAp

§ 90A. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -a

Instrumental Singular...

Cent. A.D.	SAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>bhatṭiya-ē, uddehiyāē</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	<i>bhaba-muddē, bācē, vācē</i> (DKs. 81).	
Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	
1000	(1) <i>tattīm, lālāīm, likkāīm, visakaniyāīm.</i>	(1) <i>jīvañjasat, mantanāī, nisāsunhaī, himsa-ī, jīhaī, māyāī.</i>	
	(2) <i>netṭae*, līlāē, kamalāē.</i>	(2) <i>suttāē, kahāē, vāyae.</i>	
	(3) <i>jarāē, -gattae, kantae.</i>		
1100	(1) <i>niddae, aṇahijja-e (Mt.)</i>	(1) <i>kusumattāīm, karuṇāīm, mahilāīm, āṇāīm, mucchāīm.</i>	
		(2) <i>Pomārayaēm.</i>	
		(3) <i>uṭṭhiyāē, icchantiyāē, vṭhiyāē.</i>	

Cent. A.D.		WAp.	
	(1) <i>līlāe, vayanīyae, avāhāe.</i> <i>candimae, niddae, uḍḍāvantīae.</i>		
	(2) <i>kavadḍiṭ</i> (<i>KPs.</i> 56.4).		
	(3) <i>līla-ha</i> (<i>Sn.</i> 334-127).		
	§90B. INSTRUMENTAL		
500	..	..	..
600-1000	-e	..	..
700-1200	..	..	.. <i>ṭ</i>
1000	-im (<i>Sdd. Pd.</i>)	-i	..
	-e" (i.e., - <i>ṭ</i>) <i>BhK.</i>	(<i>ḍ</i>)e	
	-e (<i>Bh.K.</i>).		
1100	-e	-im -em -(<i>ḍ</i>)e.	..
1200	-(<i>ḍ</i>)e - <i>ṭ</i> (<i>Kp. S.</i> 56.4) -ha (<i>Sn.</i> 334-127).	..	..

§ 91.

THE DAT. GEN. ABL. CASE.

Unlike Pkts. Ap. has separate Dat-Gen.-Abl. and Loc. cases. There are some common terms in these two (Dat-Gen. Abl. and Loc.) cases, but they should not be confused as their linguistic history is different. Thus Dat-Gen-Abl. sg. -*hi* is a weakened form of -*he* or -*he* < OIA -*syāh* (according to PISCHEL).⁷¹ The scarcity of this in *Pd.*, *SDD.*, and its appearance in *BhK.*, and the regular occurrence as -*he* in Hv., and -*hi* and -*he* in *Mp. Nc.* and *Jc.* show that it was already a well-established usage in SAp. before 965 A.D., while it was coming in use in contemporary WAp. in which it got recognition as late as 12th cent. A.D. In SAp., however, it continued as -*he* in 1100 A.D.

71 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 875, p. 280.

-*hi* of the Loc. sg. should be connected with OIA -*a-smin* < -*a-hi* or with OIA *adhi*. Such similarities in terms. with different histories lead to confusion of cases.

The -*hiṃ* form in *Ĵc.* 3.11 6.

ammahiṃ tāma dehi pau leppinu.

'Having cut the leg, give it awhile to the mother,' is an exception, and may be a scribal error, as the metre does not require even a half-pronounced nasal -*hī*.

The remaining desinences are the same as of Masc. -*a* stems. A greater number of these are found in WAp. rather than in SAP. (For their linguistic history see § 83). Some forms of this case e.g., *ḍāla-ham* = *sākhāyām*, appear to have been used in the Loc. sense. The accommodative nature of the Dat.-Gcn.Abl. case and the common terms. led to the confusion of cases in that period.

§ 92.

THE LOCATIVE CASE

If we exclude Pkt. terms and those of the Masc. -*a* stems from those of this case, -(*a*)*hi* is the only desinence worth consideration. ALSDORF identified Gen. and Loc. of Fem. -*ā*, -*i*, -*ū* stems (as well as those of Masc. -*ī* and -*ū* stems).⁷² In his earlier work (*KP.*), he rightly treated them separately.⁷³ From ALSDORF's presentation (Intro. to *KP.* § 22) it may appear that Fem. -*ahi* is a denasalisation of Masc. -*ahī*. Can we not trace this -*ahī* to Fem. -*ā-syām* > *-*ā-hē* > -*a-hē*? The proportion of desinences as presented by ALSDORF, there, is :

Loc. -*ahī* (3), -*ahī* (1), [+1 E], [-*āi* 4]

But the real Fem. term. in Ap. is -*ahi* and appears in EAp. for the first time as *PPi.* and *Vs.*, give only -*i* and -*e* endings like the Masc. -*a* stems. There is no other alternative term. like -*ham* or -*hī* so this -*hi* (or -*a-hi*) must be connected with OIA -*adhi* as suggested in §91. -*hī* appears only in *BhK.* in WAp. (1000 A.D.) for the first time. Other WAp. works of the same cent. e.g., *Pd.*, *Sdd.* use -*hiṃ* forms in stead -*hī* alternates with -*hiṃ* or -*hī* in 1100-1200 A.D., in WAp. SAP. has -*hi* and -*i* and -*im* as the alternative endings. So -*hi* is the only real Fem. term. of Loc. Sg., and the denasalized endings of WAp. -*hiṃ* and -*hī* were mixed up with it.

⁷² Intro. to *H.* §§ 43, 45, 44.

⁷³ Intro. to *Kp.* 22, 24, 23.

As Masc. Loc. Sing. terms of the *-a* stem were freely applied to the Fem. stems from 600 A.D., in WAp., and later in SAp., we need not assume the extension of Fem. Instr. Loc. plur. *-hih* to the sing., though we have some instances of such confusion of numbers in other cases. e.g., Gen. sg. and plur. of Fem. *-ā* stems. Thus Loc. sg. *-hā* found generally in *Sc.* (and found as early as 1000 A.D. e.g., *ḍāla-hām* in (*Sdd.* 95) is a term. of Gen. plur., and such a Gen.-Loc. case may be an indication of the process of the formation of the Oblique in the last stage of Ap. The Loc. Instr. and Dat.-Gen.-Abl. cases are at the basis of the Oblique in NIA.⁷⁴

§92A. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN *-ā*

Locative Singular.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>sili, kuḍillyāṣ, silaṣ</i> (PPr. 1.123).		
700-1200	..	..	<i>nīsa-hi</i> (DKr. 89).
1000	(1) <i>avatthahim, dīhahim, vesahim.</i>	(1) <i>uttarāsāḍhā</i> (MP. 87.13.7)	
	(2) <i>gaṅgāṣ, garuwaṣ piḍi</i> (Sdd. 8),	(2) <i>raṭṭinahi</i> (Mp. 2.4.6).	
	(3) <i>rāmaim, āyaim</i> (Pd. 6), <i>disaīm,</i>	<i>saṃjhā</i> (Jc. 2.9.4.	
	(4) <i>ḍālaham</i> (Sdd. 95). <i>akhaṇi</i> (Pd. 42.) <i>sahāe, kahāe.</i>		
1100	<i>chāhah, (Mt. 14), jophah-hi</i> (Mt. 14).	<i>Camphahim, Gaṅgahim, puuvāhim</i> <i>disihim, (?)</i>	
		(2) <i>maxjūsaim.</i>	
1200	<i>nisi</i> (Jc. 16.3). Skt. <i>nīsihim</i> (Jdc. 18.2). <i>piyahā, niyahā</i> (Intro. to Sc. P. 12).		

§92B. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -ā

Locative Singular.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600	-i	..	..
1000	-e (<i>PPr.</i> 1.123)		
700-1200	..	..	-(a)-hi.
1000	-hiñ	-i	..
	-i	-hi	
	-iñ		
	-hañ		
	-zero		
	-e.		
1100	-hi	-hiñ	..
	-hī	-iñ	
1200	-hiñ, -hī		
	-i (<i>Sktsm.</i>)		
	-hā.		

PLURAL NUMBER

§93. There are very few purely Ap. desinences of Fem. -ā stems. Most of them are common to Pkts. and to Masc. -a stems in Ap. As most of these are discussed by PISCHEL, BLOCH or in the previous sections of this work, the remaining few are treated here.

THE DIRECT CASE

(1) The stem was directly used for the Direct case in Ap. As similar forms are found in Mah. Ś and Mg., ⁷⁵ WSEAp. inherited these from the previous speech habits of their respective regions. -ao and -au, being already used in Mah. Amg. JM. as āo-āu (-āo in Ś. as well), need not detain us. The fusion of Fem. Nom. and Acc. plur. of -ā stems already took place before the Ap. period. In WAp. we find that the term. of the Neut. direct plur. is applied to Fem. -ā stems. e.g., *desa-*

75 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 374, and § 88, of the present work.

bhāsa-ṛ (*deśa-bhāṣāḥ*), *sayalāṛ* (*sakalāḥ*). These are the precursors of a similar tendency in Hindi and Punjabi.⁷⁶

THE INDIRECT CASES

(2) *The Instr. Loc. Case:*

The Instr.-Loc. *-hī* (or *-hiṁ*) is found in Pkts. as the term. of Instr. plur., whence it was extended to Loc. plur. in Ap. We cannot exactly ascertain the date or the original province of this amalgamation of cases, but in 1000 A.D., it was common to WESAp., and that is the lower limit of this tendency.

Out of the remaining terms., *-i* is a Masc. Loc. sg. term. extended to Fem. Loc. plur. e.g., *saṁjhai* (*sandhyāyām* = °su in *Sdd.* 12), *piḍi* (*piḍāyām* = °su *Sdd.* 9). Zero, as in *saṁjhā* (*Sdd.* 68) is more interesting. The context shows that in Ap. there was a tendency to apply the desinence to the last word when two or more words (related to each other) are in the same case. Thus here we have *saṁjhā tihim mi* 'In three twilights (?)' (*Sdd.* 68). So in *Pd* 42:

jasu akhañi rāmaim gayau maṇu

'One whose mind is fixed on the beautiful lady of a perpetual nature (viz. the Final Spiritual Beatitude).' Here Loc. sg. *-im* is dropped in the case of *akhañi* and is applied only to the next word *rāmaim*.

-hā which is found chiefly in Sc., is an evidence of the process of the fusion of Gen. and Loc. Plur.

(3) *The Dat. Gen. Abl. Case*

Out of the different terms. of this case, *-hu*, *-ham*, and *-hā* are common to Masc. and Fem. stems. They underlie the half-nasalized oblique forms in NIA. These are freely used with Fem. *-a* stems from the 10th cent. A.D. In WAp. *-hu* was popular and was used down to 1200 A.D. *-hā* was used originally in SAp. (1000 A.D.) whence probably it spread to WAp. in the 11th cent. and onwards. By the way, we may note the use of *-hī* in *jai -hī = yoginām* (*PPr.* 2.166) which is a puzzle. Are we to assume that the process of the fusion of Loc. and Gen. began as early as 600 A.D. in WAp. even in Masc. gender? Its use in later works e.g., *KKc.* (as in Fem. *soniyāhiṁ = śronikayoh* or *śronyoh*), or the use of the converse tendency viz., the use of *-hā* for Loc. plur. in

⁷⁶ For a similar tendency in H. and Punj. see BLOCH, *La langue marathe*, § 189.

a still later work like *Sc.*, is understandable as a precursor of NIA oblique. But *-hi* does not appear in WAp. in a later period. Is it a scribal error for *-hā* ? ⁷⁷

§93A.1. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -इ.

Direct Plural.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	<i>lalanā-rasanā</i> (DKK.5). <i>cintā-cinta</i> (DKs. 59.)	
1000	(1) <i>ghanṭa, pattiya, cinta, anuṣeḥā</i> , (2) <i>desa-bhāsat</i> (Bh.K. 52.4), <i>sayalaim</i> (Pd.)	(1) <i>nikkhantaṭṭu, Paḍimaṭṭu</i> (2) <i>riyāṭṭu, maṭṭāṭṭu</i> .	
1100	..	..	<i>vajjaṭṭu, ramantiyaṭṭu, ramaṇiyaṭṭu</i> .
1200	(1) <i>kannayau</i> (Sc.), <i>jajjariāṭṭu</i> (Hc.) (2) <i>dhūya</i> (Sc. 500.9).		

§93A.2. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -इ

Instrumental & Locative Plural.

Cent. A. D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>kumḍiyahi</i> (PPr. 2.89)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	Loc. <i>daha-</i> <i>diha-hi</i> (DKs. 45)

⁷⁷ For the development of these oblique cases in NIA see Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 172-81.

1000	- <i>ḍiviyahī</i> <i>Loc. samjhai</i> (Sdd. 12) <i>pīḍi. samjhā</i> (Sdd. 68)	- <i>dhārahīm, caūdisahīm,</i> <i>lanjiya-hīm, avarāhīm,</i> <i>jamghāhīm, māucchiyāhīm, bhaūhahīm.</i>
1100	(1) <i>vahantīahī</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 14) <i>unmmattīahī.</i> (2) <i>-gattīahī</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 14).	<i>bālahīm,</i> <i>sahiyahīm,</i> <i>samasīlahīm</i>
1200	<i>kahahī, girahī</i> (2) <i>tadilayahā</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 511.4), <i>dhūyāhā</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 260.9) <i>Loc. Kāhāsu</i> (Pkt. sm.)	

§93A.3. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -ā.

Dative-Genitive-Ablative Plural.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000		..	..
700-1200	..		..
1000	(1) <i>mahilahā, sampayahā</i> (<i>BhK.</i>) (2) <i>mahilāṇa</i> (<i>Pd.</i> 157) Pktism.	..	..
1100	<i>mahila-ham</i> (<i>Sn.</i> 168-115)	(1) <i>disāham</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 7.13.8) (2) <i>soṇiyāhīm</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 1.16.5) (3) <i>kappāṇa</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 8.10.1) Pktism.	
1200	(1) <i>bhāriya-hā, laya-hā,</i> <i>devaya-hā, kannayāhā</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 708.3), <i>kannahā</i> <i>dhūyahā, duhiyahā,</i> (2) <i>māya-ham</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 399). (3) <i>vayamsiahu</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 351).		

§ 93 B (i) .. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -ā

Direct Plural.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	zero
1000	zero	-(a)u	..
	-aī	-(ā)u	
	-ao		
1100	..	-(a)u	..
1200	-(ā)u	..	..
	zero		

§ 93 B (ii) INSTRUMENTAL-LOCATIVE PLURAL.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	-hiš	..	..
700-1200	..	..	Loc. : -hēt
1000	Instr. : -hī Loc. : -i -zero	-hiṁ	..
1100	-hī -hi (Mt. 14).	-hiṁ	..
1200	-hī, -hā (Intro. to Sc. p. 12). -su (Pktam.)		

93 B (iii) DATIVE--GENITIVE--ABIATIVE PLURAL.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500
600-1000
700-1200

164		MORPHOLOGY : DECLENSION	[§ 93B (iii)
1000	-hā (Bh. R.)	..	..
	-āṇa (Pd. 157)	-hā (Vide Intro. to Hv. §43).	
1100	-haṁ (Sn. 168-115)	-(ā)haṁ -(ā)hiṁ -āna (Pkt.)	..
1200	-(ā)hā (Sc.) -haṁ (Hc.) -hu (Hc. 351.)	..	..

MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN -i AND -u.

§94. It was already in OIA that Masc. themes in -i and -u were mostly declined alike. In this stage of MIA, the declension became so identical that there is no need to treat them separately although FISCHER appears to do so in his treatment of Pkts.⁷⁸ In Ap. as in Pkts. some OIA -r endings are also included under this.

The following are the terms of these stems in Pkts.:

Masc. and Neut. Stems in -i.

Singular :

Nom. : -ī i.e., elongation of the final vowel, (-ṁ)

Acc. : -ṁ.

Instr. : -ṇā.

Abl. -(ī)o, -(ī)u, -ṇo, -(ī)hiṁto, [-(ī)hi, -tto] in Mah. Amg. JM.
(ī)do in JŚ [Ś.Mg.]

Gen. : -ṇo, -ssa, [-(ī)o] in Mah. Amg. JM. -ṇo (Ś.Mg.)

Loc. : -mmi (Mah. Amg. JM.), -ṁsi (mostly in Amg.)

Voc. : zero with optional elongation of the final vowel.

Plural :

Nom. : -ṇo, -(ī) zero, -(ī)o, -ao, -au, (Mah. Amg. JM.) -ṇo, -(ī)o in Ś.

Acc. : -ṇo -(ī) zero, -ao (Mah. Amg. JM.)

Instr. : -(ī)hi, -(ī)hī, -(ī)hiṁ (Mah. Amg. JM.) -(ī)hiṁ (Ś. Mg.)

Abl. : -(ī)hiṁto, [-(ī)sumto, -tto, -(ī)o] in Mah. Amg. JM.

78 *Grammatik*, §§ 377-88. As a matter of fact he treats them together in §§ 379-82.

Gen. : -(i)na, -(i)nā, -(i)naṁ (Mah. Amg. JM.), -(i)naṁ (Ś. Mg.)

Loc. : -(i), -(i)sū, -(i)suṁ (Mah. Amg. JM.) -(i)su, -(i)suṁ (Ś. Mg.)

Voc. : -ṇo, zero (Mah. Amg. JM.)

With the exception of a few forms e.g., Acc. pl. *vāavo*, and Gen. sg. -śśa in Mg. verses, the inflexions of -u stems are the same as those of -i- ones.

A comparison of the terms. of Masc. -a stems and -i, -u stems shows that the desinences of these declensions are different, and that the common terms. show different frequency. The following terms. are common to -a and -i, -u stems Masc. and Neut.

(i) *The Direct Case* : The stem was used for the direct case throughout the Ap. period. Though the same was the case with regard to -a stems, -u was the chief desinence of the Masc. and Neut. themes in -a.

The proper history of the terminationless direct case may also be explained as follows :

OIA *muniḥ* > Pk. *muṇi* > Ap. *muṇi*.

OIA *guruḥ* > Pk. *gurū* > Ap. *guru*.

-ṁ of Masc. and Neut. direct sg. is a Prakritism.

(ii) *Dat.-Gen.-Abl. sg.* :

-ha in *kari-ha*, *guru-ha* (in EAp.) is the same as that of -a stems.

-hu forms are very few and they are due to the influence of -hō̃ or -hu of Masc. and Neut. -a stems. The normal desinence of -i, -u stems is -he or -hi. This -he or -hi is due to the influence of the declension of Fem.

stems in -ĩ, -ū̃ and -ā̃ (for its history see §91.). -hum in Pd., is a nasalization of Ap. -hu on the model of Pkt. -ṇa : -ṇaṁ, -su : -suṁ, etc.

(iii) *Loc. Sing.* : -mmi, being a Prakritism, may be ignored. As to WSAp. -hi and WAp. -hum, these are less common in -a stems, the normal term. of which is -i. These terms. are more used with Fem.

-ā̃, -ĩ, -ū̃ stems. As a matter of fact -him < -smia is a term. of the Masc., and Masc. -hi (a denasalized form of this -him) and Fem. -hi (< Ap. -hī̃) were confused together in Ap.

(iv) *The Direct Plural* : The stem was used in this case as in Masc. -a stems and Fem. themes in -ā̃, -ĩ, -ū̃.

(v) *The Dat.-Gen. -Abl. plur.*: As in *-a* stems, *-ham* and *-hā* were used in WAp. (600-1200 A.D.). These are used with Fem. *-ā* stems in SAp. (1000 A.D.).

A detailed comparison of the terms. of Masc. *-a* and *-i, -u* stems, and Fem. *-ā, -ī, -ū* stems⁷⁹ will show that the declension of Masc. *-i, -u* stems is more influenced by that of the Fem. stems than by that of Masc. *-a* stems. It appears that there was only one set of terms. which was used with *-i* and *-u* stems irrespective of their gender in OIA, puzzling thereby the Pk. grammarians who attributed it to the lawlessness of gender.⁸⁰

Terminations Common to Masc. & Fem. -i, -u stems.

Singular :

Nom. Acc. Voc. : zero.

Instr. : *-e*- cf. Fem. *-a* stems as well.

Dat.Gen. Abl. : *-hi* (WSAp. 1000 A.D.)

-he WAp. of 1200 A.D.)

Loc. : *-hi* (WSAp. 1000 A.D., and WAp. of 1200 A.D.)

-hiṁ, -hī (WAp. of 1000 A.D. and of 1200 A.D.)

Plural :

Nom. Acc. and Voc. : zero.

Instr. Loc. : *-hiṁ, -hī* (600-1200 A.D.)

Dat.-Gen.-Abl. : *-hiṁ* (WAp. 1000 A.D.)

Desinences Common to Masc. themes in -i and -u and Fem. themes in -a.

Singular :

Nom. Acc. : zero.

Instr. : *-e* (WAp. 1000 A.D.)

Dat. Gen. Abl. : *-hu* (WAp. 1000 A.D.), *-hi* (SAp. 1000 A.D.)

-he (WAp. 1200 A.D.)

⁷⁹ See § 97 below.

⁸⁰ cf. *Hc.* 8.4.445.

Loc. : *-hiṃ*, *-hī*, *-hi* (WAp. 1000-1200 A.D.)

-hi (SAp. 1000 A.D.)

Plural :

Nom. Acc. : zero.

Instr. Loc. : *-hi*, *-hiṃ*.

Dat. Gen. Abl. : *-haṃ*, (WAp. 1200 A.D.)

Granting that the apparent similarity in terms, with different linguistic history have been classed together in the above tables, it cannot be gainsaid that the Ap. authors themselves forgot the gender system in OIA., and promiscuously applied these terms, irrespective of the original gender of the substantive. This was especially true in the case of writers of 1200 A.D.

As most of these terms, are already discussed in their historical perspective, we may pass a few critical observations on the terms, of each case and discuss the divergences and special points.

SINGULAR

§ 95. (i) The formation of the direct case took place before 600 A.D., as we find the stem itself used for the direct case from *PPr.*, *DKK.* to *Kp.* OIA *agniḥ* > Pk. *aggī* > Ap. *aggi*, and OIA *vēyuh* > Pk. *vāū* > Ap. *vāu* are perfectly natural developments in OIA. *-m* of the Masc. Acc. sg. and Neut. direct sg. as in *Harim*, *mahum* (*madhu*) in SAp. (1000 A.D.) is, as noted above, a Prakritism.

(ii) Ins. sg. *-nā* (SAp. 1000 A.D.) and *-na* as in *aggiṇa* (*agni iā*), *gahirajjhunā* (*gabhīra-dhvaninā*) are also Prakritisms and semi-Prakritisms. It is SAp. of the 10th cent. which possessed a majority of such Prākritic forms. The proportion of Ins. sg., *-inā*: *-im* is 37: 6 in *Hv.* (Intro. § 44). The *-u* stems in *Hv.* also give 3: 1 as the proportion between (*ū*)*nā* (13): *-(u)m* (4) terms. (Intro. to *Hv.* § 44). It was later in the 11th cent. A.D., that we find this Pk. terms. (viz., *-nī*) giving place to Ap. *-he*, and *-hiṃ* in *KKc.*

Though *Hv.* and *KKc.* are not separated by a great period of time, Puṣpadanta seems more of a purist when he writes an epic like *Mp.*

in which he tries to emulate Sk. and Pk. epics. *BhK.*, a contemporary WAp. work, also shows *-na* and *ī* or *-m* Instr. sg. s.⁸¹. But we have *-e* of Fem. Instr. applied to *samāhi* (viz. *samāhie* < *samādhinī*) in the same work (*BhK.* 143.10). Probably the word was looked upon as Fem. in 1000 A.D. In *Sdd.* 193 we have *hoisamāhi-hi thāṇu* 'becomes fixed (stable) in samādhī.' But the use of *-m* for Instr. sg. shows the influence of *-a* stems. Thus the formation of *aggī* or *aggim* (*agninā*) is analogous to *sappim* < *sarpena*, *paritosim* < *paritoṣeṇa* (already discussed in §81). That OIA *agni* was treated as **agna* in speech is clear from Pk. Nom. pl. *aggao*, *aggau*. Desinences common to *-a* and *-i*, *-u* stems (the table is given above) show that Masc. *-a* stems wielded some influence on the declension of *-i*, *-u* stems. There are some Fem. *-a* stems with Instr. sg. in *-im*, in 10th cent. WAp. e.g., *tattim* < *trptyā*. We are thus justified in regarding Ap. Instr. sg. *aggim* on the analogy of Masc. *-a* stems rather than accepting *agninā* > *aggina* > *aggim*. The evidence of *Kṣ.* (Intro. §23) and *Śr.* (Intro. p. *13) shows that *-na* was the standard term. of Instr. sg. in WAp. of 1200 A.D., but the use of *-em* in *Hc.* is a pointer to the influence of the declension of *-a* stems.

(iii) Dat. Gen. Abl. terms. of this case were originally different from those of *-a* stems. Out of them *-ha* as in *kari-ha* (*karin-*), *guru-ha* (*guru-*) was the only term. in EAp. and to some extent its speciality upto 1100 A.D. Forms like *paṃgu-ha* (*PPr.* 1.66) show that it was found in earlier WAp. works of the 6th cent. A.D. This *-ha* is the extension of Gen.sg. *-ha* of *-a* stems to this declension. *-hu* which alternates with *ha* and which is limited to WAp., may be looked upon as its special feature (for the history of *-hu* see §83.).

SAp. accepts the Fem. desinence *-hi* found common in WAp. of that period (1000 A.D.). Thus *sāmi-hi* (*svāmīn-*), *kukai-hi* (*kukavi-*), *Hari-hi* were the normal Gen. sg. forms. It seems to have spread to WAp. which has *-hu* and *-hum* as additional terms. dating from 600 A.D. in WAp. and limited to that region. For the history of *-he* see §91.

(iv) Loc. sg. *-him*, *-hī*, *-hi* are common to *a* stems. Masc. and Fem. and Fem. *-ī*, *-u* stems in WSEAp. in 1000 A.D. Due to the undetermined age of Ap. works, it is difficult to locate the exact beginning and the venue of this term. But in EAp. *-hi* is used as early as 700 A.D. (in *DKK*), and *-hī* and *-hi* in 1000. A.D. (in *DKs.*) in the case of *-a* stems. (*Pd.* a WAp. work of the 10th cent. has *-him* Loc. sgs.).

81 Intro. to *BhK.* p. *36.

§ 95A(i) MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN -i and -u

Direct Singular.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500	<i>kappa-arū, mahū.</i>		
600-1000	<i>Nom. muni, guru.</i> <i>(Neut.) āu.</i> <i>Acc. susamāhi, sattū, heu.</i> <i>Voc. joi (joīā joiyā).</i>		
700-1200	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
	<i>Nom.: kālāgni, gaanagiri (DKs. 102), bimala-mai- bhikkhu, cellū (DKs. 10) Bitt̃hu.</i> <i>(Neut.) batthu.</i> <i>Acc. aggi.</i> <i>Voc. sahi, joi.</i>		
A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	
1000	<i>Nom. (Masc.) muni, jai, suvisuddha-mai, (Neut.) akhai.</i> <i>(Masc.) guru, bhvasindhu</i> <i>Acc. (Masc.) jiṇa-muni, bhava-jalahi.</i> <i>heu, taru, guru</i> <i>(Neut.) mahu, dhaṇu</i>	<i>Nom. giri, hari, nihi</i> <i>Acc. harim, mahum</i> <i>Voc. ṇaravari.</i>	
A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
1100		<i>manti, kari, divvacakkhu, uṇi (Acc.)</i>	
1200	<i>Nom. parattha-rui, dhamma-maṭ (Sc. 4448-3), kessari.</i>		

Acc. *bali, moha-mahoyahi*
(*Sn* 334-127), *heu*.

§95A, (ii) MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN -i AND -u
Instrumental Singular.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>samāhie</i>	<i>Halipā, -paṃjalipā,</i> <i>phanipā,</i> <i>vaṇipā</i> (<i>Nc.</i> 1.14.10).	
1100	..	<i>kumbhi-he</i> <i>-mālihim</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 1.14.4).	
1200	<i>gahira-jjhuṇiṇa, aggiṇa.</i> <i>aggiṇ.</i> <i>aggiṇ</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 344).		

§95A (iii). MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN -i AND -u.
Dative-Genitive-Ablative Singular

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-	<i>guru-hu, paṃguha</i> (<i>PPr.</i> 1.66).	..	..
1000		.	
700-			
1200	..	..	<i>kariha</i> (<i>DKs.</i> 8). <i>guruha.</i>
1000	(1) <i>sārihi, muṇihi</i> (2) <i>guruhuṣ</i> (<i>Pd.</i> 81) (3) <i>Murāriu-hu</i> (<i>Bh.K</i> 451.1)	(1) <i>sāmihi, kukaihi,</i> <i>dantihi, Harihi,</i> <i>samaihi, piuhi.</i>	

(2) *sumāṭ-hu, arihu.*(3) *ṇaravaṇṇo* (Jc. 1.19.1).
(Pktism.).1100 .. *maṇṭiḥe.*1200 (1) *giriḥe, taruḥe.*(2) *Payaga-taruhi* (Kc. 20),
himagirihi (Kc. 20).(3) *girihiṃ* (Jdu. 6.1).(4) *suraguruḥu* (Jdc. 4.4).§ 95 A (iv) MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN *-i* AND *-u*.*Locative Singular*

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	(1) <i>vāhihiṃ, suragirihiṃ,</i> <i>aggihiṃ.</i>	<i>viutairihi, sasavihi,</i> <i>harhi, Uttarakuruhi.</i>	
	(2) <i>samāhi-hi</i> (Sdd. 193).		
1100	<i>Paḍvaihiṃ, acchihiṃ,</i> <i>ḍehi-hi.</i>	(1) <i>karuḥiṃ</i> (2) <i>taruṇmi</i> (Pkt.).	
1200	(1) <i>-pantihi, kalihi.</i> (2) <i>akkihiṃ</i> (Hc. 357). (3) <i>ṇivaimmi.</i>		

§ 95 B (i) MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN *-i* AND *-u*.*Direct Singular*

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	.. zero ..	..	..
600-	.. Nom.: -zero	..	..
1000			

	Acc.: -zero		
	Neut.: -zero		
700-	..	..	<i>Masc.</i> : Nom.
1200			-zero (occasional- ly final vowel lengthened). <i>Neut.</i> - zero. Acc. - zero. Voc. -zero.
1000	<i>Masc.</i> : Nom.: zero	<i>Masc.</i> : Nom: zero.	
	Acc.: zero	Acc. - <i>m̃</i> .	
	Neut. Nom. & Acc.: zero	<i>Neut.</i> Nom. & Acc. - <i>m̃</i> .	
1100	..	zero	..
1200	<i>Masc.</i> Nom. zero	..	..
	Acc. : zero.		

§95B (ii) INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	- <i>e</i>	- <i>ṇā</i>	..
1100	..	- <i>he</i>	..
		- <i>him</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 1.14.4)	
1200	- <i>ṇa</i>	..	..
	- <i>em</i>		
	-(<i>i</i>) <i>m̃</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 344)		

§95B (iii) DATIVE-GENITIVE-ABLATIVE SINGULAR.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	- <i>ku</i>	..	..
	- <i>ha</i>		

700-1200	..	..	-h _z
1000	-hi (Pd., Bhk.)	-hi	..
	-hum (Pd. 81)	-hu	
	-hu (Bh. K. 451.1)	-no (Pktism.)	
1100	..	-he	..
1200	-he	..	..
	-hi		
	-him		
	-hu.		

§95B (iv) MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN -ī AND -u

Locative Singular.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-him -hi (Sdd. 193)	-hi	..
1100	-him, -hī	him -mmi (Pkt.)	..
1200	-hi -him (Hc. 357) -mmi.	..	..

PLURAL

§96, As expected the stem itself was used in the direct case as it is found in Masc. and Fem. -a stems and Fem. -ī, -ū stems as well. The fusion of Nom. and Acc. is found from the 10th cent. A.D. But EAp. of 700 A.D., shows more than one term. for this case. Thus *sāmaggi-e* (*sāmagri-*) in *DKK.* 7 is on the analogy of *japa--home* < *japa-homāḥ* (*DKK.* 29), *maṇḍala-kamme* < *°-karmāni* (*DKK.* 29). That these are plur. forms is already noted by M. SHAHIDULLA,⁸² and is a speciality of *DKK.* But *alia*=*alayaḥ* is rather puzzling unless we trace

it to OIA *ali-ka* (pleonastic) used directly for direct plur. SHAHIDULLA regards these two forms as unique in the dialect of DKK.⁸³

Ins. and Loc. plur. *-him* and *-hī* are already discussed (see §§85, 93.2). They are common to Masc. and Fem. *-a* stems and Fem. *-ī* and *-ū* stems.

Dat. Gen. Abl. plur. *-ham*, *-haṁ* or *-hā* is common to Masc. *-a* stems, but is limited in this declension to WAp. from 600-1200 A.D. SAp. has *-him*, *-hi*, *hum*, and *-hū* out of which *-hī* is found in PPr. (WAp. 600-1000 A.D.). It is really the term. of Loc. sg. and its use here shows that the fusion of Gen. and Loc. began as early as 600 A.D., in WAp. It extended to SAp. later on in 1000 A.D.

It appears that *hum* and *-hū* were common to WSAp. in the 10th cent. A.D. It may, however, be pointed out that in SAp. *-hum* or *-hū* was used with *-u* stems rather than with *-i* stems which generally take *-hi* or *-him*. e.g., *aṇṇi-hi* (*aṇṇi-*), *-kuvāi-hi* (*-kuvādi-*), *sukai-hi* (*sukavi-*). Not that forms e.g., *vaiiuhum* (*vairum*) are totally absent but this is a general observation. BbK. shows the use of *-hu* and *-hū* with Masc. *-i* stems.⁸⁴ These terms. persisted down to the 12th cent. A.D., as in *Hc. Kc. Sn.* etc. Though an attempt is made to draw some distinction between the Abl. and Dat.-Gen. cases in the Comparative Table of this declension (§96A) the distinction is either superficial and unreal or it is very difficult to locate the space-time context of this amalgamation. It is, however, certain that it is earlier than the 10th cent. A.D. *-ṇa* terms. being Prakritisms are left out of consideration though they occur to the end of 12th cent. A.D.

§96A. MASCULINE STEMS ENDING IN *-i* AND *-u*.

Direct Plural.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-	<i>ṇāṇi, sāhū.</i>	..	..
1000			
700-	..	..	<i>Nom. : alia,</i>
1200			<i>sāmaggie</i> <i>ṇabi-ṣa ṣi</i> (DKK 5) <i>Acc. (Neut.)</i> <i>akkhi</i> (DKs. 2, 5).

⁸³ 'Les forms *alia*, *sāmaggie*, sont spéciales pour notre langue'—Intro. to *Less Chants Mystiques*, p. 41.

⁸⁴ JACOBI, Intro. to BbK. p. * 36 § 27.

1000		<i>Nom. kari,</i>
	<i>Neut.</i>	<i>Neut. -ṇāu</i>
	<i>Acc. : (dāṇaccaya-)</i>	<i>(Mp. 100.5.3).</i>
	<i>-vihi.</i>	
	<i>rajju, pañca-guru.</i>	

1100

1200 *Nom. sasi-rāhu,**Instrumental and Locative*

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500..	..		
600-	<i>joihiṃ (Ys. 38, 39).</i>		
1000	<i>ṇāṇihi (PPr. 2.16).</i>		
700-1200	..		
1000	<i>cakkhiṃ, joihiṃ, ravi-sasi-ḥiṃ, kusumaṃjalihiṃ.</i>	<i>muni-ḥiṃ, maṇi-ḥiṃ, sasāsēhiṃ, ṇagguḍi-ḥiṃ; anāṇi ? (Jc. 1.2.14), paṃjalī-hī. Loc. Uttara-kuru-hī (Hv.)</i>	
1100	..	<i>Gangānai-sindhuhu (KKc. 1.3.3) ? mañhiṃ (KKc. 3.101).</i>	
Cent. A.D.	WAp.		
1200	<i>-hatthi-hī, ari-hī, viḍavi-hī -sāhi-hī karaḍihiṃ (Sn. 76-176). saṭṭhihiṃ hatthihiṃ, sukaihiṃ, vayarihim (Sn. 307-169). sāhūhī gurūhi (Sc. 127-7-9 and 413.3 respectively).</i>		
	<i>Loc. : vandi-hī (Sc. 459.2). Intro. to Sc. §17, p.13.</i>		

Dative-Genitive-Ablative.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500			
600-1000	<i>Gen.</i> <i>joi-ha</i> (2.160), <i>joi-hi</i> (PPr. 2.30), <i>nāni-hi</i> (PPr. 2.30).		
700-1200	..		
1000	<i>Gen.</i> <i>micchādiṭṭhi-hiṃ</i> <i>(Sdd. 82)</i> <i>bhāhū</i> (BhK. 185.7).	<i>Gen.</i> <i>sukkaṭhiṃ</i> (Mp. 1.12.8) <i>aṇāhi</i> , <i>-kuvāhi</i> (Jc. 1.126). <i>riu-huṃ</i> , <i>vairi-huṃ</i> (Nc. 1.4.4). <i>sāhu-hū</i> , <i>guru-hū</i> , <i>bandhu-hū</i> (Hv.)	
1100			
1200	<i>Abl.</i> <i>sāmi-huṃ</i> , <i>giri-hū</i> (Kc. 19). <i>taru-huṃ</i> . <i>Gen.</i> (1) <i>muṇi-haṃ</i> , <i>saṇi-haṃ</i> , <i>bandhu-haṃ</i> . (2) <i>muṇi-ha</i> (Kp. J. 7.5). (3) <i>taru-huṃ</i> , <i>bandhu-huṃ</i> , <i>sāhu-huṃ</i> . (4) <i>jīṇa-garu-hu</i> (Jdc. 20.4).	WAp.	

96B. MASCULINE STEMS ENDING in -i AND -u

Direct Plural.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500			
600-1000	-zero		
700-1200			<i>Nom. -a</i> (DKK <i>-e</i> <i>-zero</i> (final vowel lengthened) <i>Neut. Acc ;</i> <i>-zero.</i>

1000	-zero	Masc. zero	
	..	Neut. Nom. & Acc.	
		-zero.	
1100	..	..	..
1200	Masc. Nom : zero	..	..
<i>Instrumental and Locative Plural</i>			
500?	..	..	..
600-	-hi ō	..	..
1000	-hi		
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	Ins. -hiṁ	Ins. -hiṁ	..
		-hi (ŷc. ? 1.2.24)	..
		Loc. -hī	..
1100		Ins; -hiṁ	..
		-hu ?	..
1200	Ins. : -hī	..	..
	-hiṁ		
	Loc. : -hī.		

96 B.(v) *Dative-Genitive-Ablative Plural*

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500?	..	..	..
600-	-ha ō	..	..
1000	-hi ō		
700-	..	..	..
1200			
1000	-hū	-hī, -hiṁ.	..
	-hu	-hi	..
	hiṁ (Sdd. 82)	-(u)huṁ, -hū.	

1100

1200

Abl. : *-huh**-hū*Gen. : *-ham**-ha**-(u)hum**-(u)hu* (Jdc. 20.4)*-hē* (Intro. to Sc.

§17. p. 13).

FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN *-ī* AND *-ū*

§97. Closely allied with the above declension is that of the Fem. stems ending in *-ī* and *-ū*. Their number is very limited as most of them are reduced to Fem. *-a* stem by the addition of pleonastic *-ya* or *-a* < OIA *-ka*. e.g., *vahu-ya* < *vadhūkā* = *vadhū*, *nāhiyā* < *nābhikā* = *nābhi*, *icchantiyā* * < *icchantī-kā* etc. Some of the *-r* stems in OIA are reduced to this e.g., *māi* < *mātr*, while some *-ā* stems take this ending in Ap. e.g., *vacchi* < *vatsā*, *viuvitthi* < *vyudvīṣṭā*

Putting together the information supplied by PISCHEL,⁸⁵ we can tabulate the terms. of these endings in Pkts. as follows :

Singular

Nom. and Voc. : zero.

Instr. : *-īa*, *-īe* (M. Amg. Ś. Mg. P.)Abl. : *-īo*, *-ūo* (M. Amg.), *-ido*, *-udo* (JŚ. Ś. Mg.)Gen. : *-īa*, *-īe* (M. Amg. Ś. Mg.)Loc. : *-īe* (M. Amg. JM. Ś. Mg.), *-īmī* (Amg.), *-mī* (Ś).*Plural* :Nom. Acc. Voc. : *-īo*, *-īu*, *-ūo*, *-ūu* (M. JM. Ś. Amg.) zero

(M. Amg.)

Instr. : *-īhim* (M. Ś. also in JŚ. Amg.)Gen. : *-īṇa* (M.), *-īṇam* (Amg. also M. Ś.)*-ūṇa*, *-ūṇam* (M.)

⁸⁵ PISCHEL. *Grammatik*. §§ 384-7. The desinences for grammarians' Ap. are quoted from these sections here. In sections quoted from PISCHEL's *Grammatik* M = Mahārāṣṭri.

Loc. : -īsu (M. AMg. JM.), -isum (M. Ś.)

The Ap. desinences given by Pk. grammarians are as follows :

Singular :

Ins. : -ie, (-ī in *Pk. Pingala*), Abl. -he.

Gen. : -he, -ie,

Loc. : -hī, -ī i.e., zero.

Plural :

Direct Case : iu, (Vco. -ho),

Ins. : -hī, -hi.

Loc. : -hī.

The desinences common to Masc. and Fem. -ī and -ū stems are already given in §94. The following terms, are found common in the declensions of Fem. stems ending in -a, -ī and -ū.

Singular :

Nom. and Acc. : zero.

Ins. : WEAp. -e, SAp. -i.

Dat. Gen. Abl. : WAp. -he, -hi, WAp. -hu (1000-1100 A.D.)
(-he in WAp. from 600-1200 A.D.)

Loc. : WAp. -him, -hī, -i ; WAp. -hi.

Plural :

Nom. Acc. : zero, WAp. -u.

Ins. Loc. : WAp. -him, -hī WAp. -hi.

Dat. Gen. Abl. : -him, -hī.

TERMINATIONS COMMON TO FEM. -ī, -ū STEMS AND MASC.
-a ONES.

Singular :

Nom. : Acc. zero (Less common in WAp. -a stems.

Ins. : -e, -ehi (In EAp. -a stems.); -i ? (SAp.)

Dat. Gen. Abl. : EAp. -ha, WAp. (1200 A.D.) -hu

Loc. : -him, -hī (Less common in WAp. -a stems) -hī (EAp.).

Plural :

Nom. Acc. : zero.

Ins. Loc. *-hiṃ, -hī.*

Dat. Gen. Abl. : *-hiṃ* (Rarely in WAp.)

Singular

§98. THE DIRECT CASE.

The fusion of the Nom. and Acc. took place in Pkts., and zero was one of the terms, in that period. In Ap. the stem itself was used in Direct sing. in all regions.

Indirect Cases :

Instr. Loc. Case : In Ins. sg., SWAp. *-e* and EAp. *-a* are Prakriisms. EAp. *-chi* as in *gharaṇi-ehī* (*grhinyā*) is a Masc. term. extended to Fem. stems analogically. cf. *khapaṇehi* (*ksapaṇaka-*), *cittehi* (*citta-*). As we have seen it in §81 it is traceable to Ved. *-ebhuh* > Pk. *-ehim* but used as sg. in EAp. In SAp. *-i* as in *Lacchi-i* (*Lakṣmī-*), *Śiva-devi-i* (*Śiva-devī-*), is a weakening of (Ins. sg.) *-e* which is by no means rare in that region. The term zero with the lengthening of the final vowel (e.g., *kittī* < *kītyā*, *bhattī* < *bhaktiyā*) as found in Pk. *Pingala*⁸⁶ is not seen in any region during our period. This elongation is probably a contraction of Pk. Ins. sg. *-īi* or *-īa*. There are some exceptions e.g., *niya-sattī* < *nija-śaktiyā* (*Sdd.* 121), *caṃcā* < *cañcā* in Jc. 1.12.8. The former being at the end of the metrical line is expected to be long in pronunciation, though the spelling represents it as ending in short *-i*.

-hiṃ which appears in WAp. (1200 A.D.) is Loc. sg. extended to Ins. sg.; cf. Loc. sgs. *vānāsi-hiṃ* (*Vārāṇasī-*), *Ujjeni-hiṃ* (*Ujjayinī-*), *nisi-hī* (**nīṣī ~ nīṣā*), *mahi-hī* (*mehi-*) etc.

-ṇa as in *bhatti-ṇa*, is originally Pk. Masc. Ins. sg. of *-i*, *-u* stems conserved in WAp. of the 12th cent. A.D., cf. *aggiṇa* < *agninā*, *gahira-jjhuṇṇa* < *gabhīra-dhvaṇinā* (see § 95.)

Loc. sg. terms. are quite different from those in Pkts. That they are used with Dat. Gen. Abl. sg., shows a state wherein a real oblique was in the process of formation by the fusion of non-direct cases.

As we have already seen it in §82, Loc. sg. -*him*, -*hī*, *hi* are originally traceable to OIA -*a-smin*. Its use with Masc. and Fem. -*a* stems and Masc. and Fem. -*ī* and -*ū* stems, shows its wide popularity during our period. Hence its importance to NIA.⁸⁷ *disi* < *dīśi* (Sdd. 66) is either (but more probably) a Sanskritism or a formation after Masc. -*a* stems. cf. *sūri* < *sūrye*, *saravari* < **sarovare* in the same text. In SAP. (1000 A.D.) -*he* and -*hem* are the desinences of Gen. sg. applied to this case, cf. *Lacchihe* (*Lakṣmyāḥ*), *dharani-he* (*dharanyāḥ*) in the works of Puṣpadanta. There being no -*hī* forms, these forms lead one to connect this term. -*he* with OIA Fem. pronominal *-*syās* which resulted in Ap. -*he*, -*hi*. -*hē* as in -*siri-hē* < *sri-* (*BhK.* 17.2), *bhāyaṇi-hē* < *bhājana* (*BhK.* 27.12), *vāvi-hem* < *vāpī-* (*Nc.* 2.8.3), is a development of OIA pronominal *-*syām*. -*i* in *dīṭhi-i* < *dīṣṭyām*, (*Jc.* 3.10.4) is the same as Ins. sg. -*i* in SAP. of the 10th cent. A.D. We need not notice Prakritisms here.

The table of Pk. desinences given above will show that Ap. terms of the Dat. Gen. Abl. are different from those in Pkts. The Ap. terms show regional differences viz., -*ha* in EAp., -*hē* in WSAp., but -*hu* in WAp. (1200 A.D.) The same was the case with Dat. Gen. Abl. sgs. of Fem. -*a* stems. (See the table of common terms. of Fem. endings in -*ā*, -*ī*, -*ū* given above). The terminations of this compound case show that the desinences of the Loc. came to be used with this case as early as 600 A.D., as we get forms like *siddhi-hī* (*siddheḥ*) in *PPr.* 2.48.69. In OIA Gen. and Loc. dual became one. The complete fusion of these two in sg. number of -*ā* stems in Fem. gender was achieved in Pkts.⁸⁸ In Ap. some new factors bifurcated them, but terms like -*him* or -*hī* of this case, show that MIA hold was strong upto the end of this period. The terms. also show a fusion of the two classes. Thus we find

WAp. < Masc. -*him*, -*hī*, -*hi* -*hu* e.g., *vahu-hu* < *vadhū-*
(*Sc.* 44.1)

Fem. -*he*, -*hē*, -*hi*.

EAp. Masc. -*ha*.

For some more cases of the confusion of genders see tables of common desinences of Masc. and Fem. endings given above in §94, §97.

Although -*hem* -*hē* or -*he* (as JACOBI represents it in *BhK.*) are common to WSAp. in 1000 A.D., it continued only in SAP. in 1100 A.D., e.g., *disi-hem* < **dīśi* = *dīś* - (*KKc.* 2.2.10).

87 For its further developments in NIA see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 175.

88 For Fem. -*ā* -*ī* -*ū* stems see FISCHER, *Grammatik* § 374, §§ 385-7.

It is doubtful whether the zero term. was used with these stems. in Dat. Gen. sg. as we have no clear example where we cannot regard it as a gen. *Tatpuruṣa* compound. Thus in

rayaṇiḥi rai saṁgami avagannaī. (*BhK.* 21.4)

We can very well take *rai-saṁgami* (*rai-saṁgame*) as a compound.

It is only in SAp. that pure Fem. terms. were used to denote Dat. Gen. Abl. sing. Prakristisms in *-e* need not be noted.

§98A. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN *-ī* AND *-ū*.

Direct Singular.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>Nom.</i> <i>kīlanti, gai, diṭṭhī</i> <i>Acc.</i> <i>gaī</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 24).		
600-	<i>Nom.</i> <i>guruṅkī, vellaḍi, raī.</i>		
1000	<i>samāsāriṇī, uḍu-</i> <i>Acc.</i> (1) <i>paṁcamā-gaī, taṇu.</i> (2) <i>sivamai</i> ∪ (<i>PPr.</i> 2.56).		
700-1200	<i>Nom.</i> : <i>gharīṇī, uatti, mutti, abadhūi, Bāṇārasi debī.</i> <i>Acc.</i> : <i>buddhi, keli, dhammagai, bhatti, joinimāi, gharinī, maṭṭī.</i> <i>Voc.</i> <i>laruṇī.</i>		
1000	<i>Nom.</i> : <i>pāraddhi, nivitti, savisuddhamāi, kuḍi, parivāḍi, sāmini, mukki, dhammadheṇu.</i> <i>Acc.</i> : <i>aṇumai, paṇti, gāi. bohi, vāhi, puhavi, Sivapuri, raī, gurubhatti, keli, tiḍikkī tālū, taṇu.</i>	<i>Nom.</i> : <i>tiṭṭhi, māibahiṇi, rāṇī.</i> <i>Acc.</i> : <i>mahi, Jayasiri, māyari, camū.</i>	

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
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1100	Nom.: <i>goraḍi, viuvviṭṭhi, siddhi.</i>	Nom.: <i>nāri, māṇiṇi, Dhaṇamaṭ, Pomāvaṭ.</i> Acc.: <i>Sarāsaṭ, diuvavāṇṣ, meṇi.</i> Voc.: <i>bahiṇie, sundarie.</i>	
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1200	Nom.: <i>dāli, gori, Uvvasi, Dovaṭ,</i> Acc.: <i>sāmaggi, gharini, thui.</i> Voc.: <i>devi, sahi, ammi, ammie (Hc. 396).</i>		
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Instrumental Singular

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
------	------	------	------

500
600-	<i>bhattie, bhantie.</i>		
1000			
700-	<i>tāsi-e</i>
1200			<i>bhanti-a</i> <i>gharani-ehi</i>
1000	(1) <i>satti-e, -suddhi-e, kiraṇā-valie, (Sdd.), jutti-e, jaṇaṇi-e, ghittie (BhK.)</i>	(1) <i>patti-i, jaṇaṇi-i, Siva-devi-i, Lacchi-i,</i> (2) <i>buddhi-e, vayasī-e, Kumari-e, bhanti-e, salahanti-e (Hv. 92.17.8).</i>	
	(2) <i>Lacchie, rakkhasie (BhK.)</i>	(3) <i>camcū (Jc. 1.12.1).</i>	
	<i>niya-satti (Sdd. 121).</i>		
1100	..	<i>kitti-em, gharini-em, koumai-em, mahāsai-em, hamsiṇi-em</i>	
1200	<i>riddhi-e, (Sc.), gaṇanti-e,</i>		

Radi-e, atiratti-e (Hc.)

pupphavai-him (Hc.)

bhatti-na (Sc.) (Pkism.).

Dative-Genitive-Ablative Singular.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	
500	..	..	..
600-	<i>siddhihi, kittihi,</i>		
1000	<i>siddhi-hi</i> (PPr. 2.48.2.69)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>koḍi-ha</i>
A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	<i>Abl. mahāvehi</i> (?BhK. 296.2) <i>daṃsaṇa-bhūmihim</i> (Sdd. 57.)	<i>Gen. (1) sai-hi, jara-sarihi, ṇaha-sirihi,</i> <i>ṇayarihi, puṇṇālihi, devihi,</i> <i>rayani-vahuhi,</i>	
	<i>Gen. (1) Lacchi-hi,</i> <i>suyapaṃcamihi</i> <i>bahini-hi</i> (? Sdd. 42) <i>jaṇṇerihi.</i>	<i>(2) dharanihe, Lacchihe</i> <i>(3) Mārie, devīe,</i> <i>mahaevīe, (Jc.)</i>	
	<i>(2) paṇaṇihe, gharanihe</i> <i>jaṇaṇihe, suvapaṃcamihe,</i> <i>kamalasirihe.</i>		
	<i>(3) paṃkayasiri-heⁿ,</i> <i>hāyani-heⁿ</i>		
	<i>(4) raī (BhK. 21.4).</i>		
A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1100	..	<i>(1) riddhi-he, vegavaihe,</i> <i>kuṭṭipīhe.</i>	
		<i>(2) disihem (KKc. 2.2.10).</i>	

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1200	(1) <i>mahi-hi, devi-hi, mālai-hi, vacchihi.</i> (2) <i>gori-he, mellanti-he, joanti-he,</i> <i>tumbiṇihe, kaṃguke (Hc. 367).</i> (3) <i>siri-hī (Sc. 484.1).</i> (4) <i>Uvvasīe (Sc. 491.1).</i> (5) <i>-vahu-hu (Sc. 444.1)</i>		

Locative Singular

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>puhaviḥ (PPr. 2.131)</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	(1) <i>marutthali-hī</i> (2) <i>bisayassatti</i> (DKr. 73.)	

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
1000	(1) <i>sippihim, kariṇihim,</i> <i>dharīṇihim, pamuiṇihim,</i> (2) <i>rayani-hī (BhK. 21.4)</i> (3) <i>behiṇihī, bhittihī</i> <i>muṭṭhihi, guttiki,</i>	(1) <i>Alayāurihi, Kosambihī,</i> <i>tuṭṭhihi, puṭṭhi-hi,</i> <i>gharīṇihī, rayani-hi,</i> <i>Sivadevihi, bhūmihi.</i> (2) <i>sippi-he (Nc. 2.8.10).</i>

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
	(4) <i>mahaṣvikuṃ (? BhK. 302.9)</i> (5) <i>disi (Sdd.66) A Sktism.</i> (6) <i>akkhaiṇi (Pd. 42).</i>	(3) <i>vārihem (Nc. 2.8.3)</i> (4) <i>jonohim Ujjenihim,</i> <i>diṭṭhihim.</i> (5) <i>diṭṭhi-i (Jc. 3.10.4).</i>
1100	<i>Mahālacchi-hī, -lehi-hī.</i> <i>-accehihī, aṇuṇentihī,</i> <i>-dehi-hī.</i>	<i>aḍavihim, bhūmihim,</i> <i>pāraddhihim, disihim.</i>
1200	(1) <i>ṇisi-hī, mahi-hī, rayani-hī,</i> <i>dhaṇiṇihī.</i>	

(2) *sallai-him, Vāṇārasī-him.**Ujjeni-him.*(3) *mahi-hi.*(4) *vaṇa-rāi-mmi* (*Sc.* 479.7).§98B. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN *ī* AND *-ū*.*Direct Singular*

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	-zero		
	Acc. -(Mt. 24)		
600-	Nom.: -zero		
1000	Acc.: -zero		
	- (PPr. 2.56)		
700-	..		Nom.: -zero
1200			Acc.: -zero
			Voc.: -zero.
1000	Nom.: -zero	Nom.: zero	
	Acc. : zero	Acc. : zero	
1100	Nom.: zero	Nom.: zero	
		Acc. : zero	
		Voc. : -e	
1200	Nom.: zero		
	Acc. : zero		
	Voc. : zero		
	-e		

Instrumental Singular

500

600-1000

700-1200

-a

-shi (DKS.)

A.D.	Wap.	Sap.	EAp.
1000	-e -i (<i>Sdd.</i> 21)	-i -e -zero	..
1100	..	-em	..
1200	-e -him -na (<i>Pktsm.</i>)	..	..
<i>Dative-Genitive-Ablative Singular</i>			
500	..	..	..
600-	-hi	..	..
1000	-hi (<i>PPr.</i> 2.48.69)		
700-	..	..	-ha
1200			
1000	Abl.: (1) -him (<i>Sdd.</i> 57) (2) -he (<i>BhK.</i> 296,2)		
	Gen.: -hi (<i>Sdd.</i>	-hi	
	-he (<i>BhK.</i> ..	-he	
	-he ⁿ (i.e., <i>hē</i>) (<i>BhK.</i>)	-e	
	zero (<i>BhK.</i> 21-.4)		
1100	..	-he -hem (<i>KKc.</i> 2.2.10)	
1200	-hi -he -hi (<i>Sc.</i> 484.1) -e (<i>Sc.</i> 491.1) (<i>u</i>)-hu (<i>Sc.</i> 444.1)	..	

Locative Singular

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500			
600-	-hī (PPr. 2.131)		
1000			
700-			
1200			zero (DKs. 73).
1000	-him -hī (BhK. 21.4) -hi (Sdd. 42, BhK. 293.4) .. -hu ^a (? BhK. 302.9) (Sdd. 66) Sktism. -zero.	-hi -he (Nc. 2.8.10) -hem (Nc. 2.8.3) -him -i (Jc. 3.10-4)	
1100	-hī	-him	
1200	-hī (Sc.) -him (Hc.) -hi (Hc.) -mmi (Sc. 479.3)		

§99. *Plural*

There are not many plural forms of these stems, and they show very few peculiarities as being distinct from Pkts.⁸⁹. Thus -zero and -u of the Direct plur. is met with in Pkts., although it is Ap. which generalized the use of terminationless direct plurals to all regions.

The fusion of the Loc. and Instr. cases of these stems took place before 1000 A.D. -u endings, being Prakritisms, are ignored here. -hu^a as in *mahācvi-hu^a* < *mahā-devyoh* 'of the two queens' (BhK. 302.9) is probably a combination of Gen. -hu + Loc. -im or -him (both of Masc. gender originally). There are not many pure Ap. forms of the Dat. Gen. Abl. and they show the identification of the Gen. and the Loc. e.g. *Siva Satti-him* < *Siva-śaktyoh* (Pd. 127).

§ 99A]

FEM. STEMS ENDING IN

{ AND -ū

§ 99A. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN

Plural

Nom Acc. and Voc.

EAp.

A.D.

WAp.

SA

500

600-1000

700-1200

1000

Nom.: *tanu-maṇa-vaya*
-sāmaggi.
 (2) *angulīu.*

Nom. (1) *livi-u, sāñi-u*
u, bhūmiu.
ḍā (Nc. 6.5.8)
 (2) *āñiyā* (? Jc. 4.2.7).

1100

..

1200

Nom. (1) *taruṇi-u,*
saraṇi-u, aṃgulīu,
 Acc. *sallai-u, vilāsiṇīu*
 (Hc. 348).

(2) *paḍivatti* (Sc. 461.1).
 Voc. *taruṇi-ho* (Hc. 346)

Inst. Locative

A.D.

WA

SAP.

EAp.

500

..

..

600-

Loc. (1) *siddhi, vithi-ñivittihi.*

1000

(2) *ahavi-hi* (PPr. 2.131.)

700-1000

..

A.D.

WAp.

SAP.

1000

Ins. (1) *borihim, Rohiṇihim*
ditṭhihim, devihim
 (Pd. 3),

Ins. : *siddhi-him, riddhi-him,*
devihim, kitti-lachhihim,
ghaggharolihim,

- (2) *viśasinihī* *panti-him*, *vajjantihim*,
-gāhīhī *urūhim*.
- Loc. (1) *nalīhīhī*, *vidisihim*,
-aṭṭhamihim (Sdd.), Loc. *jonihim* (Mp. 82.10.11)
-manjari-him, *joni-him*, *Mahisu* (Jc.1.1.7 Pktism.)
sippi-him (Sdd.)
 (2) *mahāevihī* (BhK. 302.9).
- 1100 Loc. (2) *valli-him*. Ins. (1) *sahayarihim*,
 (1) Ins. *li lāvā-him* *laharihim*, *nārihim*.
 (2) *Ganga-nai-sindhu-hu*
 Loc. *dasadisihim*. (KKc. 1-3-3)
- 1200 Ins. *piya-sahi-hī*.
disi-him, *asai-him*, *ramaṇihim* (Sn. 77-176),
pupphavā-him (Sc. 438), *sarihim*
 Loc. *paḍhantihī*, *gāyani-hī*.
gāyanihī.

Dative-Genitive-Ablative

A.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	Gen: (1) <i>sivasattihim</i> (Pd. 127). <i>devi-him</i> (Pd. 3) <i>-aṭṭhamihim</i> (Sdd. 13.) (2) <i>suñṇam</i> (Pd. 98).		
1100	<i>taraiacchi-hū</i> .		
1200	<i>vahuhū</i> (Sc. 556-8)		

§99B. FEMININE STEMS ENDING IN -ī AND -ū.

Direct Plural

A.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
500	..		
600-1000	..		
700-1200	..		

1000	Nom.: -zero	-u	..
	-u	-zero	

1100
------	----	----	----

1200	Nom.: -u
------	----------	----	----

zero

Voc.: -ho

Instrumental-Locative Plural

500
-----	----	----	----

600-1000	Ins.: -hi	..	..
	Loc.: hi ?		

700-1200
----------	----	----	----

1000	Ins.: -him	Ins.: -him
	-hi (BhK)	Loc.: -him
	Loc.: -him	
	-hu ⁿ (BhK 302.9)	

1100	Ins.: -him	Ins.: -him
	Loc.: -him	-hu (K & c. 1.3.3)
		Loc.: -him

1200	Ins.: -hi (Sc.)
	-him (Hc.)
	Loc.: -hi

Dative-Genitive-Ablative Plural

A.D.	WAp.	SA.p.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	Gen.: -him	..	..
	-nam (Pd. 98)		
1100	-hi	..	..
1200	-hi	..	..

POSTPOSITIONS

§100. The use of post-positions is already found in OIA.⁹⁰ In Sk. and Pali they were used with or without the case forms of nouns e.g., Sk. *tasya samīpe* or *tat-samīpe* 'near that.' Pali—*gotamasya santike*, *nibbāṇa-santike*. The same is the case in Ap. and NIA.⁹¹ Due to the deterioration of the old declensional system in Ap. we find the wide use of post-positions in post-Ap. period.

The following are some of the post-positions found in Ap. literature.

honta, hontau, honti.

§101. This is a pres. part of $\sqrt{ho} < \text{Sk. } \sqrt{bhū}$ 'to be' (cf. *Hc.* 8.3.180). It is used with Abl. as noted by *Hc.* 8.4.355. It appears as *hūnto* or *hūta* in old Hindi. Old H. *hūnt* is a weakening of Ap. *hontu* or *hūntu*. Mod. Beng. possesses *hāntē* which is traceable to OIA **havanta*. BEAMES explains the rationale of this usage 'by supposing the idea to be that of having previously been at a place but not being there now, which involves the idea of having come away from it.'⁹² Thus Ap. '*tahā hontau āgado*' (*Hc.* 8.4.355) seems to have developed in Old H. *tahā hontā āyo*, Nep. *tahā bhōndā āyo*, Beng. *othā hāntē āil*.

We find the use of *hontau* even before the time of Hemacandra, e.g.,

tāvasu puvva-jammi haū hontao,
Kosiu nāmeti nayori vasantao. *BhK.* 88.8.

'Having been an ascetic in my former birth, I lived in the city of Kosiu.'

Here or elsewhere in *BhK.* 81.1, 294.5, 300.1, 351.1 etc., we do not find the Abl. sense developed, nor is it used with Abl. We do not meet with the use of this in other WAp. works (e.g., *Sdd.*, *F1.*) of the 10th cent. A.D. There is paucity of published WAp. work of the 11th cent. In the 12th cent. we do not find it in *Sc.*

aha hontu (ki) na saccaviu

'If it was, why was it not seen?' (*Sc.* 490.2). Here it is used as an ordinary pres. part. So is its Fem. *hunti* in *Sc.* 744.5. The absence of *-honta* in the Abl. sense in SEAp literature, and in WAp. works like *Sc.* even

90 SPEYER, *Ved. u. Sansk. Syntax.* §§ 89, 91, 93 as quoted by BLOCH, *FLM* § 197.

91 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 179-83, also see *FLM*. §§ 197-202.

92 BEAMES, *Comp. Gram.* II, 237.

of the 12th cent., leads one to believe that the use of *hontāu* was of a late WAp. origin, and was current in speech in Gujarat, Rajpūtana and other adjacent districts c. 1150 A.D. It is after that period that it travelled to Bengal and other Eastern provinces during Proto-NIA period. In old M. there is the use of the postpositions *hoīni*, *hauni*, *honi* in Abl. sense⁹³ e.g. *parvatā hauni dāḷavade*⁹⁴ (in 1273 A.D.) *pātālā hōni nimna*⁹⁵ (in 1290 A.D.) in both of which *hauni* and *hōni* means 'more than.' Father STEPHENS notes the use of *hounu* in Konḥ.⁹⁶ BLOCH does not connect M. *hōun* or *hū* to Ap. *hontau*.⁹⁷

ḥhiu

§102. When this post-position is coupled with Loc. it yields the sense of Abl. e.g.

hīaa-ḥḥi i jai nīsarahi, jāṇau Mumja sa rosu.

'I shall consider that to be anger, if you go out from my heart.'⁹⁸ (Hc. 8.4.439). PISCHEL takes it as 'in the heart reposed,' but ALSDORF takes it as an Abl.⁹⁹

The use of $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$ with Loc. in Abl. sense is due to the influence of MIA on Sansrit and not vice versa. The quotation from the *Hitopadeśa* given in ALSDORF's *Ap. Studien*¹⁰⁰ viz., *vivarābhyantere sthītṛ* 'from the hole,' goes to prove the same as such hyper-sanskritisations are quite natural in a popular text like the *Hitopadeśa*, WAp. works of the 10th cent. A.D., do not show this Abl. sense of Loc. + $\sqrt{\text{sthā}}$ or the postposition *ḥhia*. There is no such instance in *BhK*. Other works follow the OIA idiom. e.g.,

93 It is possible to trace the beginning of this usage in SAp. of 1100 A.D. There are constructions like the following in *KKc. tumhi hoṁti hoi raju, tumhi hoṁti dhammakajju*. 'If you survive, the kingdom will survive. Righteous deeds are possible if you exist.' (*KKc.* 1.13.4). As queen Padmīvatī is addressing her husband, can we not translate *hoṁti* as 'from' thus : 'kingdom and religious deeds proceed from you'?

94 *Śisupālavadha*, 934 (V.L. BHAVE's Edition).

95 *Jñāneśvari* 16.329 (RAJWADE's Ed.)

96 *Koṭṭam Grammar* § 523 as quoted by S.M. KATRE, *Form. Konḥ* § 219.

97 BLOCH, *FLM* § 204 and § 195.

98 P. L. VAIDYA, Hemacandra's *Pk. Gram.* — Notes p. 69

99 The original Translations are quoted below. PISCHEL : O Munja, wenn du fortgehst, in *meinen Herzen ruhend, dann weiss ich, (was) der Zoru (besagen will) —Matertalten.* ALSDORF : Gehst du (aber) aus meinem Herzen heraus dann weiss ich, o Munja, das ist Zoru. —*Ap. Studien*, pp. 22-6. *hīaa-ḥḥi* is a compound (Loc. tatpuruṣa). There is no need to take *hīaa-* as an independent word in Loc. case.

100 ALSDORF, *Ap. Studien*, p. 25.

aḥavā timiru ṇa ṭhāharai sūrahu gayani thiena

'Or darkness does not stand by the sun's *being in the sky*.'

aha dāvāṇalu kim karaṭ paṇyia-gahira-ṭhiyāha. (Sdd. 132)

'Now what can a forest-conflagration do to a person standing in deep water' (Sdd. 214).

These are the two instances of the use of *ṭhia* in Sdd. In Pd. we find:

ṇillakkhaṇu itthābāhirav akulīnau mahumaṇi ṭhiyau.

The underlined words mean "... are staying in my mind" (Pd. 99)¹⁰¹

kūlai appu pareṇa sīhu ṇimmala-jhāṇa-ṭhiya-ham.

'The soul of a person established in pure meditation plays with another.' (Pd. 110).

cēha ṇa pūchaṭ appaṇya jahim Siva santu thiyāim.

'He does not see his own body *wherever stays* that quiescent *Śiva*,' (Pd. 180).¹⁰²

These are the only uses of *ṭhia* in WAp. of the 10th cent.¹⁰³

ALSDFORF quotes the Abl. use of Loc. from Hv. 88.21.2, 91.16.5, 91.18.5 89.10.2.¹⁰⁴ But there is no *thiu*. Thus *tahī niggaṇu* 'went out from that' (Hv. 88.21.2), *tahī cryāu* 'fell down from that' (Hv. 91.16.5), *tahī tahī nisaraṭ* 'goes out from that' (Hv. 91.18.5) and finally, *muhe niggaṇa nau kaḍḍayara vāya* 'No more bitter word passed out from the mouth' (Hv. 89. 10.2) show the fusion of the Loc. with Abl. in SAp. in 965 A.D., and not the use of postposition *thiu*.

The following are the uses of *ṭhia*- and *ṭhā* - in EAp. :

paṭṭa-caūṭṭhaa caū-muṇāla ṭhia mahā-suhabāse

'The four petals are situated under the four stems in the repose of great bliss.' (DĀK. 5.)

beṇṇi rahia tas. nūcala ṭhāi.

'(The breath) being devoid of both (movements) rests motionless' (DĀK. 13).

101 H. L. JAIN, translates them in Hindi as '*mere man me vasā hai*' - Pd. p. 31.

102 H. L. JAIN translates it : '*ṭhā santa śiva sthita hai*' (Pd. p. 55).

103 The only use of *ṭhiya* is in BhK. 79.7 where it means 'stood, stayed' (See BhK. glossar, p. 163).

104 ALSDFORF, *Ap. Studien*, pp. 25-6.

Whatever be the date of *DKK*. $\sqrt{sthā}$ is not used in an Abl. sense anywhere in *DKK*. The same is the case with *DKs*.

jaī guru-buttabo hīahi paīsaī

ñihia hattha-ṭṭhia bia " dīsaī.

hattha-ṭṭhia = 'placed or kept on hand.' (*DKs*. 20).

kamala-kulīsa bebi majjha thiū jo so suraa- bīṭsa.

bebi...thiū : 'Placed or staying in the midst of both.' (*DKs*. 96). In *DKs*. 105 we have :

gharahi ma thakū. 'Do not stay at home'. (*DKs*. 105).

saalu nirantara bhoi thia kahī bhaba kahī rebbāṇa.

'Where is the worldly existence and where the Final Beatitude, i knowledge (*bhoi*) be everywhere or all-pervading without any vacuum?.' (*DKS*. 105).

nau ghare nau baṇe bhoi thiū. 'Knowledge is neither in the house nor in the forest' (*DKs*. 106).

caījaha bhubaṇṭṭhiāu nirantara. 'It is in the 14 worlds everywhere.' (*DKs*. 91). The use of $\sqrt{sthā}$ in *DKs*. 40, 45 is in the ordinary sense of standing.

The main object of investigating every use of $\sqrt{sthā}$ - in *WSEAp*. of the 10th cent., is to find out whether the use of *thiū*- in the Abl. sense was current in 1000 A.D. The facts show that it was *not* so in *WEAp*., nor in *SAP*. even in *ALDORF*'s illustrations.

The use of the post-positions derived from $\sqrt{sthā}$ ¹⁰⁵ is found in *Guj. Beng. Or. Konk* etc. This indicates its use in *Ap*. It might be a popular usage in the 12th cent. A.D., but *Ap*. literature upto 1100 A.D. shows little trace of it.

keraa, kera.

§103. *keraa, kera* Fem. *kerī* (<OIA *kārya*) is used in the sense of 'an order' (e.g., *Mp*. 16.6.9) and 'related to' as in *Hc*. 8.1.246. It is in the latter sense that it was used as a Gen. post-position. Its use in *Pkts*. is noted by *PICHEL*¹⁰⁶ but its use as a Gen. post-position is a peculiarity of *Ap*.

¹⁰⁵ When a post-position is traceable to MIA $\sqrt{sthā}$ or \sqrt{sthak} (e.g. *Konk. thākā* or *thāka*) it is better to trace its derivation from IE $*sthak-na-ti$ < $*st(ā)eg-$ < $*st(ā)an-$ 'to stand'. See *GRAY JAOS*. 60, p. 364.

¹⁰⁶ *Grammatik*, § 176, § 434

Historically it is not found in EAp. 700 A.D. (*DĀK.*) nor in 1000 A.D., (*DĀs.*) except *tāhara* < **tāha-ara* = *tasya-kārya* 'related to him, his' (*DĀs.* 92) but in which -(a)*ra* is a Gen. suffix rather than a post-position. cf. Beng. -*er*, Oriyā -*ār* today.

This post-position was definitely used in WAp. in the 10th cent. A.D., e.g., *kammaham kerāu* 'pertaining to karmas' (*Pd.* 36—the only example in *Pd.*) In *BhK.* it appears as *kerāu* thrice (*BhK.* 75.7, 125.10, 189.5), and as *kerī* (Fem.) thrice (*BhK.* 99.3, 187.5, 290.8) and is used with Gen. e.g., *tau kerāu* 'For you' (*BhK.* 75.7 125.10), *Sarūvahe kerāu* 'pertaining to or belonging to S.' (*BhK.* 189.5).

Though there is no example of this in *Sdd.* the instances are enough to prove the prevalence of this usage in 1000 A.D. But it is older still. In 600 A.D., (?) it appears four times in *PPr. viz.*, *kerā* (*PPr.* 1.73, 2.69), *kerāi* (*PPr.* 1.29), and *kerāu* (*PPr.* 2.29). It was popular later in 1200 A.D. For example in *Hc.* we find *jahe kerāu* (*Hc.* 8.4.359), *tumhaham kerāum* (*Hc.* 8.4.373), *jasu keraem* (*Hc.* 8.4.422.20). All this amply proves the popularity of this in WAp. from 600-1200 A.D. Its use in pronominal compounds in which it is reduced to a suffix both in WAp. and NIA of that region, shows that it has been a stable characteristic of the speech of that region during the last 1400 years.

It was used in SAp. in 1000 A.D., e.g., *rāyaho kerī* 'pertaining to the king' (*JC.* 1.9.2), *Rāvaṇa-Rāmahu kerāu* 'relating to Rāvaṇa and Rāma' (*Mp.* 69.2.11) and also in *Hv.* 85.7.10, 81.2.7, 88.10.7. But it seems to have disappeared in proto-NIA period as we do not find a trace of it in old Marathi of the 13th cent. A.D. Thus we can trace the use of *kera-* as follows :

WAp. 600—1200 A.D. > NIA (both as a post-position and suffix.)

SAp. 1000 A.D. > Lost in NIA.

EAp. 1000 A.D. -as-*ara*. > NIA (as a suffix.)

taṇa.

§104. *taṇa* 'pertaining to' is used as one of the *nipātas*, and is constructed with the Instr. e.g., *kehim taṇeṇa, lehim taṇeṇa* (*Hc.* 8.4.425). It is optionally and to a greater extent used with Gen. e.g., *vaḍḍattataṇaho taṇeṇa* (*Hc.* 8.4.425) and *taṇaum* (*Hc.* 8.4.361), *taṇō* (*Hc.* 8.4.378, 380, 417, 422.)

taṇa is used as early as 600 A.D. in *PPr.* ¹⁰⁷ e.g., *mahuṇ taṇai* = *madīyena* (*PPr.* 2.186). In 1000 A.D., it was used with Gen. *tasu*

taṇaṁ 'pertaining to him' (*Sdd.* 205) is the only example in *Sdd.* In *Pd.* 88 *siddhattaṇa-hu taṇaṇa* 'for the sake of siddha-hood,' and in *Pd.* 214 *gharu ḍajjhaṇṇi indiyataṇau* 'the house belonging to the organs of senses,' we have two uses out of which one is a clear Gen. while the other is a compound. In *BhK.* it is widely used, and *taṇaya* 'pertaining to' is used nine times in Masc. and Neut. direct sing., four times in Fem., once in Gen. and thrice in Loc. (17 times in all, for which see *BhK. Glossar*, p. 154). In *BhK.* 46.7 *taho taṇayaho nāmaḥo* 'of his name' is a double Gen. In *BhK.* 8.4.

gaya diṭṭhi tāsu tahe^utaṇaī dehi.

'His gaze (sight) was attracted to her person.' *taṇaī* though a Loc. sg. is used with Gen. But there is no Instr. as we find it in *Hc.* 8.4.425. In *Sc.* (1200 A.D.) *taṇa* is used only twice viz., *anlara-roḡaha-taṇaī* 'pertaining to inner disease' (*Sc.* 775.6) and *rakkhaṣa-taṇaū vaḷu* 'The army of the demons' (*Sc.* 590.4). One is a Gen. post-position while the other is a compound. Its uses in *Hc.* are quoted above. It is not found in *EAp*.

From this data it appears that *taṇa* is rather a Gen. post-position than an Instr. one in *WAp.* Chronologically its use as an Instr. post-position is in *WAp.* first, as in *PPr.* 2.186. It is seen in *SAP.* e.g., *sukaihiṁ taṇaṁ* 'pertaining to good poets' (*Mp.* 1.12.8). Its popularity as an Instr. post-position in *WAp.* is a later development (of the 12th cent. A.D.) although it is used throughout our period (600-1200 A.D.) in that region.

NUMERALS

§105. *WSEAp.* *eka, ekka, eḡka*, *WAp.* *ikkz, iga, iya* (both Masc. and Fem.), *WSAṛ.* *ekalla*, *WAp.* *ekalla* (-*alla* pleonastic)—all these show the predominance of *ekka* as the common MIA base all over India, although classicisms *c.v.*, *eka, iga* and *eya* are met with. The gemination of *-k-* in *WAp.* *ekkekka, ikkikka* (<*ekaika*), *ekkekkaṁ* (<**ekaikama*), *SAP.* *ekkamekka* (*ekaiko*) cf. *M.* *ekmek*, and other combinations e.g., *aṇṇekka* (*anyaika*), *WAp.* *ekkaṇ* (*ekōkṇi*) show the same. The NIA forms for 'one' are the descendants of *Ap.* *ekka*. cf. *M.* *Guj.* *H.* *Nep.* *ek*. The doubling of *-k-* in *ekka* was probably due to the necessity of MIA speakers to distinguish between the cognates of OIA *etad-* and *eka-*.

This is the only numeral which shows the distinction of genders. It is declined as other *-a* stems with *-u* or zero as the term. of the direct

sing. and *-him*, *-hī*, *-hi* as Loc. sgs.¹⁰⁸ The use of *eka* as indeterminative is as old as the *Atharva Veda*,¹⁰⁹ and is not a speciality of Ap.

§106. SEAp. *be*, WSAp., *ve*, *donni*, SAp. *binni*, EAp. *benni*, *binna* (<OIA *dva*-) show that even in Ap. period there was a confusion about the treatment of *dv*- (see §64) due to the interborrowing in WSAp. EAp. consistently uses *b*-<*dv*- treatment. The *-o* and *-u*- elements in the declension are due to *-au* e.g., WSAp. *donni*, *dinni*, *dohim*, *tohī*, WAp. *dohi*, SAp. *dunham*, *dūṇa* (*dviguna*). cf. M. *duṇē*, H. *dūnā*, *duhaḍi* (*dvighaṭi*). With the exception of EAp. the early isoglosses regarding the treatment of *dv*- seem to have been blurred and mixed up (cf. §63) already in Pkts.

As to its declension, we find SEAp. *binni*, EAp. *binna*, WSAp. *donni*, *dunni* on the analogy of OIA *trīni*, SAp. *ve*, SEAp. *be* <OIA *dve* in the direct case. The Ins. and Loc. take *-him*, *-hī*, *-hi* e.g., WSAp. *dohim*, *dohī*, *dohi*, SAp. *bihim*. Gen. is SAp. *dunham*, WAp. *dorha*. In compositions OIA *dva*- become *bā*- in Ap.¹¹⁰ (See §113, §115 below.)

§107. SWAp. *tiṇṇi*, EAp. *tiṇṇa*, SAp. *tim* are used for OIA *trīni*. cf. Pā. *tīni*, Pkt. *tiṇṇi* M. H. *tīn*, Beng. Nep. *tin*, Punj. *tiṇn*. In Ap. compounds OIA *tri* becomes *ti*-, *tai*-, *te* e.g., *tiviha* (*trividha*), *tiga* (*trika*), EAp. *telo*, WAp. *taloya* (*trailoka*), SAp. *tuīya* (*trika*).

The direct case has SWAp. *tiṇṇi*, EAp. *tiṇṇa*, SAp. *tim* irrespective of gender. The Instr. Loc. takes *-him* and *-hī* as usual e.g., SAp. *tihim*, WAp. *tihi*, *tihimi*. Gen. ends in *-ha* e.g., *tīha*.¹¹¹

§108. Four is WSEAp. *caū* (*catur*), WSAp. *cayāri* (**catāri* < *cattāri* < OIA *catvāri*). This is pronounced in NIA (M. H. Guj. Panj. Nep.) as *cār* with palatal *r*-. In Ap. compounds it became *caū*-. e.g., EAp. *caūṭṭhaa* (*catuṣṭaya*), WAp. *cavviha*, SAp. *caviha* (*caturvidha*), *caurāsī* (*caturāṣṭi*).¹¹² *ā*- in *cāuddisi* (*caturdiks*?) in Sn. 18.442 is rather puzzling but the text is uncritical.¹¹³

§109. WSAp. *pañca* (*pañcan*) presents no difficulty. cf. Pā. Pkt. *pañca*, M. H. Guj. Beng. Nep. *pañc*, Panj. *pañj*, Sdh. *pañjā*. The direct

108 For the treatment of *eka* in Pkts. see FISCHER, *Gram* § 435.

109 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 187.

110 For the Pkt. forms of *dvi* see FISCHER, *Grammatik*, §§ 436-7. For NIA forms see *FLM* § 214.

111 For the Pkt. forms of 3 see FISCHER, *Grammatik* § 438 and for NIA ones, BLOCH, *FLM* § 215.

112 Cf. M. *cayvāri* *st*. For the nasal in the M. form see *FLM* § 223.

113 For the Pkts. forms of 4 see FISCHER, *Gram*. § 439, and for NIA ones BLOCH, *FLM*. § 216.

case takes no termination while the Ins. Loc. takes *-hī* and Dat. Gen. Abl. has *-hā* and *-ha* as desinences. In compounds *pañca-* remains unchanged or is transformed to *pañña-* or *pañā-*.¹¹⁴ Thus we have WAp. *pañca-guru* (*ogurūn*), SAp. *pañu-vīsa*, *pañcūttara-vīsa* (*pañcūttara-vimīti*), WAp. *paññaraha* (*pañca-daśa*)¹¹⁵. cf. H. *pañdrah*, M. *pañdrā*, Sdh. *pañdrahā* etc.

§ 110. Six is in WSAp. *cha*, *chaha* (**śaśa*)¹¹⁶. We have its descendants all over NIA e.g., Guj. H. *cha*, *chcha*, Sdh. *cha*, *chaha*, M. *sahā*, Singh. *sa*, *saya*, Beng. *chaya*. The Ap. compounds of *cha-* are directly derived from OIA via Pkts. Thus WSAp. *chaddamsaṇa*, *chaddarisāṇa* (*śaḍ-darśana*), *chaṇṇ(-nn-)avaī* (*śaṇṇavati*), SAp. *channaudima* (*śaṇṇavī-tama*), *chappaya* (*śaṭpada*). *sol(-l-)asa(-ha) < śoḍaśa* is common to other Pk. dialects.¹¹⁷

§ 111. *satta* (*saptan*), *aṭṭha* (*aṣṭan*), *ṇava* (*navan*) are quite regular. Their NIA derivatives are equally simple. Thus Ap. *satta* > M. Guj. H. Beng. *sāt*, Oriyā- *sāta*, Panj. *satta*; Ap. *aṭṭha* > M. Guj. H. Oriyā *āṭh(a)*, Beng. *āṭa*, Panj. *aṭṭh(a)* and Ap. *ṇava* > M. Guj. H. Nep. *naū*, Panj. *naū*.

Their compounds e.g., *sattaṭṭha* (*saptāṣṭa*), *cauraṭṭha* (*caturāṣṭa*) are quite easy.

In the direct case they generally take no term.. In Ins. Loc. they have *-ehim*, *-ihim* or *-ahī*, *-ihī*. The Gen. takes *-hā*, *-ha*. Thus *aṭṭha* (sometimes *aṭṭhāim*), *aṭṭha-him*, **hī sattihi* are some of the declined forms.¹¹⁸ The gender sense was blurred in Ap. Hence we find such usages e.g., *aṭṭhāim mūlaguṇā* (*mūlaguṇāḥ*): Masc. qualified by Neut. form of the Numeral.

§ 112. Literary Ap. contains two forms viz., *dasa* and *daha* for OIA *daśan* (cf. Pā. *dasa* only). *daha* is found even in EAp. (*DKs.* 45) and it is the only form in that region as appears from the Tibetan version of *DKs.* 30 which suggests '*daha-dihahi*' as the original reading. The Eastern Pkts. conserved the sibilants in *daśan*.¹¹⁹ In NIA the distribution of the forms *dasa* and *daha* (e.g., Guj. H. *das*, M. Panj. *dahā*, Sdh. *ḍaha*), and the state of affairs described in *FLM* § 220 have no distinct regional basis in Ap. literature as *dasa* and *daha* are freely mixed in Ap.

¹¹⁴ For its explanation see FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 273, especially B. KUHN's opinion (*KZ.* 33, 478) quoted therein.

¹¹⁵ For the Pkt. forms see FISCHER, *Gram.* § 440, and for NIA. BLOCH, *FLM.* § 217.

¹¹⁶ Ibid. § 441, but *-ha* on the analogy of *daha*. See BLOCH, *FLM.* § 218, for more explanation.

¹¹⁷ See FISCHER, *Gram.* § 441, BLOCH, *FLM.* § 218 for Pkt. and NIA. For the problem of MIA and NIA *cha*: *śaṭ* see *ODB* § 517.

¹¹⁸ For the Pkt. background of these see FISCHER, *Gram.* § 442 and for NIA *FLM* § 219.

¹¹⁹ FISCHER, *Gram.*, § 282.

As in Pkts. *daśan* as a second member of the compound in numerals from 11 to 18 (except 14 and 16) corresponds to *-raha* in Ap. Thus we find :

- 11 = WAp. *eyāraha* (*ekādaśa*) cf. Pk. *ekkārāsa*, *eggārāha*, *cārāha*. NIA.—M. *akrā*, Guj. *agyār*, H. *egārāha*, Nep. *eghāra*.
- 12 = *bārāha*, *bārāsa* (*dvādaśa*) cf. Aśok. Inscr. *duvād(-d)-asa*, Pk. *duvālasa*, *bārāsa* ; NIA.—M. *bārā*, Nep. and Guj. *bār*, H. *bārāh*.
- 13 = WAp. *teraha* (*trayodaśa*) cf. Pā. *teḷasa*, *telasa*, Pk. *terasa*, *teraha*. NIA. M. *terā*, H. *terah*. Nep. *tera*, Guj. *ter*.
- 15 = WAp. *paññaraha*, SAp. *paññārāha* in Hv. < *paññadaśa*. cf. Pā. *paññadāsa*, *paññarāsa*, Pkt. *paññarāsa*. NIA.—M. *pandhrā*, Guj. *pandar*, Oriya-*pandara*, Panj. *pandṛā*, Sdh. *pandṛāhā*. Nep. *pandra*. *ḍaha-paṃca* in Pk. *Pingala* is a poetic expression.
- 18 = WAp. *aṭṭhārāsa*, SAp. *aṭṭhārāha* (*aṣṭādaśa*). cf. Pā. Pk. *aṭṭhārāsa*. NIA. —M. *athīā*, Guj. *arōḍ(h)*, *aḍhār*, H. *aṭṭhārāh*, Nep. *aṭhārāha*.

The MIA background and NIA developments of the Ap. numerals are juxtaposed to evaluate the exact contribution of Ap. to Proto-NIA.¹²⁰

- 14 = *coddaha*, *caṭṭdaha*, and *cāuddaha* (in Pk. *piṅgala*) < *caturdaśa*. cf. Pā. *catuddāsa*, *cuddāsa*, Pk. *caṭṭdāsa*, *coddāsa*, *coddaha*. NIA. M. *caudā* or *cavdā*, H. *caṭṭdah*, Guj. *cauḍ*, Nep. *cauda*.
- 16 = *sol(-l-)asa*, *sol(-l-)aha* (*ṣoḍaśa*). cf. Pā. *soḷasa* Pk. *soḷasa*, *soḷahā* *soḷa*. NIA. M. *soḷā*, Guj. *soḷ*. Oriya—*soḷā*, Sgh. *soḷasa*, H. *solah* Nep. *sora*.

These two forms in Ap. are, of course, regularly traceable to OIA.

§113. The numerals in the ten's places are as follows :

- 10 : Already discussed above §112.
- 20 : WAp. *viśa* < **vimśat* = *vimśati*, changed on the analogy of *triṃśat*. cf. Pā. *viśa(tī)*, Pk. *viśa(i)*, NIA. : M. *viś*, Guj. *viś*, Sdh. *viha*, Panj. *viḥ*, H. *bīs*, Nep. Beng. *bis*.
- 30 : WAp. *tīsa* < *triṃśat*. cf. Pā. *tīmsa* (Fem.). Pkt. *tīsa*, *tīsaī*, NIA.: M. H. *tīs*, Sgh. *tīsa*, *tīha*, Panj. *tīh*. The original OIA *tr-* is preserved in Dardic forms.¹²¹

¹²⁰ PISCHEL (*Gram.* § 443) and BLOCH (*FLM* § 221) give different explanations for the modification of *-d-* to *-r-* in Pkts. The latter appears more satisfactory.

¹²¹ TURNER, *Nepali Dictionary*, 286.

The phonological changes in the above two are perfectly normal.

- 40: SAp. *cālisa*, WAp. *cālisa*, *tālisa*; as a second member of the compound *-ālisa*, *-yāla* < OIA *catvārimśat*. cf. Pā. *cattālisa*, *cattārīsa*, Pkt. *cattālisa*, *cāyālisa* (< **cātālisa* < *cattālisa*). NIA.—M. Guj. *cālīs*, Sdh. *cālīh*, Panj. *cālī*, H. *cālīs*, Beng. *callīs*, Sgh. *satajiḥ*, *sālīs*.¹²² SAp. recognises only *-cālisa* forms and not *-tālīsa* ones e.g. *chāyālisa* 'Forty six'.¹²³
- 50: WSAp. *pañṇāsa* < *pañcāśat*. cf. Pā. *paññāsa*, *pañṇāsa*, Pkt. *pañṇāsa*. NIA.: M. *pañṇās*, Guj. H. Nep. *pañās*. The change *-ñc->-ṇ* was already in vogue in pre-Ap. NIA.¹²⁴
- 60: WSAp. *saṭṭhi* < *ṣaṣṭi* cf. Pā. Pk. *saṭṭhi* (Fem.), NIA: M. Guj. H. *sāṭh*, Sdh. *sāth*, *sāṭhi* Panj. *saṭh*, Nep. *sāthi*. A regular phonological change in MIA.
- 70: WAp. *sattari*, *sattara* < OIA *saptati*. cf. Pā. *sattati*, Pk. *sattari*. NIA: M. H. Panj. Beng. *sattari*, Sdh. *satar* Oriya-*satori*, Nep. *sattari*. The *-ra-* element is of Pkt. period.¹²⁵
- 80: *asiti*, *asii*, *-asī* < OIA *aśīti* cf. Pk. *asii*. NIA. M. *asī*.¹²⁶ Guj. *āsī*, Nep. *assi*, *asi*. Ap. *-asī* < Pk. *-asii* < Sk. *aśīti* is evident.
- 90: *ṇavati*, *ṇavāi*, *navdi* and SAp. *-nanya* < OIA *navati*. cf. Pā. *navati*, Pk. *ṇavī* NIA. M. *navvad*, Guj. *nevū*, Sdh. *nave*, H. Panj. *navve*, Nep. *nabbe*.

§114: The different forms of the numerals from 1-8 are combined with the forms in the ten's places to form different numbers. We meet with the common forms in Pkts. and Ap., and with some slight modifications they are current in NIA. A few numerals from Ap. literature are given below:

- 21: SAp. *ekka-vīsa* (*eka-vimśat*), cf. M. Guj. *ekvīs*, H. *ekāīs*, Nep. *ekkāīs*.
- 22: WSAp. *bāṭīsa* (*dvā-vimśat*) cf. Pā. *dvōvīsati*.
- 25: *pañcūttaravīsa* (*pañcōttara-vimśat*), *pañuvīsam*, SAp. *pañcavīsa* (*pañca-vimśat*), cf. Pā. *pañcarīsa*, *pañṇavīsati*, *pañnurīsa*, Pk. *pañuvīsa*, NIA. M. *pañcēvīs*, H. Guj. *pañīs*. Nep. *pañīs*.

¹²² For the change of *-t->-l-* in MIA see BLOCH *FLM* § 223. The optional *-tālīs* forms, though given by MOLLSWORTH and followed by BLOCH, are not current in standard Marathi. Nor are they so in spoken Poona Marathi.

¹²³ See also ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* § 53.

¹²⁴ FISCHER, *Gram.* §§ 81, 148, 445, BLOCH, *La langue marathe* § 223.

¹²⁵ Vide FISCHER, *Gram.* § 446 but better still BLOCH, *FLM* § 221-3.

¹²⁶ M. *asī* though given by TURNER *Nep. Dictionary* 29 is not current in M.

- 28 : SAP. *aṭṭhāvīsa* (*aṣṭivīmśat*), cf. Pā. *aṭṭhavisati*, Pkt. *aṭṭhāvisam*. NIA. M. *aṭṭhāvīs*, Guj. *aṭṭhāvīs*, H. *aṭhāīs*, Nep. *aṭṭhīs*.
- 33 : WAp. *tettīya*, *tīyatīmśa* (*trāyastīmśat*), SAP. *tettīsa* (*trayastīmśat*), cf. Pā. *tettīmśa*, Pk. *tettīs*, NIA. M. *tettīs* (coll. *tehattīs*), Guj. *tetris*, H. *teṭīs*, Nep. *tettīs*.
- 34 : *caulīsa* (*catustīmśat*), cf. Pk. *collīsam*, NIA. M. *caulīs* Guj. *cotrīs*, H. *caulīs*, Nep. *caulīs*.
- 38 : *aṭṭhatīsa* (*aṣṭatīmśat*).
- 46 : SAP. *chāyālīsa* < Pk. *cha(ha)-cālīsa* < *ṣaṭ-catvārimśat*. cf. Pk. *chāyālīsa*. NIA. M. *secālīs*, Guj. *chēlālīs*, H. *chīyālīs*, Nep. *chāyālīs*.
- 48 : WAp. *aṭṭhayāla* (*aṣṭa-catvārimśat*). cf. Pā. *aṭṭha-cattārīsa*, Pk. *aṭṭhacattālīsa*, **cattōla*. M. *atthecāl* (not *aṭṭhetāl* as TURNER thinks in *Nep. Dictionary*), Guj. *aṭṭālīs*.
- 49 : SAP. *ekkūṇaī paṇṇāsa* < *ekonapañcāśat*. cf. M. *ekkuṇapannāsa*, but Guj. *ogaṇparās*.
- 55 : SAP. *paṇa-paṇṇāsa* (*pañca-pañcāśat*). cf. Pā. *pañcapaññāsa*, Pk. *paṇavaṇṇa*, Deśi *paṇcāvvaṇṇā*. NIA. M. *paṇcāvan*, Guj. *ṣācāvan*, Oriya. *paṇcāwana*, H. *paṇpan*, Nep. *paṇpan*, *paṇpanna*.
- 56 : SAP. *chappaṇṇa* (*ṣaṭpañcāśat*). cf. Pk. *chappaṇṇam*, *chavaṇṇam*. NIA. M. *chappaṇ(n)*, Guj. H. Nep. *chappaṇ*.
- 66 : WAp. *chāvaṭṭhi* (*ṣaṭṣaṣṭi*) cf. Pk. *chūcaṭṭhim*. NIA. M. *sṣaṣṭ*, *sāsaṣṭ*, Guj. *ch-ṣaṭh*, H. *chīyāsath*, Sdh. *chāsathī*, Beng. *chesaṭṭi*, Nep. *chayasaṭṭhi*.
- 75 : *pañca-sattara*, **sattari* (*pañca-saptatī*). cf. Pk. *pañcahattari*, *paṇṇattari*. NIA. M. *pācyāhattar*, *paṇyāttar*, Guj. *pācoter*, Oriya, *pañcattari*, Nep. *paṇahattar*.
- 84 : WAp. *caurāsī* (*caturaśīti*). cf. Pā. *cultāsīti*, Pk. *caurāsī*, NIA. M. *cauryāsī* (see 80 in §113 and the footnotes), Guj. *corāsī*, H. *caurāsī*, Nep. *caurāsī*.
- 96 : WAp. *chaṇṇavaī*, *chaṇṇaudi* (*ṣaṇṇavati*), cf. Pk. *chaṇaui*, NIA : M. *sāṇṇav*, Guj. *chaṇṇū*, Nep. *chayānabbe*.
- 99 : SAP. *ṇavaṇṇauyaī* (*varisatī*) < *ṇava-navatī*. cf. Pk. *ṇavaṇaui* (Fem.), NIA: M. *navyā* (-vyā-) *ṇava*, H. *ninyānabe*,

There has been so much interborrowing in numerals that a regional classification or isoglossal treatment is impossible. Ap. has contributed but little to these numerals except a few phonetic changes here and there.

§115. For 100 and its numeral compounds we find WAp. *saa*, SAp. *saya* (*śata*), cf. M. *śe*, *ekkottara-saya* (*ekottara-śata*), *duṭṭara-saya* (*dyuttara-śata*), WAp. *aṭṭhuttara-saya* (*aṣṭottara-śata*), *caṭṭsaa* (*catuḥ-śata*). For 1000 we find *sahasra*, *sahāsa* (*sahasra*). cf. Koṅk. *sōsrō*. WSAp. *lakkha* (*lakṣa*), cf. M. Guj. H. Beng. Nep. *lākh*, Sgh. *lakhū*, Panj. *lakkh*, Oriya *lakkha*. A crore in WSEAp. *koḍi* (*koṭi*).

Most of these formations belong to Pre-Ap. MIA period.

FRACTIONALS

§116. Ap. follows Pkts. in fractionals as well. Thus $\frac{1}{2}$ is *addha* (*ardha*), *saddha* (*sārdha*). Other fractionals associate the word *-ardha* to the next number to indicate a number less than that e.g., *diyaaddha* (*dyardha*), cf. M. *dīḍ*, Guj. *doḍh*, H. Panj. *deḍha*, Beng. *deḍa*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ is *āṭṭṭha* < MIA *addha-ṇṭṭha* < OIA. *ardha-** *turtha*. cf. M. *auḥ*, Guj. *ūḥu*, *ūḥh*.

ORDINALS

§117. The following are the ordinals in Ap.:

1st : *paḍhama* (*prathama*) by cerebralisation (see §§45,46) WSAp. *pahila*, *pahilaa*, *pahilla*, *pahilliya* (**pratha-ila*, *-ilaka*, *-illa*, *-illika*) *pahilāraa*, Fem. *pahilārī*, (**prathula tara-ka*)¹²⁷.

2nd: SWAp. *bīa*, *bīya* (*vīya* according to ALSORF), *bīyaa*, WAp. *duiyya*, *duijja* (*dvitīya*). There is no suffix like *-sara* in Ap. though it is found in NIA all over India. It might be in spoken Ap. upto 1200 A.D.

3rd: SAp. *taīya*, *taīyaa*, WAp. *tijjau* (*trītya*) *-ijja* is a WAp. suffix for 2nd and 3rd.

4th: WSAp. *cauṭṭha*, SAp. *cauṭtha*, *coṭṭhaa* (*caturtha*). cf. M. *cauthā*, Guj. *cotho.*, H. Panj. Nep. *cauthā*.

From 5th onwards (except 6th) the suffix *-ma* which is sometimes changed to *-va* in SAp., is added to the cardinal. Thus we get for 5th WSAp. *paṃcama* (*°va*), 7th WSAp. *sattama* (*°va*), 8th *aṭṭhama*, 9th *navama* etc. As a matter of fact these are all Pkt. forms.

6th: WSAp. *chaṭṭhaya*, SAp. *chaṭṭha* (*ṣaṣṭha*), Fem. *chaṭṭhī* (*ṣaṣṭhī*) is older than Ap. All these, being adjectives, have different forms for Masc. and Fem. genders, the latter generally taking *-ī* (or *-mī*) suffix.

If the *puṣpikās* in *Mp.* be of Puṣpadanta's composition we have a list of ordinals from 1-102. Though it is a lexicographer's work to enlist them all, ordinals from 81-102 are given below, as such higher ordinals are seldom met with in Ap. literature.

81st : *ekkāsītima* (*ekāśīti-tama*).

82nd : *duvāsīma* (*dvyaśīti-tama*).

83rd : *teyāsītima* (**trayaśīti-tama*).

84th : *caūrāsīma* (*caturaśīti-tama*).

85th : *pañcāsīma* (*pañcāśīti*). -y- in *M. paṃcyāṃśī*, is to show the palatal pronunciation of *-c-*.

86th : *chāsītima* (*ṣaḍ-āśīti* > *cha-* or *chaha-asii*).

87th : *sattāsītima* (*saptāśīti*).

88th : *aṭṭhāsītima* (*aṣṭāśīti*).

89th : *ekkūṇa-ṇavadima* (*ekona-navati*).

90th : *ṇavadima* (*navati*).

91st : *ekka-ṇavadima* (*eka-navati*).

92nd : *duṇṇāḍidima* (*dvā-navati*).

93rd : *ti-ṇavadima* (*tri-navati*).

94th : *caṭṭ-ṇāḍidima* (*catur-navati*).

95th : *pañca-ṇavadima* (*pañca-navati*).

96th : *chaṇṇāḍidima* (*ṣaṇṇavati*).

97th : *sattaṇṇāḍidima* (*satṭa-navati*).

98th : *aṭṭha-ṇāḍidima* (*aṣṭa-navati*).

99th : *ṇavaṇṇavadima* (*nava-navati*).

100th : *sayama* (*śata*).

101st : *ekottarasayama* (*ekottara-śata*).

102nd : *duttara-sayama* (*dvayuttara-śatā*).

PRONOUNS

§118. Pronouns form an interesting category of words in IA as they show much phonetic disintegration such as we find it in the different forms of pronouns in NIA. Morphologically they belong to the same class as nouns and the pre-*Ap.* tendencies of normalisation, phonetic decay, etc. are evident in *Ap.* The variety of pronominal forms provides us with a sure basis for the multiplicity of forms in NIA.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§119. Out of the different kinds of pronouns, personal pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person present a rich variety of forms. A reference to the relevant sections of *Pk.* grammars gives us the following tables of declension. (Only the number of the *sūtra* is quoted to conserve space).

FIRST PERSON PRONOUN

§119A. *Pkt.* grammarians supply us with the following declension of the 1st person Pronoun :

Singular

Nom. : *haīm* (*Hc.* 375, *Tr. Ld.* 4.45, *Sh.* 53). *hamum* (*Ki.* 40)
hamu (*Rt.* 23, *Mk.* 48).

Acc. : *maīm* (*Hc.* 337, *Tr. Ld.* 4.46, *Sh.* 55, *Mk.* 51, *Rt.* 23)
mai (*Pu.* 66, *Ki.* 43), *maim* (*Rt.* 9), *mo* (*Mk.* 78).

Instr. & Loc. : *maīm* (The same as Acc.), *aīm* ? (*Ki.* 43).

AbI. Gen. : *mahu* (*Hc.* 379, *Tr. Ld.* 4.47, *Sh.* 57), *mahum* (*Pu.* 67, *Ki.* 45, *Mk.* 53),
majjhu (*Hc.* 379, *Sh.* 57, *Pu.* 67, *Rt.* 23).
majjha (*Tr. Ld.* 4.47, *Ki.* 45, *Rt.* 23, *Mk.* 53).
maha (*Pu.* 67, *Rt.* 23, *Mk.* 53).

Plural

Nom. Acc. : *amhe* (*Hc.* 376, *Sh.* 54, *Ki.* 41, *Mk.* 50), *amhaīm* (*Hc.* 376, *Tr. Ld.* 4.48, *Sh.* 54, *Rt.* 23, *Mk.* 49).
amhehim ? (*Tr. Ld.* 4.48) *Mk.* 78 gives *mo* as a form. cf.
Acc. plur.

Instr. : *amhehim* (*Hc.* 378, *Sh.* 56, *Ki.* 44, *Mk.* 52),
amhe, *amha-him* (*Rt.* 23, *Mk.* 52), *amhaīm*,
amhahim (*Mk.* 52), *amhehi* (*Tr. Ld.* 4.49, *Rt.* 23).

Abl. and Gen. : *amhahaṃ* (*Hc.* 380, *Tr. Ld.* 4.44).

amhaha, *amhahim* (*Mk.* 55). *amha* (*Ki.* 47, *Ri.* 23).

Mk. adds the *Pk.* forms of Abl. and Gen. plur to these. *Ri.* 23 gives *no* as an additional form of Gen. plur.

Loc. : *amhāsu* (*Hc.* 381, *Tr. Ld.* 4.50, *Ch.* 59, *Ki.* 49, *Mk.* 54)
amhasu (*Mk.* 54).

The following are the declensional forms of this personal pronoun in *Pkts.* :

Singular

Nom. : *ahaṃ*, *ahaam*, *JM.* *ahayam*, *ham* (*amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* *ahammi*) ; *Mg.* *hage*, *hagge*, (*hake*, *ahake*).

Acc. : *maṃ* *mamaṃ*, *mahaam*, *me* (*mi*, *mimaṃ*, *ammi*, *amham*, *amha*, *mamha*, *aham*, *hammi*, *ne*, *naṃ*.)

Instr. : *mae*, *maṭ* (*mamae*, *mamāṭi*, *maṭi*), *me* (*mi*, *mamaṃ*, *ne*).

Abl. : (*matto*, *mamatto*, *mahatto*, *majjhatto*, *maṭto*) *mamāo* (*mamāu* *mamāhi*), *mamāhimto*. *Pais.* (*mamāto*, *mamātu*).

Gen. : *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, *mamaṃ*, *mahaṃ*, *majjhaṃ*, *me* *mi* (*maṭ* *amha*, *amham*).

Loc. : (*mae*), *maṭ*, (*me*, *mi*, *mamāṭi*), *mamammi* (*mahammi*, *majjhammi*, *ahamammi*).

Plural

Nom. : *amhe* (*amha*, *amho*, *mo*, *bhe*), *Ph.* *vaam*, *Amg.* *JM.* also *vayam*, *Mg.* also (*hage*), *Pais.* *vayam*, *ampha*, *amhe*.

Acc. *amhe*, *amha* (*amho*), *no*, *ne*.

Instr. : *amhehiṃ* (*amhāhiṃ*, *amhe*, *amha*), *ne*.

Abl. : (*amhatto* *amhāhiṃto*, *o* *sumto*, *amhesumto*, *mamatto*, *mamāhiṃto* *o* *sumto*, *mamesumto*). *JM.* *amhe-himto*.

Gen. : *amhāpaṃ*, *o* *na*, *amha*, *amham*, *mha*, (*amhāhṇ*), *amhe*, (*amho*, *mamāpaṃ*, *o* *na*, *mahāpaṃ*, *o* *na*, *majjhāpaṃ*, *a*, *majjha*, *ne*), *no*, *ne*.

Loc. : *amhesu*, *amhāsu* (*amhasu*, *mamesu*, *mamasu*, *mahesu*, *mahasu*, *majjhesu*, *majjhasu*.)

A close comparison of the forms in literary Ap. (§119A) and those in grammarians' Ap. shows that the following forms from grammatical treatises are not attested in Ap. literature.

Nom. sg. *hamuñ*. Ins.-Loc. *aiñ* (?).

Nom. Plur. *amhehiñ*, Acc. Plur. *mo*, *amhehiñ*,

Loc. Plur. *amhe*, *amhahañ*, Gen. Plur. *amhahiñ* *no*.

Differences due to *anusvāra* (or its absence) are not noted as they may be scribal errors.

A reference to Com. Table §119A. and to PISCHEL *Gram* §415 quoted above is enough to prove that the following forms are the relics of Pkts. in Ap. literature.

Singular: Nom. *ahayañ*, *hañ*, Acc. *mañ*, *mamañ*, In'tr. *mañ*, *mañ* (?) *me*;
Dat. Gen. Abl. *mama*, *me*, *maha*, *mahañ*, *majjha*, *majjhañ*.

Plural: Nom. *amhe*, Instr. Loc. *amhehi* Dat. Gen. Abl. *amha* (?) *amhāṇa*, *amhāṇam*.

The greatest number of Prakritisms are found in WAp. and the least in EAp.

The bases of 1st p. pronoun are *aha-*, *ma-* in Sing. and *amha-* (*asma-*) in Plur. Out of these *aha-* is found in Nom. sg. and the latter for the remaining cases in sg. number. Out of the declined forms in Literary Ap. Nom. sg. *hañ* or *haññ* is a stable form found in texts from 500-1200 A.D. (e.g. *Vk. PPr.* to *Kp.*) and in all regions. It is derived from OIA *aha-ka* (changed to *hage* in Mg.) and is attested to as *ahaya* in WSAp. The Ap. developments of OIA *ahaka* are the basis of Panj. and Beng. *hañ*, Guj. *hāu*, *hū*, Kopk. *hāv* etc. The Acc. Instr. Loc. sg. *mañ* shows a merging of the cases. Is the nasal (-ñ) due to the influence of Loc. sg. *-hñ* (-*smñ*)? It is a normal -ñ term. of the Ins. sg. of Masc. -a stems. (see §81). WSEAp. *mañ* (with *ya-* śruti viz. *mayñ* in EAp.) is the only stable form giving rise to H. *mañ*, M. *mī* in NIA. The other alternate forms of the Ins. sg. are *mañ* (unnasalised *mañ* or OIA *mayñ*), *mae* and *me* (Prakritisms from OIA *mayā*) and *maena* (*ma*+Ins. sg. *ena* of nouns.) Dat. Gen. Abl. sg. *majjhu* (cf. Pk. *majjha*, *majjhañ*) is traceable to OIA *mahyam*, -u in -*jjhu* being a characteristic of the Ap. period. In the same way *mahu* may be traced to Pkt. *maha* < OIA *mahyañ*,¹²⁸ and its older form is *mahu* in PPr. (See § 119A). This -hu is common to all regions in 1000 A.D. -ho is found in AKc. (SAp. 1100 A.D.), and is a normal term. of Gen. sg. of Masc. -a stems (Sec. §83;.

The base of the plural form is *amha-* (*asma-*). It takes the plural neut. term. *-at* in the direct case which appears to have been extended to Loc. Instr., although it must be admitted that *-at* is a regular Loc. Instr., sg. term. of *-a* stems (See §81) which might have been extended to this. For analogically Dat. Gen. Abl. : *ma-ha* : *amha-ha* : Loc. Instr. *ma-t* : *amha-t* is not improbable. If *amhaīm*, in *JC.* 4.4.7, *amhaiṁ mucchaim mucchiya mayacchi*, be a part of Loc. Absolute construction there is no difficulty. But its normal *chāyā* is *āvayoh mārchayā* 'by our swooning' and as such it is a Gen. plur. form, though *-im* in Gen. plur. is rather difficult for explanation unless we accept some Gen. plur. form in *-him* (cf. *amhahim* in *MK.* 55 quoted above) as its predecessor. The rest of the terms. e.g., *-ahim* of Instr. pl. *-hā*, *-ha* of Dat. Gen. Abl. plur. have been already discussed (See. §§85, 86, 83). The only point worth noting is the confusion of numbers in admitting *-ha* of Gen. sg. to this plur. The original WAp. form ends in *-hā* in 1000 A.D., and it was later denasalized to *-ha*; but both were simultaneous in SAp. This confusion of numbers is, however, older than 1000 A.D., as we find it in other cases as well.

The Comp. chrono-regional Table of *asmad-* (§119A) will show that there is much stability in these forms although there is a fusion of cases and a confusion of numbers. As will be seen later in §120, this declension has affected that of the 2nd person pronoun.

119A. 1ST PERSON PRONOUN—SINGULAR NUMBER

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	<i>haū</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>haū</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	.. <i>haū</i>
1000	<i>haūm, haū</i>	<i>haūm haū, ahayam</i> (Je. 2.3.4) <i>ham</i> (Jc. 2.3.6).	
1100	..	<i>haūm.</i>	
1200	<i>haūm, haū, ahayam</i> (Sc. 648.1)		..

ACCUSATIVE SINGULAR

500 ?	<i>mat</i>		
600-1000	<i>mat, mat</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>mat</i>	<i>matm</i>	..
1100	<i>matm</i>	<i>matm</i>	..
1200	<i>mat, matm</i> (Sn. 77-176). <i>mamam</i> (Sc. 672.7).		

INSTRU. LOC. SING.

500 ?	<i>maĩ</i>	..	..
600-1000	(1) <i>maĩ</i>		
	(2) <i>maĩ</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	(1) <i>maĩ</i> (2) <i>mayĩ.</i>

A.D. ..	WAp.	SAP.
1000	(1) <i>maĩm, maĩ</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 69-10)	(1) <i>maĩm, maĩ maĩ, mae</i> (<i>Jc.</i> 2-1-15.)
1100	..	(1) <i>maĩm</i> (2) <i>maepa</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 1.10-6).
1200	<i>maĩm, maĩ, maĩ</i> <i>maĩ</i> (<i>Kp. J.</i> 65.1*), <i>me</i> (<i>Kp. S.</i> 100.1*)	

DAT. GEN. ABL. SING.

500?	<i>majjhu</i>
600-1000	<i>mahū, mahu</i>
700-1200	<i>mahu.</i>
1000	<i>mahu, majjhu</i>	<i>mahu, majjhu, maham</i> (<i>Mp.</i> 1-10-3), <i>majjham</i> (<i>MP.</i> 1-10-12).	
1100	<i>majjhu, mahu</i>	<i>maha, mahe</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 2.4.10).	
	<i>me</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 5) <i>mama</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 20)	<i>mahu</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 1.2.10).	
1200	<i>maha, majjha</i> (<i>Sc. Kp.</i>) <i>mahu, majjhu</i> (<i>Hc. Kp.</i>)		

1ST PERSON PRONOUN—PLURAL NUMBER.

DIRECT PLURAL

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500	..		
600-1000	..		
700-1200	..		
1000	<i>amhaĩ, amhin</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 28.6)	<i>amhaĩ</i>	
1100	..	<i>amhaĩ</i>	
1200	<i>amhe</i> (<i>Ke., Kp.</i>), <i>amhi</i> (<i>Sc., Kp.</i>),		<i>amhaĩ</i>

INSTR. LOC. PLURAL.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200-		..	..
1000	<i>amhaĩ</i> <i>amha</i> (<i>Bh.K.</i> 111.4). <i>amha-him</i> (<i>Pd.</i> 138).	<i>amhaĩ</i> , <i>amhahĩ</i> . <i>amhehĩ</i> (<i>Hv.</i> Intro. § 46.).	
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>amhehĩ</i> , <i>amhikĩ</i> (<i>Kp.</i> S. 66.3).		

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL.

500	..	..	..
600-1000?	..	..	..
700	..	..	..
1000	<i>amha-hā amha</i> (<i>Bh.K.</i> 143 <i>Pd.</i> 138.) <i>amhāṇa</i> (<i>Pkt.</i>) <i>Bh.K.</i> 69.11. <i>amhāṇam</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 4)	<i>amha-ha, amhaĩ</i> (<i>Jc.</i> 4.4.7) <i>amha-hā</i> (Intro. to <i>Hv.</i> § 46.) <i>amhāṇa</i> (<i>Jc.</i> 1.15.12) <i>Pktsm.</i> <i>amhaham, amhaho.</i>	
1100			
1200	<i>amha-ham, amha-hā</i> , <i>amha-ha, amha</i> , <i>amhāṇa</i> (<i>Pktsm.</i>)		

§119B. FIRST PERSON PRONOUN

Base : -(a)ha -ka.

NOM. SINGULAR.

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	-ā	..	..
600-1000	-ā	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-ā
1000	-um, -ā	-um, -ā, -(a)m	..
1100	..	-um	..
1200	-um, -ā -(a)m (<i>Sc.</i> 648.1)	..	..

ACC. SINGULAR.

Base : *ma-*

500 ?	-i	..	..
600-1000	-i -i	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-i	-im	..
1100	-m	-im	..
1200	-i, -m (Sc. 672.7 Sn. 77-176)	..	..

INSTR. AND LOC. SINGULAR.

500 ?	-i	..	..
600-1000	-i, -i	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-im, -e (Pkt.)	-im, i, -i, -e	..
1100	..	-im, -ena (KKc. 1.10.6)	..
1200	-im, -i -i, -e	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SINGULAR

Cent. A.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
500	-jjhu	..	..
600-1000	(1) -hu (i.e., -hū) (2) -hu	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-hu
1000	-hu, -jjhu	-hu, -jjhu, -jjham -ham	..
1100	-hu, -jjhu	-ha, -ho, -hu	..
1200	-ha, -jjha (Sc. KP.) -hu, -jjhu (Hc. KP.)	..	..

NOM. ACCT. PLURAL.

Base : *amha-*

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-(a), -i, -im	-i	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	zero, -(a) i -i -e	..	..

INSTR. LOC. PLURAL.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-(a) i, -zero, (Bh. K.)	-(a) i	..
	-hiṁ (Pd. 138)	-(a) hi, -(e) hī	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	-ehī (Hc. Kc.)	..	..
	-ihī (Kp.)		
Cent.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
A.D.			
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-ham, zero	-ha, -i (Jc. 4.4.7)	..
		-hā	
1100	-(ā)naṁ Pktism.	-ham, -ho	..
1200	-ham, -hā, -ha	..	..
	zero, -(ā)na Pktism.		

SECOND PERSON PRONOUN.

§120. The following are the Ap. forms of 2nd person pronoun according to Pk. grammarians :—

Singular.

Nom. *tuhm* (Hc. 368, Tr. Ld. 4.37, Sh. 46). *tuhm* (Pu. 17.64, Ki. 40 Rt. 22, Mk. 41).

Acc. : *pairm* (Hc. 370, Rt. 22).

tairm (Hc. 370, Tr. Ld. 4.40, Sh. 48, Ki. 43, Mk. 44).

tomam? (Rt. 31), *to* (Mk. 78).

eim (Tr. Ld. 4.40, Sh. 48).

Ins. Loc., *pairm*: *tairm* Loc. has *eim* also (The same as Acc.)

Dat. Gen. Abl: *tau* (Hc. 372, Sh. 50, Tr. Ld. 4.41).

tujjha (Hc. 372, Tr. Ld. 4.41, Ki. 46, Mk. 49).

tudhra (Hc. 372, Sh. 50, Tr. Ld. 4.41), *tumbha* (Rt. 22).

tuha (Ki. 45, Rt. 22, Mk. 46, Ld. 4.41).

timha Mk. 46, Rt. 22), *tubbha* (Ki. 45, Mk. 46).

tuhum (Ki. 45), *tujjhu* (Sh. 50), *tao* (Ld. 4.41).

tumhe (Rt. 22).

Plural.

Nom. Acc. *tumhe* (Hc. 369, Tr. Ld. 4.38, Sh. 47, Ki. 41, Rt. 22, Mk. 43).

tumhaiṁ (Hc. 369, Tr. Ld. 4.38, Sh. 47, Mk. 42).

tumhāiṁ (Pu. 65), *tumbhaiṁ*, (Rt. 22).

Instr. : *tumhehiṁ* (Hc. 371, Sh. 49, Pu. 66, Ki. 44.)

tumhahiṁ (Rt. 22), *tumhāhiṁ* (Mk. 45).

Dat. Abl. Gen. *tumhaham* (Hc. 373, Tr. Ld. 4.43, Sh. 51.

Ki. 44.)

tumha (Ki. 47), *tumhahim*, *ḥa* (Mk. 55).

Loc: *tumhāsu* (Hc. 374, Sh. 52, Tr. Ld. 4.42, Ki. 49, Mk. 47).

tumhasu (Mk. 47).

The MIA background of these forms will be clear from the following declension in Pkts. ¹²⁹

Singular.

Nom : *tumam*, *tum*, *tam* (*tuha*, *tuvaṁ*), Dh. *tuham*.

Acc. : *tumam* (*tum*, *tam*), *te* (*tuha*, *tuvaṁ*, *tume*, *tue*) ; Ś. Mg. also *de* ; Dh. *tuham*.

Instr. : *tae*, *taī*, *tue*, *tui*, (*tumam*), *tumae* (*tumāi*), *tumāi*, *tume*, *te*, *de*, (*di*, *bhe*).

Abl : *tatto*, *tumāhi*, *tumāhiṁto*, *tumāo*, (*tumāu*, *tumā*, *tumatto*, *taītto*, *tuitto*), *tuvatto*, (*tuhatto*, *tubbbhatto*, *tumhatto* *tujjhatto*). Pais. (*tumāto*, *tumātu*).

Gen. : *tava*, *tujjha*, *tuha*, *tuhani*, *tubbha*, *tubbhan*, *tumha*, *tumhan* *te*, *de*, (*taī*), *tu*, (*tuva*, *tuma*), *tumam*, *tumma* (*tumo* *tume*, *tumāi* etc., Ś. *tuha*, *de*. Mg. *tava*, *tuha*, *de*.

Loc. *taī*, *tumammi*, *tume*, *tui*, *tui*, (*tue*, *tae*, *tumae*, *tumai* etc.) AMg. *tumamsi*, Ś. *taī*, *tui*.

Plural.

Nom: *tumhe*, *tubbhe* (*tubbha*, *tumha*, *tujjhe* etc.) AMg. *tumhe*, *tubbhe* ; Ś. Mg. (?) *tumhe*.

Acc. : The same as Nom. AMg. *bhe*.

Instr. : *tumhehiṁ*, *tubbhehiṁ* (-*ehiṁ* added to *tujjha*, *tuyha*-, *tumma*-, *umha*- etc.)

Abl. : (-*atto* added to *tumha-*, *tubbha-*, *tujjha-*, *tuyha-* etc.)

Gen. : *tumhāṇam*, *oṇa* (-*āṇam*, -*āṇa* applied to *tubbha-*, *tujjha-*, *tuha-*, *tuva-*, *tuma-*),

Loc. : (-*esu* affixed to *tumha-*, *tubbha-*, *tujjha-*, *tuha-*, - *tuva-*, *tuma-*, *tumhāsu*, *tusu*.)

A comparison of the paradigms of 2nd p. pronoun in the Ap. sections of Pk. grammars and in Ap. literature shows that many forms in the Ap. of the Pk. grammarians are *not* represented in Ap. literature. e.g., Acc. sg. *tomaṁ*, *to*, *eiṁ*; Gen. sg. *tumbha*, *timha*, *tubbha* and the *tumbha-* and *tubbha-* plurals. Perhaps as PISCHEL¹³⁰ and BLOCH¹³¹ think, they may be grammarians' creations or analogical formations in spoken Ap. which the Pk. grammarians knew personally or through tradition.

Out of the forms found in Ap. literature, the following are found in Pkts. :

Nom. sg. *tumam*, Ins. sg. *taī*, Gen. sg. *tujjha*, *tuha*, *tuham* ;

Nom. Plur. *tumhe*, Ins. Plur. *tumhe-him*, Gen. Plur. *tumha*.

The bases of 2nd p. pronoun are *tu-* (sometimes changed to *ta-*) and *pa-* in the sing., and these are clear developments of OIA *tva-* (cf. §62). In Nom. sg. -*h-* (as in *tu-h-uṁ*, *tu-h-ū*, *tu-h-am*, *tu-h-u*) presents some difficulty as Ved. *t(u)vam*, Sk. *tvam*, Pā. Pk. *tuvaṁ*, Pk. *tumam* contain no -*h-*. It is probably on the analogy OIA *asma-* : *aha-* : : **tusma* : *tuha-*. The Ap. developments of these are obviously *amha* : *haū* : : *tumha* : *tuhū*. cf. Dh *tuham*, *tuhū* became mixed up with unnasalised *tū-* derived from MIA *to* < OIA *tava*, and it is found in Pashai and Tirahi in the direct¹³² case. *tumam* is a Prakritism, and Kanakāmara is the only author who uses *paīm* in all cases. (See *KKū.* 3.10-6 Nom. sg. 3.20.4 for Acc. sg., 1.10-9 for Inst. sg. and 3.11-9 for Dat. sg.)

Acc. Instr. Loc. sg. *paīm* and *taīm* show that -*im* or -*ī* was the common term. applied to *pa-* and *ta-* < OIA *tva-* (cf. §62.)

Gen. sg. *tu-jjha*, *°jjhu*, *°jjha-ha*, *°jjhum* (cf. Pk. -*jjha*) are traceable to Pā. *tuhyam* on the analogy of OIA *mahyam*. It appears that *tu-* and *tujjha-* became the oblique bases, and we find the following pair of series:

tu : *tu-ha*, *tu-ham*, *tu-hu* : : *tujjha* : *tujjha-ha*, *tujjhu* *tujjhum* (*Sn.*)

tua is found in uncritical editions like *DS*.

130 PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 416.

131 BLOCH, *La langue marathe* § 207

132 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen* p. 191

NIA accepts *tujjhu-* and *to-* (<*tava*) as the oblique bases. SAp. *tau* and EAp. *to* are directly derived from OIA *tava*. SAp. *tūsa* is unsupported by Pkt. grammarians though it is clearly traceable to OIA **tasya* (cf. Niya Pk. *tāsa*), while *tudhra* though sanctioned by Pkt. grammarians like *Hc. Tr. Ld.* and *Sh.*, and though illustrated by Hemacandra in *Kc.*, is very rarely met with in Ap. literature. In *tu-ha* and *tujjha-ha*, *-ha* is the normal Ap. Gen. sg. term. *tua* (DS. 4.5.3) and *taha* (JC 1.7.13) are probably scribal errors for *tau* and *tuha* respectively.

The 2nd p. Plur. forms are based on *tumha-* (cf. Pā. Pk. *tumha* <OIA **tusma-*), and the desinences Direct *-ī*, Loc. Instr. *-ehī*, *-ihī*, Gen. *-hī*, *-ha* and zero are the same as those of the 1st p. pronoun and masc. stems in *-a*. Aśoka *tup(p)ha-* seems to be at the basis of *tubbha-* and *tumbha-* forms in grammarians' Ap. The assumption of the existence of such forms in spoken Ap. is based firstly on their close similarity with *tumha-* in literary Ap., and secondly on their conservice in NIA. '33. Forms in NIA e.g., M. *tumhī*, Abl. *tumhā*, Guj. *tame*, *taṁ*, Braj. *tuṁ*, *tumhaū*, Beng. *tumi*, *tomā*, H. *tuṁ*, are simply a continuation of Ap. *tumha-*. Can we not regard the **tuhva-* forms in NIA, as another development of *tumha*?

The comparative table of terms. in literary Ap. (§ 120 A) shows that in spite of the variety of terms. noted above, literary Ap. discloses much stability throughout the Ap. period. A comparison of the paradigms of the 1st and 2nd p. pronouns in literary Ap. indicates that they developed on similar lines in Ap. and that it is the 1st person pronoun that influenced the latter. As a matter of fact, it was practically one set of terms. which was applied to *ma-* : *amha-* in the 1st person and *tu-* and *ta-* : *tumha-* in the 2nd person. This set of terms. is practically the same as that of Masc. *-a* stems with a few relics of old Pkt. and OIA ones.

§120A. SECOND PERSON PRONOUN

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
	Nom. Sg.		
500		..	..
600-1000 <i>tuhu</i> ॐ	..		..
700-1200	..	..	<i>tuhu</i>

1000	<i>tuhum</i> , <i>sum</i> ? (<i>BhK.</i> 262.3)	<i>tuhum</i> .
	<i>paī</i> (Acc. to JAIN in <i>Pd.</i> 179).	<i>tumam</i> (<i>Nc.</i> 2.3.19)
1100	..	<i>tuhū</i>
1200	<i>tuhū</i> , <i>°huhū</i> .	..

ACC. INS. LOC. SINGULAR.

500 ?	<i>paī</i>		
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>paī</i>	<i>paīm</i>	..
	Ins. <i>timaī</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 144.9)		
1100	Ins. <i>paī</i>	<i>paīm</i>	..
1200	<i>paī</i>	..	..
	Ins. <i>taī</i>	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SINGULAR

500 ?	<i>tujjhu</i> , <i>tujjha-ha</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>tuha</i> , <i>° tujjha</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
			to
			(<i>DKK.</i> 29)
1000	<i>tujjhu</i> , <i>tau</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 19.8), <i>tuddhu</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 125.8) <i>tuhim</i> (<i>Pd.</i> 219). <i>paī</i> (<i>Sdd.</i> 112.)	<i>tuha</i> , <i>tujjhu</i> , <i>tujjha</i> , <i>tūsa</i> (<i>Jc.</i> 1.7.11), <i>taha</i> (<i>Jc.</i> 1.7.13).	
A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1100	<i>tujjhu</i> , <i>tua</i> (<i>DS.</i> 4.5.2) <i>tuham</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 5)	<i>tujjha</i> , <i>tuha</i> , <i>tau</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 2.5.9).	..
1200	<i>tujjhum</i> , <i>tuhv</i> , <i>tuha</i> , <i>tujjha</i> .		

SECOND PERSON PRONOUN—PLURAL

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>tumhaī</i> , <i>tumhi</i> , Acc. <i>tumha</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 99.4)	<i>tumhaī</i> .	
1100	..		<i>tumhaim</i> , <i>tumhi</i> ,

1200 *tumhi, tumhaiṁ, tumhe,*
tubbhē (Sc. 565.1).
tubbhi (Sc. 486.3).

INST. PLURAL.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>tumhi (Bh.K. 113.4),</i>	<i>tumhehiṁ.</i>	
	<i>tumhai (Bh.K. 101.7).</i>		
1200	do.	do.	
1200	<i>tumhēhī.</i>		

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>tumhahā, tumha,</i>	<i>tumhaha, tumhahā</i>	
	<i>tumhāṇa (Pkt.)</i>		
1100	..	<i>tumhaham</i>	..
1200	<i>tumha, tumhaha,</i>	..	..
	<i>tumhahā</i>		

LOCATIVE PLURAL.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	..	..	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>tumhāsu (Hc. 4.374)</i>	..	..

§120B. SECOND PERSON PRONOUN

NOM. SINGULAR :

Base : tu-

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600	-hū	..	..

700-1200	..	..	<i>hu</i>
1000	<i>-hum, -m</i>	<i>-hum</i>	..
		<i>-mam</i> (Pktsm.)	
1100	..	<i>-hū</i>	..
1200	<i>-hum</i>	..	..

ACC. & INS. SINGULAR. Base *pa-*

500 ?	<i>-ī</i>	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-im</i>	..
1100	<i>-ī</i>	<i>-im</i>	..
1200	<i>-ī</i>	..	.
	(<i>-ta-</i>) <i>ī</i>		

DAT. GEN. ABL. SINGULAR. Base : *tu-*

500 ?	<i>-jjhu, jjhha-ha</i>	..	..
600- 100	<i>-hač -jjha</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-o ? (DKK. 29)
1000	<i>-jjhu, -ddhu</i> (BhK. 125.8)	<i>-ha-, -jjhu, -jjha</i>	..
	<i>-him</i> (Pd. 219)	<i>-sa(?) -ha.</i>	..
1100	<i>-jjhu, -ham</i>	<i>-jjha, -ha</i>	..
1200	<i>-jjha -jjhum</i>	..	..
	<i>-hu, -ha.</i>		

SECOND PERSON PRONOUN PLURAL NUMBER.

DIRECT PLURAL : Forms in *Vk.*, *PPr.*, *1s.*, *DKK*, *Dks.* were not found.
Base: *tumha-*

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	..
		<i>-ī</i>	
1000	<i>-im, -ī, -i</i> zero		..

1100	..	-im, -i	..
1200	-im, -i, -e	..	..

INSTR. PLURAL.

1000	-i- -i	-ehim	..
1100	..	-ehim	..
1200	-ehi	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL.

1000	-hā, -zero	-ha, -hā	..
1100	..	-ham	..
1200	-ha, -ham, -zero	..	..

THE ADJECTIVAL PRONOUNS

§121. The next group of Pronouns consists of the 3rd person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative Pronoun *-ta* (<OIA *tad*), the Proximate Demonstratives *ea-*, *eya-* (<OIA *etad*), and *-āya-*, *āya-* *āa-* (=OIA *idam* which incorporates **a-* forms in its declension), the Relative *ja-* (OIA *yad-*); the Interrogative *ka-* (<OIA **ka-*), *kavaṇa* (cf. Pā. *kopana*, *kimpana* which is a development of MIA **ka-pana* < Sk. *kim punah?*) and the Reflexive *appa-* (**ātpman* < **āptman* = *ātman*).¹³⁴ These are designated 'adjectival' from the functional point of view. As in Pkts., in Ap. also they show a continuous process of simplification of themes and paradigms. Thus we do not find OIA *adas-* (with the exception of a few forms noted by Pk. grammarians e.g., *Hc.* 8.4.364), the Pkt. stem *ima-* for OIA *idam* (Masc. and Fem.) and *atla* (OIA *ātman* in Ap. literature. The rare forms of *adas-* viz., Nom. Acc. Plur. *oi* is traceable to II. **ave* < *ava*.¹³⁵

Generally these pronouns adopt the inflections of the nouns associated with and qualified by them. As such the pronominal declension also shows a confusion of gender and number and a fusion of cases. It is hence, perhaps, that we do not get any detailed exposition of the declension of these pronouns in Pk. grammars. It is not improbable that Ap. literature which does not possess many pronominal forms—so much so that many cases of some pronouns, especially of Fem. gender and plural number are not met with or are very scarce in some Ap. texts—formed the limitation of their authors.

134 S. M. KATRE, *Form. of Konk.* § 254 Footnote 1.

135 RUSCHEL, *Grammatik* § 432 and BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen* p. 149.
For their relics in NIA, see *L'indo-aryen*, p. 197.

THE THIRD PERSON, REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE AND
CORRELATIVE PRONOUN *ta-*

§122. Out of the above-mentioned adjectival pronouns (in §121), the 3rd person, Remote Demonstrative and Correlative Pronoun *ta-* (*tad*), the Relative Pron. *ja-* (*yad*) and the Interrogative *ka-* (**ka-* though usually written as *kim*), are declined exactly alike. Unlike the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd Person, these have different forms for different genders. *ta-*, *ja-* and *ka-* are the Masc. and Neut. bases for *tad-*, *yad-*, and *kim-* respectively. As noted by PISCHEL¹³⁶ their feminine bases end in *-ā* and *-ī*. A comparison of the terms. of these (both Masc. and Fem.) with those of the Masc. and Fem. nouns shows that they share the same set of desinences as is found in the case of nouns of the same region and century. Even Pkts. show a similar tendency¹³⁷.

§123. As Pk. grammarians are generally silent regarding the details of the declension of these pronouns; in the *sūtras*, we have to deduce the forms from the illustrations. The following are the forms of 3rd p. pronoun in *Hc.* 8.4.329-448.

(i) <i>ta-</i> (MASC. AND NEUT.)	
Singular	Plural
Direct : Masc. <i>so, su</i>	<i>te, ti.</i>
(Acc. <i>-taṁ</i> , a Pktsm.)	
Neut. <i>taṁ, traṁ Hc. 360.</i>	Neut. <i>tāiṁ, teṁ</i>
Instr. <i>teṇa, teṁ.</i>	<i>tehiṁ</i>
Abl. <i>tā (Hc. 370.1), to (PISCHEL, Gram §425)</i>	
<i>tahāṁ (Hc. 355).</i>	
Dat. : Gen. : <i>tasu, tāsu, tassu,</i>	<i>tahaṁ, tāhaṁ, tāna.</i>
<i>taho.</i>	
Loc. : <i>tahiṁ, tadru (Kī. 5.50).</i>	<i>tahiṁ (Hc. 422.18).</i>

136 PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 424.

137 *Ibid.*, §§ 426-8.

FEMININE

Nom. sg. *sā* ; Acc. sg. *taṁ* ; Instr. sg. *tāe*, Abl. Gen. sg.
tahe, *tāsu*.

The *sa*- forms both here and in Pkts. are Sanskritisms and may be omitted here.¹³⁸

(ii) The following is the declension of 3rd p. pronoun in Pkts.¹³⁹.

MASC. AND NEUT.

Singular.

Nom. Acc.: Masc. *so*, Amg. *se*, Mg. *śe*,

Neut. *taṁ* (all dialects).

Instr. : *teṇa* (all dialects), *teṇaṁ* (AMg.), *tiṇā* (M. Hc. 3.69).

Abl.: *tā* (M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā) ; *tāo* (Amg. JM.); *tatto*, *tao*; *tado* (Ś. Mg.); *to*, *taṁhā* (Amg. JŚ.) *to* (M. AMg. JM. Mg.); *taohimlo* (AMg.)

Gen.: *tassa* (M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Dh.); *tasa* (PG), *tāha* (Mg.) *tāsa* (M.)

Loc. *tammi* (M. JM.) ; *taṁsi*, *tammi*, *taṁmi* (AMg.) *tassim* (Ś.)

Plural

Nom.: *te* (Masc.) ; Neut. *tāim* (All dialects), *tāni* (AMg. JM.)

Acc.: *te* (also JŚ).

Ins.: *tehiṁ*.

Abl. *tebbho* (AMg.) ; *tehiṁto* (AMg. JM.) (*tehiṁ* (JM.)

Gen.: *tāṇaṁ*, *tāṇa* (M.) ; *tesim* (also JM.) *tesi* (AMg.)

Loc. *tesu* (also Ś.) ; *tesum* (Ś).

(iii) FEMININE

Singular

Instr.: *tiē*, *tīa* (M.) ; *tiē*, *tāe* (AMg. JM.) *tīe* (Ś. Mg.)

Gen.: *tisvā*, *tiē*, *tīa* (M.) ; also *tīā*, *tīi* (Hc. 3.64).

tīse, *tāe*, *tīe* (AMg.) JM.) ; *tāe* (Ś. Mg.) ; *tīe* (Pais),

138 *Ibid.*, § 423.

139 *Ibid.*, § 425.

Loc.: *tīe*, *tīa*, *tāhim*, *tāe* (M.); *tīse*, (AMg.), *tāhe* (M. AMg. JM.)

Plural

Instr.: *tāhim*, (M. AMg. JM.); *tehi*, *tāhi* (Ś.)

Gen.: *tānam* (Ś. JS.); *tāsim* (AMg. JS.); *tāsi* (AMg.)

Loc.: *tāsu*. (JM. Ś.).

(iv) SINGULAR NUMBER

The Nom. and Acc. sings. in literary Ap. show the same tendencies as in noun declension viz., the process of the formation of the Direct case, and the use of *-u* on a wider scale. The conservative forces e.g., the use of *sa-* for Nom. (as well as for the Acc.) are there, and Pk. *so* remained a popular form in Ap. literature upto 1200 A.D.¹⁴⁰ The use of *ta-* even in Nom. sg. appears first in Neut. gender in WAp. (500 A.D.?) but that is extended to Masc. in WSAp. from 1000 A.D., although *ta-* forms e.g., *te* (DKs. 107), *tā* (DKs. 7, 8) appear to be limited to EAp. in the 10th cent. A.D., Morphologically there is nothing new either in the Direct case or in the Indirect ones. We may note only the peculiar forms in this as well as in other cases.

Neut. Nom. sing. *tā* <OIA *tad* first appears in VK. i.e., WAp. of 500 A.D., (Mt. 24), and again in EAp. in the 10th cent. A.D. (only twice viz., DKs. 7, 8). In both these regions the forms were not very popular. One need not suspect any borrowal from WAp. to EAp. here. Masc. and Neut. Direct sing. in *-a* and *-e* is a special characteristic feature of EAp. (For the same in Noun-Declension see §80). *ta* <*tad* (Mt. 20) is an exceptional example in WAp. (1100 A.D.) Neut. direct sing. *taü* < **tako* < *ta-ka-h* is an extended form of *ta-* in Pd. 11. Masc. Acc. sg. *tā* < *taṁ* in Sc. 603.8 is an illustration of *-m* > nasalisation of the surrounding vowel, although this is the only example in the case of *ta-*.

Ins. sg. *-ē*, *-ēṁ*, *ēṇa*, *ṇā* need no discussion (For their history see §81). *tiṇi* < *tena* in Kp. (only 1 + 2 forms¹⁴¹) is probably *teṇa-i* < **tena-cit* (?), but we have no *-iṇi* term. in Noun-declension. In the same text we find Masc. and Neut. Ins. sg. of *yad-* as *jīṇi* (Kp. S. 52.4 also Jdc. 8.3) though there is no form like **kiṇi*. (For *jīṇi* see later §126). Taking into account the correlation between *ja-* and *ta-*, it is natural that these

140 For the use of *sa-* in NIA, see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 196.

141 ALSOP, Intro. to Kp. § 28(a).

forms should be limited to these two pronouns. *-i* in *ini* is, however difficult to explain.

Though the general set of terms for Dat. Gen. Abl. is the same for Nouns and Pronouns, a detailed comparison discloses the difference. Thus in *PPr.* and *Ys.*, *ta-* takes *-āsu* and *-hu*, while the Nouns (*-a* stems have *-ha* (see §§83A and 83). In *EAp.* *-su* and even *-hī* (*DKK.* 24) are applied to *ta-*, while the nouns (*-a* stems) take *-ha*, *-ho* and *-ho*. In *WAp* (1000 A.D.) *-ha*, *-ham*, and zero are not the terms of *ta-* though nouns ending in *-a* require them. Normally *tāsu* and *tahō*, *°hu* appear to be the stable forms of this case in *WSAp.* *tahī* = *tasya* (*DKK.* 24) is an extension of the Loc. to the Gen., as the converse example of Loc. sg. *tasu* (*DKK.* 22) shows, how the fusion of Loc. and Gen. began as early as 700 A.D. in *EAp.* ¹⁴² (cf. *kahī* in *DKK.* 24). *-āhara* in *tāhara* (*DKS.* 92) is a possessive, suffix although SHAHIDULLA ¹⁴³ equates it with OIA *tasya* ¹⁴⁴.

tehaiṃ (*Pd.* 103) is regarded as the Loc. sg. of *ta-* by H. L. JAIN ¹⁴⁵. It is a Loc. sg. but it is of Ap. *teha* < *taṣa* < *tādṛṣa*. cf. *jeha keha, cha* from OIA *yāḍṛṣa*, **kāḍṛṣa* (= *kīḍṛṣa*), **āḍṛṣa* (= *īḍṛṣa*) ¹⁴⁶. The meaning of that line supports this view. The line in question runs thus :

tahiṃ tehaiṃ vaḍha avasarahiṃ vitalā sumaraṣ deu 'Oh dullard ! Rare are those who remember God in that kind of period' (*Pd.* 103). H. L. JAIN's Hindi rendering takes it simply as 'us avasar par'. ¹⁴⁷ In *Hc.* 8.4.357 also we have *tahiṃ tehaiṃ bhaḍa-nivahe* 'in that type of host of warriors' ¹⁴⁸. *temai* in *Pd.* 91 is an adverb though it is explained as *tasmin* in *Pd.* glossary, p. 85. *tasu* (*DKK.* 22) is regarded as the extension of the Gen. to Loc., as Gen. is the most accommodative case even in OIA, and we have the fusion of Gen. and Loc. sgs. in Fem. nouns in Pkts. The alternate theory that this *-su* is a plur. term. applied to Loc. sg. is not tenable, as we have no other instance of Loc. *-su* sing. or plur. even in the Noun declension in *EAp.* *WSAp.* *tammi* is a clear Prakritism.

PLURAL

(v) The Direct case requires no remark as Nom. *te* is a stable form from OIA to NIA. Ap. extended *te* to the Acc. The weakening of *te* >

¹⁴² The fusion of Loc. and Gen. sings is found in the declensions of Fem. nouns in Pkts. See PISCHEL, *Gram.* §§ 374, 385.

¹⁴³ *Les Chants Mystiques*, p. 210.

¹⁴⁴ For the descendants of these Dat. Gen. Abl. forms in NIA see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 196.

¹⁴⁵ Glossary to *Pd.*, p. 84.

¹⁴⁶ PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 262.

¹⁴⁷ *Pāṇḍarādhā*, p. 31.

¹⁴⁸ P. L. VADYA takes *tehai* as *tādṛṣe* (Ed. of *Hc.* p. 43) though the translation 'in the midst of host' is general.

ti in 1200 A.D., is quite clear. An NIA type of internal *sandhi* is observed in *tīm* = *tān* (*BhK.* 295.2). The original seems to be the neut. form *ta* + *īm* > *tā-īm* > *tem* which is also found in *BhK.* 108.6 and later in *Hc.* 8.4.339¹⁴⁹. The use of Neut. terms. for Masc. direct plur. is quite common in 1000 A.D., (see §84). This type of internal *sandhi* began in WAp. of the 10th cent. A.D. So far as this case is concerned, contemporary SAP. seems to be rather conservative, as we do not find such forms in the works of Puṣpadanta.

The Instr. Loc. is quite easy of explanation as Ins. plur. *-ehim*, *-ehī*, *-ehi* (the only desinence in EAp. of 1000 A.D.) < Ved. *-ebhih*, and Loc. plur. *-him*, *-hi* < Loc. sg. *-smin* have been already discussed (§85.)

-āham, *-āhā* of the Dat. Gen. Abl. have been discussed in noun declension (§86). SAP. favours *-āham*, *-āhā*, while the mixture *-aham* (*-ahā*) and *-āham* (*-āhā*) is found in WAp. from PPr. down Sc., Sn., Kp. (600-1200 A.D.), if we take a synthetic view of the desinences upto 1200 A.D., *tāhi* in *Jdu.* 24.2 is difficult to explain but it is an uncritically edited text. The rest are Prakritisms.

FEMININE GENDER

(vi) SINGULAR NUMBER

In the direct sing. *sā* belongs to the pre-Ap. period (both OIA and MIA), the speciality of Ap. being its extension to the Acc. *sē* (*DKs.* 49) is not an Ardhamāgadhism as the identity of forms may lead one to believe, but it is rather the confusion of genders (use of Masc. for the Fem.) which is amply illustrated in Nominal and Pronominal declension in EAp. (For noun declension see §§88, 94, 97; for pronominal declension see later.)

In Instr. also we find the Masc. Instr. sing. *-em*, *-ē*, *-im* *-ī* applied to Fem. *tā-* and *tī-*. *Jc.* 3.10.12 uses *teṇa* for Fem. Instr. sg. *tayā*.

¹⁴⁹ The line containing *tīm* runs as follows:

punarau tīm paesa parisakkai. 'Again he crosses those regions.' (*BhK.* 295.2) In Intro. to *BhK.* p. *38 JACOB explains *tīm* as *ta-īm* with the loss of *-a-*. In spite of careful search for the forms, we did not come across a single instance of *phalim* < *phaldim* or *jim jāi*. Hence *tīm* should be regarded as a weakening of *tem*. In *BhK.* 1 8.6 we have.

payaphamsem parimaliya vasundhara
tivā jū vinou jēu tem vāvara.

Here as *tem* qualifies *vāvara* days' (Neut. direct pl.) *tem* or *te* should be regarded as the contraction of *tāi*. Later on in *Hc.* 8.4.339 we find

teṇa avada-yadi vasanti.

They (grass) grow on the slope of a ditch. *teṇa* < *tāiṇa* is obvious,

tāhim avasari tā teṇa ji jāṃpiu.

'So it was spoken by her at that time.'

The desinences *-hī* and *-hi* for Instr. sg. in 1200 A.D., shows how the Loc. and Instr. became identified by the 12th cent. even in WAp. *tīi* in WAp. (1200 A.D.) is a weakening of *tīe*. *tā* in MP. 1.6.15 is somewhat inexplicable. Is it a contraction of Pk. **tāu* on the analogy of *tīa*?¹⁵⁰ The application of *-hīm*, *-hī* to Fem. *ta* shows a confusion of genders.

Dat. Gen. Abl. terms *-(ā)ha*, *-(ā)he*, *-(ā)hē*, *-(ā)hi* are discussed in Noun-declension. (see §§83, 91). *tāho* in BkK. 160.8 is the use of the Masc. for the Fem. The rest are Prakritisms, and there is little remarkable from a chrono-regional point of view.

PLURAL

(vii) The direct case of Fem. *tā-* was formed in OIA. Instr. Loc. *-hīm*, *-hī* are already discussed (see §93.2, 85). For the discussion of Dat. Gen. Abl. *-(ā)hā* see §93.3, 87. In *tāhim* (KKc. 6.15 8) *-hīm* is probably the same as Instr. Loc. *-hīm* and serves as a proof of the absorption of Instr. Loc. in Dat. Gen. Abl. in SAp. of 11th Cent. A.D.

123A. (iv) THE DEMONSTRATIVE AND 3RD PERSONAL PRONOUN MASC. AND NEUT. DIRECT SING.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	Masc. <i>so</i> <i>taṃ</i> (Acc. Pkt.)		..
	Neut. <i>ta</i> , <i>tā taṃ</i>.	..	..
600-1000	Masc. <i>so</i> (Nom. Acc.)	..	..
	Neut. <i>so</i> .		
700-1200	..	..	Masc. <i>sa</i> , <i>so</i> . Acc. : <i>taṃ</i> (DKs. 43) Neut. <i>se</i> (DKs. 90, 106) <i>sa</i> (DKs. 67. <i>te</i> (DKs. 107) <i>tā</i> (DKs. 7.8).

¹⁵⁰ FISCHER, *Grammatik*, §. 425.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
1000	Masc. <i>so, sō, su to</i> (Pd. 76) Acc. <i>taṁ,</i> <i>so</i> (BhK. 1.11. Pd. 46-160. Neut. <i>taṁ, tau</i> (Pd. 11). Neut. <i>taṁ, tau</i> (Pd. 11).	Masc. : Nom. <i>sō, so,</i> <i>to</i> (Nc. 1.17.16). Acc. <i>sō, taṁ</i>
1100	Masc. <i>su</i> (DS. 4.-32). <i>so</i> (Mt. 20) Neut. <i>ta, taṁ.</i>	Masc. <i>so,</i> Acc. <i>taṁ.</i> Neut. <i>taṁ</i>

A.D.	WAp.
1200	Masc. <i>sō, so, su</i> Neut. <i>taṁ su.</i>
	Acc. <i>sō, su, taṁ, tā</i> <i>iraṁ,</i> and <i>drum</i> in Pk. grammars are merely substitute for <i>tad</i> .

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>tiṁ, te</i> (i.e. <i>tē</i>) <i>tēṇa, te</i> (PPr. 2.26)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
			<i>tē, teṇa.</i> <i>tena</i> (DKK. 17).
1000	<i>teṁ, tiṁ, teṇa</i>	<i>teṁ, tiṁ</i> (Jc. 3.25.5) <i>tēṇa,</i> <i>tiṇā</i> (Jc. 1.18.9) Pkt. Sm.	..
1100	..	<i>teṁ, teṇa</i>	..
1200	<i>tēṇa, teṇa, tiṇa</i> <i>tiṇi</i> (Kp.)	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SINGULAR

500	Abl. <i>tā</i> (Mt. 24)	..	..
600-1000	<i>tasu, tāsu</i>	..	..
700-	<i>tahu</i> (° <i>hā</i>) ..	..	<i>tasu</i>

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
1200			<i>tahĩ</i> (DKK.24) <i>tāhara</i> (DKs.92)
1000	<i>tasu, tāsū, tassa</i> (Pkt.) <i>tasa</i> (Pd. 89) <i>tāsai</i> (BhK. 102.3) <i>taho, tahu, tahi</i> (Pd. 174) Abl. <i>tamhā</i> (Sdd. 101) AMg.	<i>tahō, tahu,</i> <i>tāsū</i>	
1100	<i>tahu</i>	<i>taho, tāsū,</i> Abl. <i>tamhā</i> , Amgism.	
1200	<i>tasu, tāsū, tassu</i> (Sc.Hc.), <i>tassa</i> (Pkt.), <i>taho, tahu.</i>		

LOCATIVE SINGULAR

500 ?	<i>tahĩ</i>	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>tahĩ</i>	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>tahĩ</i> <i>tasu</i> (DKK.22)	..
1000	<i>tahim̄, tahĩ</i> <i>tahai m̄</i> (Pd. 103), <i>temai</i> (Pd. 91) <i>tammi</i> (Pkt.)	<i>tahĩ</i>		..
1100	<i>tahim̄</i>	<i>tahim̄,</i> <i>tammi</i> (Pktism.)		
1200	<i>tahim̄, tahĩ,</i> <i>tammi</i> (Pkt.)			

§123A. (v). THE DEMONSTRATIVE AND 3RD PERSON PRONOUN *ta*

PLURAL NUMBER

DIRECT PLURAL

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?	..		
600-1000	Masc. : <i>te</i> (Nom. Acc.) Neut. : <i>te</i> (PPr. 1.61) <i>tāi</i> ॐ		

700-1200

1000

Masc. : *te*
tiṃ (*BhK.* 295.2),
te (*BhK.* 108.6)

Neut. : *tāim tāi.*Masc. : *te*Neut. : *tāi , tāim.*

1100

Masc. : *te*Neut. : *tāim.*

1200

Masc. : *tē, te,*
ti (*Jdc. Sc.*)

Neut. : *tāi*
tem (*Hc.* 4.339).

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL

500 ?

600-1000

100-1200

1000

*tēhī, tehiṃ**tehiṃ, tehi*

1100

tehiṃ

1200

tēhī tehi, tehiṃ... *tehi* (*DKs.* 58).

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL

A.D.

WAp.

Sap.

EAp.

500 ?

600-1000 *taha, ō tāha* ○

700-1200

1000

*tāham, tāhā**tāham, tāhā.**taham, tahā**tāha*Pkt. *tānam*Pkt. *tānam.*

1100

tāham,

1200

*taham, tahā**tāham, tāhā**tāhi* (*Jdu.* 24.2).Pkt. *tāna, tesī, tesim.*

LOC. PLURAL

500?

600-1000

700-1200

1000

1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>tahim</i> (Hc.), <i>tihi</i> (Sc. 517.2)	..	..

§123A. (vi) THE DEMONSTRATIVE & 3RD P. PRONOUN. FEM GENDER
SINGULAR NUMBER
THE DIRECT CASE

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>sā</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>sā</i> ? (Acc. PPr. 2.46*1)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>se</i> (DKs. 49)
1000	<i>sā</i>	<i>sā</i>	..
	Pkt. <i>taṁ</i> (Acc. BhK. 13.6)	Pkt. <i>taṁ</i> .	..
1100	..	<i>sā</i>	..
1200	<i>sā, sa</i>		..
	Pkt. <i>taṁ</i> (Acc.).		

INSTUMENTAL SINGULAR

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>tāe, taī,</i> <i>tāem</i> (BhK. 2.5)	<i>tāe, tīe,</i> <i>tā</i> (MP. 1.6.15), <i>taṇa</i> (Jc. 3.10.12)	..
		<i>tāe tāem.</i> <i>tāim</i> (KKc. 6.10.2) <i>tīem</i> (KKc. 1.8.2).	
1200	<i>tāe, tīi,</i> <i>tahī, tahi</i>		..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SINGULAR.

500 ?	<i>tāha</i>	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	<i>tāhe, tahe</i>	<i>tahi, tahe.</i>	..

	<i>taho</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 180.8)	<i>tāhe</i>	
1100	<i>iē</i> , (<i>Mt.</i> 16)	<i>tahe</i> , <i>tāhe</i> <i>tāhu</i> (<i>KK.</i> 7.8.1)	..
1200	<i>tahe tahi</i> <i>iē</i> , <i>tasu</i>	..	..

LOC. SINGULAR

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000 <i>tahi</i> (<i>PPr.</i> 2.46*1)	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000 <i>taht</i> , <i>tahi</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 73.3)	<i>tāsu</i>	..	..
1100	..	<i>tahim</i>	..
1200 <i>taht</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 838.6)	..	..	..

§123A. (vii) FEM. *ta*- PLURAL NUMBER*The Direct Case*

A.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-			
1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>tāu</i> <i>tāo</i> (Pktsm.)	<i>tāu</i>	..
1100	..	<i>tāu</i>	..
1200	<i>tāu</i>	..	..

INSTRUMENTAL & LOCATIVE

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	..	..	..
1100	..	<i>tāhim</i>	..
1200	<i>tāht</i>	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1200	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	..	..	..
1100	..	<i>tāhim</i>	..
1200	<i>tahā tāhā</i>	..	..
	<i>tāsī</i>		

THE PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *etad*

§124. In Ap., OIA *etad* assumes two forms viz., *ta-* and *tya-* and sometimes *āa-* (= OIA *idam*) forms are confused with these. Although there is such a confusion of *ta-* and *āa-* forms, they are separately tabulated in the chrono-regional comp. tables (§§ 124A, 125A).

Hemacandra gives the following paradigm of OIA *etad* in Ap.:

Singular

Nom. Acc. Masc. *esa, eho, ehā* (445), Neut. Masc. *ehu*. Fem. *eha, eu*.

Plural

Nom. Acc. Masc. *ei*; Neut. *ehāṁ*.

Though the anthology of Ap. verses in *Hc.* does not give more than these forms, Ap. literature is comparatively richer in these than *Hc.* Its variety is, however, less than that of Personal Pronouns.

The following is the pre-Ap. MIA background (*i.e.*, declension in Pkts.) of this pronoun¹⁵¹.

Singular

Nom. : Masc. *eso* (M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Ā.D.), *ese* (AMg.) *esu* (*Ḍh*).

Fem. *esa, esā*.

Neut. *esa, eam* (M.) ; *eyam* (AMg. JM.), *edam* (Ś. Mg. Ā.D.)

Acc. : (all genders) *eam* (M.), *eyam* (AMg. JM.), *edam* (Ś. Mg.)

Ins. : *eeṇa* (M.), *eeṇam* (AMg.), *eiṇā* (JM.), *edeṇa* (Ś. Mg.)

Fem. : *eyāe, eīe*, (JM.) The latter for Abl. Gen. Loc. sing. *eddāe* (Ś. Mg.) also for Gen. and Loc.

Abl. : *etto*, *edādo*, *odādu*, *odāhi* (Vararuci); *ettāhe*, *eāo*, *cāu*, *eāhi*, *ohimto*, *eā* (Hc.); *ettha* (Ki.)

Gen. : *eassa* (M. AMg. JM.); *edassa* (Ś.); *edāha* (Mg.)

Loc. : *eassim eammi* (M.); *ēyammi*, *eyammi* (AMg. JM.) *eyamsi* (AMg.) *edassim* (Ś.)

Plural

Nom. : Masc. *ee* (M. AMg. JM.); *ede* (JŚ. Ś.)

Neut. *ede* (Mg.), *eāi* (M.); *eyāim* (AMg. JM.); *eyāni* (AMg. JM.)

Fem. *eāo* (M.), *eyāo* (AMg. JM.); *edāo* (Ś.), *eyā* (JM)

Acc. : Masc. *ee* (AMg. JM.)

Ins. : *eehim*, *eehi* (M. JM.); *ēdehim* (Ś. Mg.)

Fem. *eyāhim* (AMg. JM.)

Gen. : *eāna* (M.), *etesī* (PG.), *cesim*, *eesi* (AMg. JM.), *eyānam* (JM.), *edānam* (Ś.)

Fem. *eāna* (M.) *eīnam*, *eānam* (Hc. 3.32.), *eyāsim* (AMg. JM.) *eyānam* (JM.)

Loc. : *eesu*, *eesum* (M. AMg. JM.), *edesum*, *edeśu* (Ś.)

SINGULAR

(i) In Pkts. *esa-* is the base of Nom. sg. (cf. OIA *eṣa-*) Ap. *eha-* (<OIA *eṣa-*) and *eha-a* (<*eṣaka*) are the result of the tendency to *h*-pronunciation of the sibilants in OIA. (See §§54.vii). The desinence *-u* of the direct sing. and the weakening of initial *e-* to *-i* are the developments in Ap. The extension of the Masc. term. *-o* to Neut. direct sg. e.g., *eho* (DKK. 27), *eso* (DKK. 29) shows a confusion of genders, and is a characteristic of EAp. in 700 A.D. *e* in *emaī kahiye* 'when this has been told by me' (DKs. 62) is a plur. form used in sing. In WAp. (1200 A.D.) we find two unusual forms viz., *ehā* (Hc. 4.445) and *eyām* Sc. and Kp. J. 44.1*). The former is traceable to OIA **eṣa-ka* > *eha-a* > *ehā*, and the latter is a Neut. direct sg. found in AMg. JM.¹⁵² *eha* is derived from *īdṛśa* or better **ādṛśa* > *āśa* > *āśa* > *esa* in PPr. 2.157, BhK. 21.2, Hv. 84.1.13, 82.8.7, JC. 3.9.14, Hc. 8.4.402.

After 900 A.D., there is a tendency to use *-ea* as the base in direct sing. in WAp. In BhK. we find *ēu*, *īu* used frequently along with

eho, ehū. SAP. remained immune from that tendency for some time, but the frequent use of *ēu* as Neut. direct sg. in *Hv.* shows that the base *ea-* was to some extent successful in driving out *eha-* from this gender. Though ALSDORF gives *eu* (14) with no optional form in Neut. direct sg.,¹⁵³ we find *ehau* = *etad* in the works of Puṣpadanta elsewhere, and later in *KKc.* The conservatism of this *-ha* element in SAP. is responsible for the Marathi declension of the proximate demonstrative *ha-*:

Sing : *hā, hī, hē*, Oblique Masc. Sing. *hyā*.¹⁵⁴

Plur. : *he hya, kī oblique Masc. Plur. hyā*-

The frequency of *eha-* and *ea-* (*ia-*) forms shows that in *Kp.* (1194 A.D.) *e(i)a-* forms are restricted to Neut. (contrast *Sc.* of the same century)¹⁵⁵ According to ALSDORF we have¹⁵⁶

Masc. Nom. Sg.: *iha* (3+1), *ihu* (3+1), *ēhu* (3), *esa*.

Neut. direct Sg.: *u* (2+2), *ēu* (10), *ihu* (1+1), *ēhu* (3) *ehu*.¹⁵⁷

Ins. sg. has very few forms peculiar to Ap. as *ēṇa eṇa* etc. appear already in Pkts. As in OIA, the *eha-* < *ēṣa-* forms are not used in oblique cases. In SAP. (1000 A.D.) *ēṣm* is obviously *ea* + *ēṣ*, *-ēṣ* being the usual terms. of this case. In *DKv.* 4, *e* is traceable to *ē* < **eē*. The line runs thus :

śīsau bāhya e jaḍa-bhāi

'The head is bound by this mass of hair' i.e., these sages grow a burdensome mass of hair on their heads (*DKv.* 4). But the Dat. Gen. Abl. form *ehu* (*DKK.* 8) shows that the base in EAp. was *e-* and not *ea-*; *-ho* of the noun declension and *-hu* here represent the same sound. Few as the forms are of this case, we find *-ho* of the 10th cent. giving place to *-ha* in the 12th cent. A.D., in WAp.---a tendency already observed in Noun declension (See §§83, 83A). Loc. sg. *ihī* in *Sc.* 707.9 is *ehīm* > *ihī* *-hī* being OIA *-smīn*.

PLURAL

(ii) The direct plur. has *ea-* and *ēya-* as the alternate bases, but the Pkt. form *ēē* wielded considerable influence in the works of Puṣpadanta. The corresponding forms in WAp. (1000 A.D.) are *ēya*, *ēya*, *ya*. *ē* in

¹⁵³ ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* § 48b.

¹⁵⁴ There is no nasal on the Oblique Sing. *hyā* in Marathi although Bloch gives it in *L'indo-aryen*, p. 198.

¹⁵⁵ JACOT, Intro. to *Sc.* p. 15 (Grammatik).

¹⁵⁶ Intro. to *Kp.* § 28(b), p. 60.

¹⁵⁷ For its NIA descendants, see *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 197-8.

Mp. 2.8.3 is an abbreviation of *ēē* (which is common in *SAp.* of the 10th cent.), but *e* in *Sdd.* 18 may be derived from *ea-* with zero term. *ē=etāni* is a Neut. direct plur. (cf. Neut. direct plur. *e.g., ghara, vattha, saya* in Noun-declension §84A). But 1100 A.D. *WAp.* ignored *eya-* forms, adopted *ēē<ēē. ehaūm <*eṣa-kam* in *Hc.* 8.4.362 is the use of the sing. for the plur!¹⁵⁸.

The remaining cases have no peculiar forms needing special explanation. In *Ins.* Plur. *eya-him -him* is the usual term. The same is the case with gen. plur. *eya-hā. āyaham* in *Mp.* 2.10.19 is originally the Gen. plur. of *idam* used in the place of *etat*.

FEMININE GENDER.

(iii) The direct sg. of Fem. *etat* corroborates the findings in the case of Masc. Neut. and *eha-* forms the speciality of *SAp.* all through. *Ins.* sg. forms are the same as in *Pkts.* The Dat. Gen. Abl. terms, *-he* and *-hi* are the same as in the declension of Fem. *-a* stems. (See §91). The few forms of the plural—both Direct and Oblique—are quite clear. *eyahū* in *SAp.* (1000 A.D.) is the extension of Masc. *-hum* (cf. *soniya-hum* in *JC.* 3.34.13. This desinence is very popular with Masc. *-i, -u* stem. See §96, also §99). *WAp.* *eya-hā* (*Sc.* 484.3) has the regular term. of Masc. and Fem. Dat. Gen. Plur. (See §§ 86, 91.)

The following comparative table of frequency will be interesting¹⁵⁹

Hv. (*SAp.* 965 A.D.)

Kp. (*WAp.* 1194 A.D.)

Singular

Nom. Acc. :

Masc. *ēhu* (13), *ēhu* (10), *ehaū* (2)

Neut. *ēu*.

Fem. *ēha* (8), *ēhi* (2)

Ins.

ēēm (4), *eēṇa* (1)

Fem. *ēyae*

Dat. Gen.

Masc. *ēyahō* (15)

Fem. *eyahē* (4)

Nom. Acc.:

Masc. *iha* (3+1), *ihu* (3+1) *ēhu* (3), *esa*.

Neut. *iu* (2+2), *ēu* (10), *iū* (1+1), *ēhu* (3), *ēhu*.

Fem. *eha* (1)

Ins.

eēṇa.

Dat. Gen.

eyaha (3+1), *eyassa*.

158 Here P. L. VAIDYA's *chāyā* and translation of *Hc.* (Notes p. 45) is followed. But *chaum*, *cintantāhā* can be taken as *etat*, *cintamānānām*.

159 ALSDORF. Intro. to *Hc.* § 48 (b), Intro. to *Kp.* § 28(b) p. 60.

Plural

Nom. Acc.

Nom. Acc.

Masc. *et*(2), *e* (3)Neut. eyat (3)Neut. eyāt (2), *eyat*.Fem. *eyau* (6)

Dat. Gen.

Masc. Neut. *eyahā*Masc. *āyahā*Fem. eyahūFem. *eahi* (7) in *Kaḍavakas*
S. 78-86.The forms underlined show chrono-regional difference.¹⁶⁰

§124A. (i) THE PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

(a) *etad* ea-, eya-

MASC. AND NEUT. (SINGULAR NUMBER)

The Direct Case.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500?	Neut. <i>ehu</i>	..	..
600-	Masc. <i>ehu</i> , <i>ihā</i>	..	..
1000			
	Neut. <i>ehaūm</i> , <i>ehu</i> .		
700-1200	..	..	Masc. <i>ehu</i> , <i>esa</i> . Neut. <i>ehu</i> , <i>eho</i> (DKK. 27.) <i>eso</i> (DKK. 29) <i>e</i> (DKs. 62.)
1000	Masc. <i>ehu</i> , <i>ehaū</i> <i>eho</i> (BhK.) <i>ēu eu</i> , <i>iū</i> . Neut. <i>ihu</i> , <i>ēhu</i> , <i>ēhaū</i> (Pd. 79), <i>eha</i> , <i>ēu</i> , <i>iū</i> (BhK.)	Masc. <i>ehu</i> , <i>ehu</i> , <i>ehavi</i> . Neut. <i>ēu</i> , <i>ehavi</i> .	

160 For further development of *etad* in NIA see *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 197-ff.

1100	Masc. <i>ehu</i>	Masc. <i>ehu</i>
	Neut. <i>ehu</i> ? (<i>Mt.</i> 15)	Neut. <i>ehaiü, eha, eham, ihu.</i>
1200		WAp.
	Masc. <i>ehō, ēhu, ēu, iha, ihu, esa, eso</i> (?), <i>ehā</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 4.445).	
	Neut. <i>ēhu, ihu, ēu, iu, ēyam</i> (<i>Sc. KP.</i> J.44.1*).	

INSTRUMENTAL SING.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-100	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>eṇa</i> (<i>DRK.</i> 29) <i>e</i> (<i>DRS.</i> 4)
1000	<i>eṇa</i>	<i>teñ,</i> <i>teṇa.</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>ēḍṇa,</i> <i>ēṇa</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 733.6)	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SING.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	<i>ehu</i> ? (<i>DRK.</i> 8).	
1000	<i>ēyaho</i>	<i>ēyahō</i> <i>eyahū</i> ? (<i>MP.</i> 2.16.7)	..
1100	..	<i>eyaho</i>	..
1200	<i>ēyaha</i> <i>eyassa</i> <i>eyassu.</i>	..	..

LOCATIVE SING.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..

1000	..	..	..
1100-	..	..	..
1200	<i>ihi</i> (Sc. 707.9)	..	..

§ 124A. (ii) THE PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

ea- eya-

PLURAL NUMBER

The Direct Case

A.D	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500?	..	..
600-	Masc. <i>e</i>	..	
1000	Neut. <i>e</i> , <i>eyat</i> ∞		
700-1200	∞ ..	..
1000	Masc. <i>ēya</i> , <i>iya</i>	Masc. <i>ēē</i> , <i>e</i> (MP. 2.8.3)	
	Neut. <i>e</i> (Sdd. 18)	Neut. <i>ēyāī</i> , <i>°im</i> .	
1100	..	..
1200	Masc. <i>eī</i>	..	
	Neut. <i>ēyaī</i> , <i>ēyāīm</i> , <i>ēyāī</i> <i>cyāni</i> <i>ēi</i> (Sc. 752.6), <i>ehaum</i> (Hc. 362.)		

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL

500 ?	..	..
600-1000	<i>eyahi</i> ∞	..
700-1200	..	..
1000	<i>eyahī</i>	<i>cyahim</i>
1100	..	<i>cyahim</i> , <i>cehim</i> (KKc. 7.5.6)
1200	<i>ēhim</i> , <i>°hī</i>	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600- 1000	<i>eyaham</i>	..	..
700- 1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>ēyahā</i> <i>ēyāṇa</i> (Pktism.)	<i>ēyaham</i> ? (Mp. 2.10.19).	
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>ēyahā</i> (Sc. 184.3 ?) <i>ēyāṇa</i> (Pktism.)	..	..

No separate pure Ap Loc. plur. forms were traced.

§ 124A. (iii) THE PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN
etad-

FEMININE GENDER—SINGULAR NUMBER.

The Direct Case

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500?	..	..	..
600- 1000	<i>ehu</i> (PPr. 2.28)	..	..
700- 1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>ēha</i> , <i>ehī</i> , <i>iha</i> <i>ēya</i> (<i>īya</i>), <i>eyāī m</i> ? (Pd. 203).	<i>ēha</i> , <i>ehī</i>	..
1100	..	<i>eha</i>	..
1200	<i>ēha</i> , <i>iha</i> (Sc.) <i>ēsa</i> , <i>ēya</i>.	..	..

INSTRUMENTAL SING.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	..	<i>ēyae</i>	.
1100	..	..	.
1200	<i>ēie</i> (Sc. 669.3)	..	.

DAT. GEN. ABL. SING.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	.	.
1000	<i>ēyahe, eyahi.</i>	<i>ēyahe</i> ^u	..
1100	.	..	.
1200	<i>ēie</i> (Sc. 492.7) <i>ēahi</i> (Kp. S, 79.2)	.	.

No. Loc. forms were found.

PLURAL NUMBER

THE DIRECT CASE.—(As no plural forms previous to 1000 A.D. were traced, the first 3 groups are omitted here to conserve space).

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	<i>eyao, iyao,</i>	<i>ēyau</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>ēyāu</i> (Sc. 659.1)	..	..

INSTR. LOC. PLURAL

600-1000	<i>chīu</i>
1000	<i>chīm</i>
1100	..
1200	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL.

1000	..	ēyahũ	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	ēya-hā (Sc. 484.3)	..	..
	(2) <i>idam</i>		

§125 The next Proximate Demonstrative Pronoun *idam* has *aya-*, *ima-*, *ana-*, *ena-* and *a-* as the bases in OIA. In Pkts, *ima-*, *ana-* and *ena-* became more popular.¹⁶¹ In Ap. *āya-* and *āna-* < OIA *ā-* or *aya-* plus the stem-widening *-ka*, are the main bases.

(i) The following is the paradigm of *idam* in Pkts.¹⁶¹

Singular

Nom. : Masc.	<i>ayañ</i> (AMg. JM.), <i>aam</i> (Ś.Dh.), <i>imo</i> (M.), <i>ime</i> (AMg.)
Neut.	<i>ayam</i> (AMg.), <i>imam</i> (Mg.), <i>idam</i> (M. AMg. Ś.), <i>iṇam</i> (M.)
Fem.	<i>mā</i> , <i>imā</i> , <i>iañ</i> (Ś.), <i>ayam</i> (Pa. AMg.)
Acc. : Masc.	Fem. Neut. <i>imam</i> ; Masc. <i>iṇam</i> (AMg.)
	Masc. <i>mañ</i> (M. Ś. Mg.).
Instr. : Masc.	<i>-ena</i> (M.), <i>apena</i> , <i>ṇam</i> (AMg.), <i>mṇa</i> (M. JM. AMg.), <i>imānā</i> (JM.Ś. Mg.), <i>mṇam</i> (AMg.)
	Fem. <i>mīe</i> , <i>mīā</i> (M.), <i>māe</i> (Ś.)
Abl. : Masc.	<i>ā</i> , <i>imāo</i> (JM. AMg.) <i>mādo</i> (Ś. Mg.)
Gen. : Masc.	<i>aya</i> (M. JM.), <i>imāva</i> , <i>māśā</i> (Mg.).
	Fem. <i>mīe</i> , <i>imā</i> (M. JM. Ś.), <i>mīse</i> (AMg.), <i>māe</i> (JM.)
Loc. : Masc.	<i>assm</i> (M. AMg.), <i>ayamv</i> (AMg.) <i>imamm</i> (M. AMg.), <i>mamv</i> (AMg.), <i>imasm</i> (Ś.), <i>māśsm</i> (Mg.).
	Fem. <i>māu</i> (AMg.), <i>imā</i> (JM.)

Plural

Nom. : Masc.	<i>me</i> , Neut.; <i>imāñ</i> (Ś.), <i>imān</i> (AMg. JM.)
Fem.	<i>māo</i> , <i>imā</i> , <i>imū</i> (M.)
Instr. : Masc.	<i>phu</i> , <i>phuñ</i> (AMg. Dh.), <i>imehi</i> (M.), <i>imehiñ</i> (M.), <i>imehiñ</i> (AMg. Ś.)

Fem. ā-hi, imāhiṁ (AMg.)

Gen. : Masc. esiṁ (M.), imāṇa (M.), imesiṁ (AMg.)

Fem. imāṇaṁ (M.Ś.), imiṇaṁ (M.), imāsiṁ (AMg.)

Loc. : Masc. esu (JM.), imesu (M.Ś.) imesuṁ (Ś.)

Na declension of OIA-idam is given by FISCHEL in *Grammatik* § 431.

(ii) The terms. of this pronoun are the same as those of corresponding nouns of Masc. Fem. Neut. stems. ending in *-a*. In the declension of this pronoun there appears to be a mixture of *e-* and *eya-* bases which are more correctly traced to OIA *etad*. Thus *e* in *DKs*. 4 is the use of the stem *e* (<*etad*> *ēa*) itself in the direct case rather than *āa+e*> **ā+e*>*e*, *-e* being the EAp. desinence of Nom. sg. (For other *-a* and *-e* ending forms of *-a* declension in EAp. see §§80, 81A). The alternative explanation is rather far fetched. We have other examples of *ea-*, *eya-* for OIA *idam*. In SAP. (1000 A.D.) Masc. Gen. sg. *eya-hū* (Mp. 2.16.7) implies *eya-* (<*etad*>) as the base for *idam*. *-hū* must be regarded as the extension of the plur. to sing. as the usual term. is *-ho* (See comp. Table §125A). *isu* in *Jdu*. 51.3 (WAp. 1200 A.D.) implies *i-<e-<ea-* as the base. Similarly Loc. sing. *eyaṁ* in SAP. (1000 A.D.). These illustrations are enough to show how freely *etad* and *idam* forms got mixed up in Ap., as the context implies *idam* forms and not *etad* ones in the cases mentioned above.

Ins. Sg. *ē* in *Vk*. (500 A.D. WAp.) is a sandhi of **ā-ē-<āa-ē*. Thus the rest of the forms of Masc. and Neut. gender, and sing. no., take the normal desinences of *-a* stems.

Masc. and Neut. direct plur. presents one remarkable form in SAP. (1000 A.D.) viz., *āyahim-etānu* (Jc. 1.17.15-6) as will be apparent from the line

kahim āyahim bālaim nīu somālain hū khala vihi haya-suyana-suha. bālaim and somālain show that *āyahim* is probably a scribal error for *āyaim*. It will be rather a far-fetched relation to connect it with the words . . *kim na bhutta vasuha* (Jc. 1.17.16) as they have a separate subject-*eyahim*-immediately preceding the word *kim* and *eyahim kim na bhutta vasuha* "why have not these enjoyed the earth?" is a complete sentence. The remaining forms take the desinences of Masc. *-a* stems and are quite regular.

Feminine Gender

(iii) There are very few Fem. forms of this pronoun. Most of them accept the terms of Fem. *-a* stems. There are two forms viz.

āya-hī (*BhK.* 114.7) and *āya-hī* (*BhK.* 114.9) which JACOBI seems to take as sings. (at least the question marks used by him before these forms in *BhK. Glossar*, p. 129, show that he does so). But the context is quite clear and they are of the plural no. From his *Intr.* to *BhK.* pp. *35-*38, it seems that JACOBI also did not come across a single Fem. form with Instr. sg. *-hī*, *-hīm*. Instr. sing. *āṇae* = *anayā* (*Hv.* 91-8-5, 91-11-9) shows that the base *āṇa-* is probably a contamination of Pkt. Fem. bases. *ā-* plus *ana-*. *-e* is of course the normal term. of Fem. Ins. sg. of *-a* stems. *eya-i* in SAp. (1000 A.D.) is another illustration of the use of *eya* (<*etad-*) for OIA *idam*.

Plural forms are also quite regular. Gen. plur. *āya-hā* in WAp. of the 10th cent. (in which the normal form *āya-hī* is also found) shows the extension of the Masc. terms. to Fem. stems.¹⁶²

125A. (ii) THE PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

b) *idam*- Ap. *āya-*, *āa-*, and *ima-*.

MASC. AND NEUT. SING. NUMBER.

THE DIRECT CASE

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-	Masc. <i>iḥu</i> (<i>PPr.</i> 2.142)	..	..
1000	Neut. <i>iū</i> .		
700-			
1200	..	..	Neut. <i>e</i> (<i>DKs.</i> 4)
1000	Masc. <i>āyaū</i> <i>āu</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 274.10).	Masc. <i>āya</i> .	..
	Neut. <i>āyaū</i> , <i>āū</i> .		
	Pkt. <i>imam</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 205.24).		
1100	..	..	<i>ima</i> , <i>emu</i> , <i>imurū</i> , <i>e</i> (<i>Pu</i>).
1200	Masc. <i>imo</i>	..	..
	Neut. <i>imu</i>	..	..

¹⁶² For the relation of the Ap. demonstratives with NIA ones see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryan* pp. 196-9.

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR

500 ?	ī ē	..	..
	<i>eṇas</i>		
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>āem</i>	<i>ēṇa</i>	..
	<i>eṇa, eṇam</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 56.8)		
	<i>ipi</i> (<i>Sdd.</i> 205.)		
1100	..	<i>em, eṇem</i> (= <i>eṇa</i> + <i>em</i>)	
		double Instr. (<i>KKc.</i> 10.4.7)	
1200	<i>āeṇa, imiṇa</i> (<i>Kp.</i> J. 104.1)		

DAT. GEN. ABI., SINGULAR.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>ehu</i> (<i>DKK.</i> 8)
1000	<i>āyaho</i>	(2) <i>eyahū</i> (<i>Mp.</i> 2.16.7)	
		(1) <i>āyaho</i> (<i>Hv.</i> 81.16.4)	
1100	..	<i>eho</i> (<i>KKc.</i> 10.17.10)x	..
1200	<i>āyaho</i>		
	<i>imassu, imasu</i> (<i>Sc.</i>)		
	<i>isu</i> (<i>Jdu.</i> 51.3)		
	<i>imassa</i> (<i>Kp.</i> S.40.3)		

LOCATIVE SING.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	..	<i>eyai</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>āyahim</i>	..	..
	<i>imammi</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 628.7)		

PLURAL NUMBER.

THE DIRECT CASE

1000	Masc.		
	Neut. <i>āyahim</i>	Neut. <i>āyahim</i> (<i>Jc.</i> 1.17.15)	
1100		..	..

1200	Masc.: <i>ime</i> (<i>Kp. A.</i> 8.3)	..	..
	Neut. <i>āyañ, āyañ</i>	..	..

Loc. Instr. Plu. : No forms were traced even after careful search.

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
1000	<i>āyahan</i>	<i>āyahan</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>imāṇa</i> (<i>Kp.</i> 7 40.2)	..	..

125A. (iii) THE PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE

PRONOUN *idam*

FEMININE GENDER.

Very few pure Ap. declensional forms of Fem. *idam* are met with in Ap. literature. Most of them appear from the 10th cent. A.D.

SINGULAR NUMBER.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
INSTRUMENTAL SING. (No forms of the direct case and Loc. sing. were seen. In <i>PPr.</i> 2.182 Acc. Sg. <i>ihu</i> is an example of confusion of genders.)			
1000	<i>āyae</i>	<i>eyai</i> (?), <i>āṇae</i> (<i>Hv.</i> 91.8.5)	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	..	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SING.

1000	<i>āyahe</i> <i>ēyaho</i>	<i>āyaho</i> (<i>Hv.</i> 81.16.4)	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	..	..	..

PLURAL NUMBER.

THE DIRECT CASE

1000	..	..	..
1100	..	..	..

PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

244

1200 *imāu* (Sc. 596.8, Kp. A. 14-.3)

LOC. INSTR. PLURAL

1000 *āyahī, āyahī, śhī*

1100

1200

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL

A.D. WAp. SAp. EAp.

1000 *āyahā*

āyahī

None in the remaining periods were found.

§125 B & 125 D. PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

MASC. & NEUT. (SING. NO.)

A.D. WAp. SAp. EAp.

500? Neut. -u

600-1000 Masc. -u,
-au

Neut. -u
-(a)um

700-1200 Masc. -u
zero

Neut. -u
-o
zero
-e (DKs, 4)

1000 Masc. -u, -au
-o
Neut. -u, -au
zero.

Masc. -u -au

Neut. -u, -au

1100 Masc. -u
Neut. -u
zero
-m

Masc. -u
Neut. -u, -au.
zero
-m

In Pu zero
u
-um
-e

1200	Masc. Nom. \tilde{o}	..	..
	-u		
	-zero		
	-ā (<i>Hc.</i> 445)		
	Neut. Nom. and Acc.		
	-u		
	-m (<i>Sc. Kp.</i>)		
	<i>stad-, idam</i>		

INSTRUMENTAL SG.

A.D.	WAp.	WAp.	EAp.
500	-i	..	..
	-e		
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-(e)na -zero.
1000	-(e)ena -em -(e)nam -i (<i>Sdd.</i> 205)	-em -ena	
1100	..	-em	..
1200	-ena -ina -ind	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABLATIVE SG.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-hu
1000	-ho	-ho -hā? (<i>Mp.</i> 2.16.7)	..
1100	..	-ho	..
1200	-ha, -ho -ssu, -su -ssa	..	..

LOC. SING.

No forms upto 1000 A.D. were traced.

1000	..	-i	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	-hi	..	..
	-hiñ		
	-mni (Pkt.)		

NOM. & ACC. PLURAL.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	Masc. zero	..	..
	Neut. zero		
	-aiñ		
100-1200	..	..	..
1000	Masc. zero	Masc. zero	
	Neut. Nom Acc.	-e (Skt. ism.)	
	(1) zero	Neut. -ai	
	(2) -iñ	-aiñ	
		-hiñ (Jc. 1.17.15)	
1100	..	..	..
1200	Neut. -ai, aiñ		
	-aiñ, ai		
	aiñ		
	-i (Sc. 752.6)		
	-aum (Hc. 362.)		
	Masc. -i, ?		

INSTRUMENTAL PLURAL.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..	..	..
600-1000	hi-ñ	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-hiñ	-hiñ	..
1100	..	-hiñ	..
1200	ehñ	..	..
	-hiñ		

Dat. Gen. Abl.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	- <i>ham</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	- <i>hā</i> - <i>āṇa</i> (Pkt.)	- <i>ham</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	- <i>hā</i> - <i>āṇa</i> (Kp J. 40.2) Pkt.	..	..

No separate pure Ap. forms for Loc. plural were traced.

125 E. THE PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

Feminine Gender

" NOM. AND ACC. Sg.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	..		
600-1000	- <i>u</i> (PPr. 2.28) (2.182)		
700-1200	..	..
1000	zero -(<i>ā</i>) <i>iṃ</i> (Pd. 203)	zero ..	
1100	..	zero	
1200	zero	..	

INSTRUMENTAL Sg.

No forms till 1000 A.D. were found.

1000 ..

1100 ..

1200 ..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SG.

No forms upto 1000 A.D. are attested to in Ap. lit.

1000	- <i>he</i>	- <i>ha</i>	..
	- <i>hi</i>	- <i>ho</i> (Hv. 81.16.4)	
	- <i>ho</i>		
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>shi</i>	..	..
	- <i>e</i> ? (Sc. 492.7)		

No Loc. forms were traced.

PLURAL NUMBER

THE DIRECT CASE

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
------	------	------	------

500 Forms upto 1000 A.D. are not traced.

1000	-(<i>a</i>) <i>o</i>	-(<i>a</i>) <i>ū</i>	
1100	..	..
1200	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>u</i>	..	

Instr. Loc. Plural.

500	..	..
600-1000	- <i>hič</i> , - <i>hičm</i>	..	
700-1200	..	..
1000	- <i>hičm</i> , - <i>hč</i>	..	
	- <i>hi</i>		
1100	..	..
1200	..	..

Dat Gen. Abl. Plural.

No forms upto 1000 A.D. were found.

1000	- <i>hā</i> , - <i>hč</i>	- <i>hū</i>	
1100	..	..
1200	- <i>hā</i> (Sc. 484.3)	..	

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN. *ja-*

§126. The OIA pronoun *ya-* is conserved intact throughout IA as a relative pronoun, and forms the basis of pronominal adjectives, relative adverbs, correlatives, interrogatives and indefinite pronouns, as well. Ap. *jo*, *jaśa*, *jettula*, *jāva* (and *tāva*), *jam* (and *tam*), *jahā*, *jamhā* *jaht* etc., illustrate the use of this theme in different parts of speech and have their descendants in NIA. To limit ourselves to M. and H. we have¹⁶³ M. H. *jo*, H. *jaisā*, M. *jasā*, H. *jitnā*, M. *jitkā*, H. *jab*, M. *jāv*. etc.

The following Pkt. forms supply us the MIA. background of this pronoun in Ap.¹⁶⁴

Singular

Nom. Masc. - *jo*, Fem. -*jā* Neut. *jam*.

Acc. Masc. *jam*. Neut. *jam*.

Ins. *jeṇa jina*.

Abl. *jāo*, *jado*, *jato* *jamhā*, *jā*.

Gen. *jassa*, *yaśśa*, *yāha* (Mg.)

Fem. *jā*, *jīe*, *jissā*, *jīā*, *jīi*, *jīse*, *jāe* (Ś.)

Loc. *jamsi*, *jamsī* (AMg.), *jahim*.

Fem. *jāe*, *jīe*, *jāhim*.

Plural

Nom. Masc. *je*, Neut. *jāim* (AMg.)

Abl. *jehimto* (AMg.)

Gen. *jōṇa* (M. JM.) *jāṇam* (J.M.Ś.), *jesim*, *jesi* (AMg.)

Fem. *jāsim* (AMg.)

MASCULINE AND NEUTER in Ap.

(i) The declension of *ja-* is similar to that of its correlative and 3rd per. Pron. *ta-*. The direct sing. takes -*u* and -*o* (and occasionally -*m* in Prakritic forms) as usual. There is no -*e* term. in EAp. direct sing. In Ins. sg. -*ē* (-*em*) and -*eṇa* are common to WSEAp., but in Hv. (SAp.

163 For other NIA forms see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 200-201.

164 FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 427.

1000 A.D.) their proportion is 6 : 17 as opposed to that in Noun-declension of *-a* stems where it is 580 : 355.¹⁶⁵ In *Kp.* (WAp. 1194 A.D.), *-em* is absent, the proportion of these forms being *jēna* (1+2), *jīna* (1+1), *jīni* (*jīm* E. 35).¹⁶⁶ In noun-declension also *-ēna* is the prevailing term.¹⁶⁷ It seems that the conservation of *-e(i)na* is due to the strong influence of Pkts. and that appears to be considerable on the declension of *ja-* and *ta-* in Hv.¹⁶⁸ *jīm* is a weakened form of *jēm* and its presence in *PPr.* shows the antiquity of *-em*. *jīm* is found in *SAP.* (e.g., *JC.* 4.1.4) but it is not so common. *jē* (*jēō* or *jēm*), *jīm* and *jēna* are the stable forms in *WSAP.* *jīna* in *Jdc.* 7.1 *Sc.* 588 4, *Kp.* J. 9.4 (all in WAp. of 1200 A.D.) is a weakened form of *jēna*. So also *jīni* in *Kp.* S. 52.4, *Jdc.* 8.3 (For corresponding *tiṇi* forms, though in different context and its history see §123). In *EAp.* *jo* appears to have been used for *OIA yena*. Thus in

jō natthu niccala kiaū maṇa

so dhammakkhara—pāsa

pabaṇaho bajjhaṭ (*DKK.* 23).

jo . . . *kiaū* = *yena kṛtam*. But that is a Nom. sg. form used probably to correspond to its correlative *so*. *bajjhaṭ* in the next line.¹⁶⁹ In '*jāht mana mānasa kimpī na kijjāṭ*'. (*DKK.* 20). *jāht* stands for *yena*.¹⁷⁰ It is probably due to the fusion of Instr. and Loc. (See §81) and *-a-hi* *-a-smin* is obvious. There are practically no *-ha* forms of Dat. Gen. Abl. except. *jāha* (*Pd.* 14). In *EAp.* *jē* (*DKK.* 30) is really Ins. sg. though it is used in the Gen. sense. Thus *jē bujjhia abirala sahaja-khaṇa* = *yena buddhā aviralāḥ sahaja-kṣaṇāḥ*. Gen. sg. *-ā -su* is the only uniform term. throughout this period in *WSEAp.* The Loc. sing. *-a-him* or *-a-hi* < *OIA -a-smin* is already familiar (See §82).

Plural forms are quite regular.

FEMININE GENDER

(ii) The declension of Fem. *jā* follows the normal noun-declension of Fem. *-ā* stems. Only irregular forms are noted here.

¹⁶⁵ ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* § 49 and 41. Also § 81 of the present dissertation.

¹⁶⁶ ALSDORF, Intro. to *Kp.* § 29 p. 60.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, § 21, p. 57.

¹⁶⁸ See Intro. to *Hv.* § 48(a) and § 49. In acc. sg. *so* (3) *tem* (8) and Fem. *sā* (1) : *lam* (2) point to the same conclusion.

¹⁶⁹ SHAMIDULLA translates these lines as follows : "Le souffle du maître qui a rendu l'esprit immobile aux côtés de la lettre de l'Idéal, est entravé".—*Les Chants Mystiques*, p. 87.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, *Vocabulaire*, p. 101.

Instr. sg. *jā-ē* in *BhK.* 209-10 is the application of a Masc. term. to the Fem. base *jā-*: In Dat. Gen. Abl. we find Masc. *jāsu* was used for Fem. gender attesting to the tendency of using Masc. forms for Fem. in Pronominal declension between 1000-1200 A.D. The use of *-hi* both for Gen. and Loc. shows the influence of compound Gen. Loc. case of Pkts. on Ap.

Fem. plural forms are quite regular like the declension of Fem. *-ā* stems.

It is noteworthy that *dhrum* which is sanctioned by Pkt. grammarians is conspicuous by its absence in Ap. literature except in *Hc.* 8.4.360 and *Ki.* where Hemacandra specially illustrates it. The use of *dhrum* (*Hc.* 8.4.360), *jrum* (= *yad*) in *Ki.* 5.49, *yadru* (= *yasmin*) in *Ki.* 5.50 is not found in Ap. literature except in the cases noted by PISCHEL.¹⁷¹

126A (i). THE RELATIVE PRONOUN *ja-* (*yad*).

MASC. AND NEUT. SING.

THE DIRECT SING.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	Neut. <i>ju, jam.</i>	..	..
600-1000	Masc. <i>ju, jo, jam</i> (Acc.) Neut. <i>jam.</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	Masc. <i>jo.</i>
1000	Masc. <i>jo</i> Neut. <i>ju, jam.</i>	Masc. <i>jo</i> Neut. <i>jam.</i>	.. ..
1200	Masc. <i>ju, jo</i> <i>jam</i> (Acc.) Neut. <i>ju, jam.</i>	<i>dhrum</i> and <i>jrum</i> in Pk. grammars is linguistically unconnected with <i>ja-</i>	

INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>jēṭ</i> (i.e., <i>jē</i>) <i>jiṁ, jēṇa</i>	..	..

¹⁷¹ PISCHEL, *Gram.* § 427. For the development of *ja-* in NIA, see *L'indo-aryen* pp. 200-201.

700-1200

~~je~~, *jeṇa**jo* (DKK. 23)*jahī* (DAK. 20)1000 *jeṁ, jiṁ,* *jēṁ, jīm* (Jc. 4.1.4)*jeṇa* *jeṇa.*1100 *jeṇa* *jeṁ*1200 *jeṁ, jiṁ* (Kp. E. 35)*jēṇa, jiṇa* (Jdc., Sc. KP.)*jīṇi* (KP., Jdc.)

DAT. GEN. ABL. SINGULAR

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
------	------	------	------

500 ?

600-1000 *jasu, jāsu*

700-1200

*jāsu**jē* (DKK. 30)1000 *jasu, jāsu* *jāsu**jāha* (Pd. 14) *jasu**jassa* (Pkt.)1100 *jāsu, jasu*1200 *jasu, jāsu**jassa* (Pkt.)*jamhā* (Kp. J. 48.2*)

Ablative.

LOG. SINGULAR

500 ?

600-1000

700-1200

jahī (DAK. 24)1000 *jahim, jahī**jahim, jahī**jammi* (Pkt.)

1100	Pkt. <i>jammi</i> (<i>Mt.</i> 20)	<i>jahim jāhim</i>	..
1200	<i>jahim, jahī</i>	..	..

PLURAL NUMBER

THE DIRECT PLURAL

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	Masc. <i>jā</i>	..	..
	Neut. <i>jāiō</i>	..	..

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	Masc. <i>je, ji</i> (<i>Pd.</i> 86)	Masc. <i>jā</i>	..
	Neut. <i>jāi</i>		
1200	Masc. <i>jā ji</i> (<i>Kp.</i> A. 13.1)	..	..
	Neut. <i>ji</i> (<i>Kp.</i> J. 54.1)		

INSTR. LOC. PLURAL.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>jehim</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>jehi</i>
1000	<i>jehim, jehī</i>	<i>jehī</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>jehim, jehī</i>	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>jahā, jāhā</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>jāha,</i> <i>jāham, jāhim.</i>	<i>jāham</i> <i>jahum</i> (<i>Jc.</i> 2.12.19).	

1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>jahā</i> (<i>Kp.</i> J. 28.5)	..	..
	<i>jāham.</i>	..	..

§126A (ii). THE RELATIVE PRONOUN *ja*- FEMININE GENDER

SINGULAR NUMBER

DIRECT SING.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>jā</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>jā</i> (<i>PPr.</i> 2.46*1)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>jā</i>	<i>jā</i>	..
1100	.. ..	<i>jā</i>	..
1200	<i>jā</i>	..	..

INSTRUMENTAL SING.

500	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>jāz</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 209.10)	<i>jāe, jāi</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	..	..	..

DAT. ABL. GEN. SING.

1000	<i>jāhi</i>	<i>jāhe, jāhi</i>	..
1200	<i>jasu, jāsu</i>		
	<i>jahe</i> (<i>Hc.</i> 4.359), <i>jūe</i>	..	..
	(<i>Sc.</i> 484.4)		

Loc. SING.

No forms till 1000 A.D. were traced.

1000	<i>jāhi</i> (BhK. 149.5)	..	..
1100	..	<i>jāhim</i> (KKc. 6.16.7)	..
1200	..	..	..

PLURAL NUMBER

THE DIRECT CASE

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500-999	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>jāo</i>	<i>jāu</i>	..
1100	..	<i>jāu</i>	..
1200	<i>jāṭ</i>	..	..

Instr. Loc. Plural. Dat. Gen. Abl. Plural.

No forms were traced.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

§127. The interrogative Pronoun *kih* assumes three bases in Ap. viz., *ka- ki-* and *kavaṇa*.¹⁷² These form the basis of the three types of Interrogatives in NIA. Thus we find :

- (i) *ka-* type : e.g., Shina, Nep. *ko* ; Kashmiri *ku- su* ;
Braj. *kau, ko*.
- (ii) *ki-* type : e.g., Maith. *kī*, Beng. Oriyā *ki*, H. *kyā*.
Punj. *ki*, Singh. *kimda*.
- (iii) *kavaṇa-* type : Raj. Punj. *kaṇ* ; H. Awadhi *kaun*
Guj. M. *koṇ* ; Nep. *kun* ; Beng. *kon*.

¹⁷² The base *kavaṇa-* is variously derived. FISCHER quotes some similar OIA forms e.g., *kavapatha*, *kavāgni*, *kavoṇa* (Gram. §§ 428, 246), and postulates **ku-* in OIA. HOERNLE connects it with *kravāṇ* (Gaudian Grammar, p. 219) K. P. KULKARNI with OIA *kaḥ + cana* (Marāṭhi Bhāṣā Udgamā va Vikāsa, p. 348), S. G. TULPULE with Pkt. Abl. sing. *kīno* (Yādava Kāśīna Marāṭhi Bhāṣā, p. 208). K. P. KULKARNI and TULPULE fail to explain the labial element *-va-* in that base. For its derivation, see next page.

Out of these three bases *ka-* and *ki-* and are found in OIA and MIA¹⁷³ *kavaṇa-* is better traced to Pali **ka-pana* underlying the forms. *ko-pana kiṃ-pana* (<OIA *kiṃ punah* ?)¹⁷⁴

(i) The following is the Paradigm of this pronoun, implied in *Hc.*¹⁷⁵ and other Pk. grammarians

SINGULAR

Nom.: Masc. *kavaṇu*, *ko*. Fem. *kavaṇa*, *kā*.

Neut.: *kiṃ*, *kāiṃ*, *ki* ? (*Hc.* 340).

Instr.: *kavaṇeṇa*.

Abl.: *kau*, *kahāṃ*.

Dat. Gen.: Masc.: *kavaṇa-hē*, *kassu*, *kāsu*.

Fem.: *kahe*.

PLURAL

Nom.: *ke*. Neut. *kāiṃ*, *kāi*.

(ii) In Pkts. we have *ka-* and *ki-* bases. The following forms are noted by PISCHEL¹⁷⁶

(i) *ka-*

SINGULAR

Abl.: *kāo*, *kado*, *katto*, *kamhā*; *kahimto* (AMg.)

Gen.: *kassa*, *kāsa*; *kāha* (Mg. also Fem.)

Loc. *kammi* (M.); *kāmsi*, *kamhi* (AMg.); *kassim* (Ś.); *kahim*, *kattha*, *kahi*, *kaha* (*Hc.* 8.2.161).

Fem.: *kāe*, *kāhiṃ*; *kāhe* (AMg.).

PLURAL

Nom.: *kā* (Fem. Ś.)

Gen.: *kāṇaṃ*, *kāṇa* (M.); *kesim* (AMg. JM.)

(ii) *ki-*

173 For MIA see PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 428.

174 The relations between Pali and Ap. are not properly appreciated by scholars (except a few like Helmer Smith, Jules Bloch). Hence the different postulates noted in Footnote No. 172 above.

175 *Hc.* 8.4.329—448.

176 For MIA see PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 428.

SINGULAR

Nom.: Ac.: Neut. *kiṁ* (all dialects) ; *kittī* (Ś.)

Ins.: *kiṇā* (M. also AMg.)

Abl.: *kiṇo*, *kīsa*. cf. Pā *kissa*.

Gen.: Fem. *kissā*, *kīse*, *kīā*, *kīi*, *kīe*.

DECLENSION IN AP. MASO. AND NEUT.

(iii) The direct sing. has three bases *ka-ki-* and *kavaṇa-*. Out of these *ki-* is found in Neut. as in OIA. *kavaṇa-* is not seen in EAp. It first appeared in PPr. (WAp. 600 A.D.) and is continuously found in WAp. upto the end of our period (1200 A.D.). In the works of Puṣpadanta (ŚAp. 1000 A.D.) there are some *kavaṇa* forms in the direct case e.g., *kavaṇu* (Hv. 88.2.10), *kavana* (Hv. 87.16.5) but they are not found in other cases, though later on it attained popularity, as there is only *kavaṇa-* as the base of this pronoun in Marāṭhī from the oldest period.

ku (*ka+u*) appears first in 600 A.D., in WAp. In ŚAp. of the 10th cent. *ko* is the main form, and *ku* is seen only occasionally while it is not used in EAp. at all. Even the Neut. *kāim* which, according to Hc. 8.4.367 is a substitute for *kiṁ* is nothing but the extension of the Neut. direct plur. *ka+āim* to the sing. *kāi* and *kaī* are the two alternative forms in WAp. direct sing. though *kiṁ* or *ki-* forms alone are found in EAp. *ki-* forms are still very popular in Maithili, Bengali, Oriya and other Eastern NIA languages. As seen above and elsewhere (see §84 for Noun - declension of *-a* stems) *-āi* and *-āī* are desinences of Neut. direct Plur. Thus *kāim* and *kāī* are originally Neut. direct plur. forms used for the sing., and this use is found as early as 500 A.D. WAp. in the direct case. They were naturally used for the plur. also (see Comp. Table §127A). As *ki-* is the only base in the EAp., *kāi* (<*kaī*) noted in Pu. 17.25 and Kt 5.13 is due to the influence of the WAp. literature and western grammarians. The particles *i* (<*cit.*), *vi*, *bi* (<*api*) etc., used to express indefiniteness, need not be considered here. *kiṇṇa* in BhK. 148.6 (also in Pd. 19) is a sandhi of *kiṁ+ṇa*. *kau* in BhK. 118.5 is due to the extension of the base *ka-*.

The use of *ki* (<*kiṁ*) without any term. appears first in PPr. 1.98 (WAp. 600 A.D.) and is continuous upto 1000 A.D., as is clear from the use of *ki* in Pd., Sdd. But EAp. is the only region where it was very popular, as it recurs 21 times in DKs. (1000 A.D.), though *kiṁ* (2) and *kiṁpi* (2) show the remnants of OIA and MIA influence in that period. There is one unusual form needing explanation in EAp. viz., *kuccha*

(DKK. 10) -*ch-* this reminds us of Pali *koci, kimci*, Aśokan Inscr. *kecha, kimchi*, a survival of OIA *kaścit*. In Eastern NIA, we get Beng. *kichu*, Oriya *kichi*. Is H. *kuch* a borrowal from the East? Acc. sg. *ko* in WAp. of the 6th cent. A.D., shows the formation of the direct case as early as 600 A.D.

The variety of forms in the direct case shows :

- (1) that the direct case was formed in WAp. from 600 A.D.
- (2) that *ki-* was a very popular base in EAp., wherein *kavaṇa-* was absent, and that *kavaṇa-* came to be used first in WAp. (600 A.D.) and later in Sap. (1000 A.D.) in which region it became very popular in the NIA period.
- (3) that the plur. forms *kāṭi* came to be used for the sing. from the beginning of this period.
- (4) that forms in Aśokan Inscriptions are found in Ap. of those regions.
- (5) that these forms of the direct case satisfactorily explain the NIA forms of the corresponding regions.

Ins. sg. *kavaṇem, kavaṇeṇa* are limited to WAp. only, thus corroborating the above finding regarding its original venue. The terms. -*eṇa*, -*ṇ* are quite common. *kina* (Sc. 601.3) is a weakening of *keṇa* possibly due to the following *api* (vi).

The terms. of the Dat. Gen. Abl. are the same as those of -*a* stems. (Compare §83A). Only the forms in EAp. deserve attention. In Noun-declension -*a* stems has -*ha*, -*ho*, -*ho* terms. But *kāhu* (*kasmin*) is a Loc. form used in this sense. So *kāhi* in DKK. 30. *kāsu* < MIA *kassa* being obvious, -*su* need not be discussed though it is not seen in -*a* stems (Masc.). The influence of OIA and MIA declensions have left their traces on Ap. *kassa* is a Prakritism. Loc. sg. forms in -*hiṃ*, -*hi* and -*hi* (in EAp.) are regular.

Plural forms of *ka-* follow the normal declension of -*a* stems.

FEMININE GENDER

(iv) Fcm. direct sing. contains no *ki-* forms. The use of *kā* and *kavaṇa* directly without any term. is as usual *ka-u* (Sdd. 68) and *kāyau* < *kā-ka-u* (a usual extension of stem in Sdd. 189) show the use of Masc. terms. with Fcm. stems—an example of confusion of genders. The remaining forms, being few and regular, may not be discussed.

§127A. (iii) INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *kim*(A) *ka-* (B) *kavaṇa*.

DIRECT SING.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?	Masc. <i>ko</i> , <i>kõ</i> Neut. <i>kim̃</i> , <i>kaṭ ko</i>.	..	..
600-1000	Masc. <i>ko</i> , <i>ku</i> <i>kavuna</i> or <i>kavaṇu</i> (PPr. 2.171) Neut. <i>kāṭ</i> (PPr. 1.27) ? <i>ki</i> (PPr. 1.98) Neut. <i>ki</i> , <i>ko</i>.	..	..
700-1200	..	M _{A.D.} , in <i>koi</i> (DKs. 18), <i>kobi</i> (<i>ku</i> is seen ¹⁾). Neut. <i>kim̃</i> , <i>kimpi</i> (DKK. 12), <i>ki</i> (DKs. 21). 21 times. <i>kiccha</i> (DK. 10).	
1000	Masc. <i>ko</i> , <i>ko vi</i> <i>ku vi</i> , <i>ku i</i> (BhK.) <i>kaṁ</i> (Acc. Pktism.) Neut. <i>kim̃ kiñna</i> (BhK. <i>kaṭ(vi)</i> . (Pd.) <i>kāṭm̃ kima</i> (Pd. 42) <i>kau</i> (BhK. 118.5), <i>ki</i> (Pd. Sdd.) (B) <i>kavaṇu</i> , <i>kavaṇa</i> (Sdd.)	Masc. <i>ko</i> , (<i>ku(vi)</i>) Neut. <i>kim̃</i> . <i>kāi (mi)</i> , <i>kāṭ</i>	
1100	Neut. <i>kim̃ (pi)</i>	Masc.: <i>ko</i> , <i>ku</i>	Neut. <i>kaṭ</i> (Pu. 17.25). <i>kavaṇu</i> (Mt. 16) Neut. <i>kavaṇu</i> , <i>kāim̃</i> .

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1200	Masc. <i>kā, ko(vi) ku,</i> (B) <i>kavaṇu.</i> Neut. <i>kih, ki kaṭ,</i> <i>kaṭ, kāim</i> (B) <i>kavaṇu.</i>		
INSTRUMENTAL SING.			
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>keṇa</i>
1000	<i>keṇa,</i> <i>kavaṇaṃ</i>	<i>keṇa</i>	..
1100	..	<i>keṇa, keṃ</i>	..
1200	<i>kāṇa kiṇa</i> (Sc.) <i>kavaṇeṇa</i> (Sc. 530.7)		
DAT. GEN. ABL. SING.			
500 ?	<i>kaṭ</i> (Abl. -Mt. 25)		..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>kāhī</i> (DKK.29) <i>kāsu</i> (DKs. 60.75) Pkt. <i>kassa</i> (DKs. 96)
1000	<i>kaho, kahu</i> <i>kasu, kāsu</i>	<i>kaho, kaho</i> <i>kassa, kāsu</i>	..
1100	<i>kāsu</i> (Sc. 33-624) a quotation.	<i>kāsu</i> Abl. <i>kāsa</i> (KKc. 10-1-3)	<i>kāsa</i> (Pu. 17. 25)
1200	<i>kasu,</i> <i>kassu,</i> <i>kāsu</i> <i>kassa</i>	..	..

Loc. SING.

A. D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>kāhi</i> (DKK. 30) <i>kahi</i> (DKs. 93) 4 times.
1000	<i>kahim, kahṭ</i>	<i>kahṭ</i>	..
	<i>kahi</i>	<i>kahi (mi)</i>	
1100	<i>kahim</i>	<i>kahim</i>	..
1200	<i>kahṭ, kavanahim</i> (Hc. 425.)		

PLURAL NUMBER

DIRECT CASE

500 ?	..	
600-1000	Masc. <i>ke, ki</i>	
700-1200	..	
1000	Masc. <i>kē, ki (vi)</i>	<i>kē, ki (vi)</i>
1100	..	Masc. <i>ke</i>
1200	Masc. <i>kē, ki (vi)</i>	
	Neut. <i>kaṭ</i>	

INSTRUMENTAL-LOCATIVE PLURAL

500 ?	
600-1000	
700-1200	
1000	<i>kēhi(mi)</i>
1100	<i>kehim</i>
1200	

§ 127A (iv) INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN *ka-* (FEM.)

DIRECT CASE SING.

A. D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	<i>kā, ka</i> <i>kaii</i> (Sdd. 68), <i>kāyau</i> (Sdd. 189) (B) <i>kavaṇa</i>	<i>kā, ka</i> (B) <i>kavaṇa</i> (Hv. 87.16.5)	..
1100	..	<i>ka, kā(i).</i>	..
1200	<i>kā, ka</i>	..	..

INSTRUMENTAL SING.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	..	<i>kāe</i>	..
1000	..	<i>kāim</i>	..
1200	..	..	..

DAT. GEN. ABL. SING.

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>ka-hi</i>	<i>kā-he</i> <i>kā-hi</i>	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>ka-he</i> <i>kī-i</i> (Kp. E. 25)	..	..

DIRECT PLURAL

A. D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
-------	------	------	------

No forms upto 1000 A. D. were traced.

1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>kāu</i>	..	..

§ 127B. PRONOUNS MASCULINE AND NEUTER

ta- (*tad*), *ja-* (*yad*), *ka-* (*kim*)

NOM. ACC. SINGULAR

A. D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
-------	------	------	------

500	Masc. Nom.: -o, -ō, -u Acc.: -m̄.
-----	---------------------------------------	----	----

Neut. Nom. Acc. (1) -u

(2) -ā

(3) -m̄.

(4) [*ka*]- (*a*) ‡

(5) -o.

600-1000	Masc. Nom. : -o, -ō. -u, zero-. Acc. : -ō -m̄
----------	--

Neut. Nom. & Acc. :

(1) (*ka*)-āiō (*PPr.* 1.27) ? *kavaṇa* substituted for *kim̄*.

(2) (*ka*)-i (*PPr.* 1.98).

(3, 4) -m̄, -o.

A. D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
700-1200	..	..	Masc. Nom.: -zero -o. Acc.: - <i>m̄</i> . Neut. Nom. & Acc.: -e -zero -ā (DKs. 7.8) (viz. <i>tā</i>) [ka-] - <i>i m̄</i> -i (DKs. 21.)
1000	Masc. Nom.: -o, -ō ..u Acc.: -ō - <i>m̄</i> Neut. Nom. & Acc.: (1) <i>m̄</i> (2, 3) -(a)u, -u (4, 5, 6) zero, - <i>i m̄</i> , - <i>ima</i> (7, 8) (ka) -āī, -i (Pd., Sdd.)	Masc. Nom.: -ō, -o [-ka-]u(vi) Acc.: -ō - <i>m̄</i> Neut. Nom. & Acc.: - <i>m̄</i> [ka-] āi (mi) -āī (m̄) -āī (vi)	..
1100	Masc.: -u -o Acc. - <i>m̄</i> Neut. Nom. & Acc.: -nil - <i>m̄</i> , [ka] - <i>i m̄</i> (p̄i) (kavaṇa) -u (Mt. 16)	Masc.: Nom.: -o Acc. - <i>m̄</i> Neut. Nom. Acc.: Neut. Nom. & Acc.: - <i>m̄</i> -o -ī (Pu. 17.25) -u (Ki. 5.13). -āi m̄.	

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1200	Masc. Nom.: - <i>ō</i> , - <i>o</i> - <i>u</i> Acc.: - <i>m̄</i> - <i>ō</i> , - <i>oi</i> - <i>u</i> Neut. Nom. & Acc.: - <i>m̄</i> . (<i>ka</i>)- <i>i m̄</i> - <i>i</i> , - <i>ā i m̄</i> - <i>ā i</i> - <i>u</i> .	also [<i>kavaṇa</i>] - <i>u</i> (<i>SN.</i> , <i>Hc.</i>)	
INSTRUMENTAL SINGULAR			
500 ..	—	..	..
600-1000	- <i>i m̄</i> - <i>ē ō</i> OR - <i>ē</i> - <i>eṇa</i>	..	..
700-1200	—	..	- <i>ē</i> - <i>eṇa</i> , - <i>eṇa</i> [<i>ja</i>] - <i>o</i> (<i>DKK.</i> 23) ,, - <i>hē</i> ,, 20
1000	- <i>i m̄</i> - <i>e m̄</i> - <i>eṇa</i>	- <i>ēṇa</i> - <i>e m̄</i> - <i>i m̄</i> - <i>iṇa</i>	
1100	- <i>eṇa</i>	- <i>e m̄</i> - <i>eṇa</i>	
1200	- <i>ēṇa</i> - <i>eṇa</i> - <i>iṇa</i> - <i>iṇi</i> (<i>Kp.</i> , <i>Jdc.</i>) [<i>Ja</i>] - <i>e m̄</i> [<i>Ja</i>] - <i>i m̄</i>		

A.B.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
DATIVE-GENITIVE-ABLATIVE SINGULAR			
500	Abl.: -ā [ka] -aĩ (Mt. 25)	..	..
600-1000	Gen.: -(a) su .. -(ā) su -(a) huč	..	..
700-1200	..	..	Gen.: (ā)-su (ā)-hĩ -āhara (ta- DKs. 92) [ja] -ē (DKK. 30) [ka] -ssa (DKs. 96)
1000	Abl.: mhā (Sdd. 101) (Pkt.) Gen.: -ho .. -hu -(ā) su -(ā) ha -sa -hi -(ā) saĩ -ssa	Abl.: -ho Gen.: -ho, -ho -hu -(ā) su (ka) -ssa.	..
1100		Abl.: -mhā -(ĩ) sa (KKc. 10.1.3)	
	Gen.: -hu -(ā) su	Gen.: -(ā) su -ho	-(ā) sa (Pu. 17.75)
1200	-(a) su -(ā) su -hu -ho -ssu -ssa	Abl. [ja-] -mhā (Kp. J. 48.2*)	

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
LOCATIVE SINGULAR			
500 .. -hĩ	..	..	..
600-1000 -hiũ		..	..
700-1200 ..	..	..	-hĩ -(ā) hi -su (ta - DKK. 22)
1000 -him, -hĩ		-hĩ	..
(ka) -hi		-him	
-ehaim (Pd. 103. ta-)		(ka) -hi (mi)	
emai			
-mmi.			
1100 -him		(ā)-him	..
-mmi (Pkt.)		-mmi (Pkt.)	
1200 -him		..	..
-hĩ			
-mmi			
NOM. ACC. PLURAL (MASC. NEUT.)			
500 ..	..	..	..
600-1000 Masc. Nom.: -ē		..	..
-i			
Acc.			
Neut. Nom. & Acc.			
	-e		
	-āiũ		
700-1200 ..	..	..	..

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	- <i>ehĩ</i> - <i>ehim̃</i>	- <i>ehim̃</i> - <i>ehĩ</i> (<i>ka</i>) - <i>ehi</i> (<i>mĩ</i>)	..
1100	..	- <i>ehim̃</i>	..
1200	- <i>ehĩ</i> - <i>ehĩ</i> - <i>ehim̃</i> Loc.: - <i>him̃</i> - <i>ihĩ</i> (<i>Sc.</i> 517.2)	..	..

DATIVE-GENITIVE - ABLATIVE PLURAL

500	..	..
600-1000	Gen.: -(<i>a</i>) <i>hač</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>hač</i>	
700-1200	..	..
1000	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>ham̃</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>hā</i> -(<i>a</i>) <i>ham̃</i> -(<i>a</i>) <i>hā</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>ha</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>nam̃</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>him̃</i> (<i>Pd.</i>)	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>hā</i> , -(<i>ā</i>) <i>ham̃</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>ha</i> (<i>Nc.</i> 1.14.9) -(<i>a</i>) <i>hum̃</i> (<i>Źc.</i> 2.12.19) -(<i>ā</i>) <i>nam̃</i> (<i>Pkt.</i>)
1100	..	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>ham̃</i>
1200	-(<i>a</i>) <i>ham̃</i> , -(<i>a</i>) <i>hā</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>ham̃</i> , -(<i>ā</i>) <i>hā</i> -(<i>ā</i>) <i>hi</i> (<i>Źdu.</i> 2.42.) -(<i>ā</i>) <i>na</i> , -(<i>ā</i>) <i>si</i> (<i>Sc.</i>)	.. ..

§ 127 C. FEMININE GENDER.

$\left. \begin{array}{l} \check{t}\check{a}- \\ -\check{t}\check{u}- \end{array} \right\} < \text{tad-}; \quad \left. \begin{array}{l} \check{j}\check{a}- \\ \check{j}\check{u}- \end{array} \right\} < \text{yad-}; \quad \check{k}\check{a}- < \text{kim.}$

NOM. ACC. SINGULAR: (*sā* for *tad*)

A. D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	-(<i>ā</i>) zero	..	..
600-1000	zero	..	..
700-1200	.. ..		-e (<i>DKs.</i> 49)
1000	Nom. :-(<i>ā</i>) zero	Nom.: -(<i>ā</i>) zero	
..	-(<i>a</i>) zero	(in <i>kavaṇa</i> also)	
	(<i>a</i>) <i>ū</i> , - <i>u</i> - (<i>Sdd.</i> 180)	Acc.: -(<i>ā</i>) zero	
	Acc.: -(<i>ā</i>) zero	-(<i>a</i>) <i>m</i> .	
	-(<i>a</i>) <i>m</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 13.6)		
	<i>kavaṇa</i> - (<i>a</i>) zero		
1100	Nom. : <i>u</i>	-zero	..
1200	Nom. :-(<i>ā</i>) zero		
	Acc. (<i>ā</i>) zero		
	-(<i>a</i>) <i>m</i> (<i>Sn.</i> 30-231)		
	Pkt.		

FEM. INSTR. SING.

No forms up to 1000 A.D. were traced.

1000	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>e</i>	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>e</i>
	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>ī</i>	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>e</i>
	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>e m</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 2.5)	-(<i>ā</i>) zero
	-(<i>ā</i>) <i>ē</i> (<i>BhK.</i> 209.10)	-eṇa
..		-(<i>ā</i>) <i>ī</i>

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1100	..	-(ā)e -(ā)em -(i)em (KKc. 1.8.2)	
1200	-(i) -(a)hī -(a)hi -(ā)e		
DAT. GEN.-ABL.-SINGULAR			
500	-(ā)ha	..	
600-1000	..	..
700-1200	..	..
1000	-(ā)hē -(a)hē -(a)ho (BhK. 160.8) -(ā)hi (BhK)	-(ā)hi -(ā)hē	
1100	-(i)a	-(a)hē -(ā)hē -(ā)hu (KKc. 7.8.1)	
1200	-(a)hē * -(a)hi -(ā)su -(i)e -(i)i vi (KpE. 25)		
500	..	..
600-1000	-(a)hi (PPr. 2.46*1)	..	
700-1200	..	..
1000	-(a)hī -(ā)hi (BhK. 73.3.)	-(ā)su (Jc. 3.1.20)	
1100	..	-(a)hiñ	

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1200	-(a)h̥	..	..

FEMININE *yad, tad, kim* (Plural.)

NOM. AND ACC. PLURAL.

No forms upto 1000 A.D. were traced.

1000	Nom.: -(ā)u	-(ā)u	..
	-(ā)o		
	Acc.: -(ā)u	-(ā)u	
1100	..	-(ā)u	..
1200	Nom. Acc.: -(ā)u	..	..

INSTR. & LOC. PLURAL.

Forms upto 1000 A.D. were not traced.

1100	..	-(ā)hiṁ	
1200	Ins.: -(i)h̥ (Kp.)	..	..

FEM. DAT. GEN. ABL. PLURAL

No forms upto 1000 A.D. are recorded in Ap. texts

1100	..	-(ā)hiṁ	
1200	-(a)h̥ā		
	-(ā)h̥ā		
	-(ā)s̥		

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

§ 128. Many Indefinite Pronouns are formed by adding -i (<ciṁ or api), vi, bi (<api), mi to ka-. They are generally added after declining the pronoun regularly. The final vowel of the declined form, if long, is many times shortened before them. A few examples of the use of ka- as an indefinite pronoun are given below :

Direct. sg. Masc. WSEAp. *kāṭ*, WSAp. *kovi, kuvi*; EAp. *kobi*.

Neut. WEAp. *kimpi*, WAp. *kimci, kāṭ mi*,

EAp. *kuccha*.

Fem. WSAp. *kāvi*, WAp. *kāyau*.

Instr. sg. Masc., Neut.: *keṇa vi*.

Dat. Gen. Abl. sg. Masc.: *kāsu vi*, *kaho vi*, *kahu vi*.

Fem.: *kāhivi*.

Loc. sg. Masc., Neut.: *kahē mi*, *kahim vi*.

Direct Plur. *ke vi*, *ki vi*.

Out of these *ko (ci)* or *ko (vi)* resulted into H. Panj. Raj. *koi*, Oriya *kei*, Shīna *ko* etc. In NIA we have similar formations of *ka-* e.g., M. *konhī*, *konī*, H. *kōū*, Bihari *keu*, Beng. *keho*, *keu*; Neut. M. *kāhī*, Guj. *kāt*, Marwari *kī*.¹⁷⁴

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

§ 129. Out of the two Pkt. developments of OIA *ātman* (viz., *appa-* and *-atta-*), Ap. conserves only *appa-* which is a predecessor of a number of NIA forms such as H. Panj. *āp* or *āpe*, Beng. *āpā*, *āpī*, Guj. *āpno*, M. *āpaṇ* etc. This *appa-* seems to be derived from spoken OIA **ālpman* for *ātman*.¹⁷⁷ The stem-widening of OIA *ātman* + *a* + *ka* > Ap. *appāṇa-* has also been very popular in Ap. and remained so in NIA.¹⁷⁸ Thus *appa-* and *appāṇa-* are the two bases of reflexives *ātman-* (?) in Ap. The latter, though a later development, is found in Pkts. PISCHEL traces both these forms to OIA **ātmānaḥ*.¹⁷⁹

The following forms of this pronoun are recorded by Hc.:

Singular.

Nom. Acc. *appa-u*, *ōū* (Hc. 422.3 PISCHEL), *appaṇā*, *appaṇu*.

Instr.: *appaṇem*.

Dat. Gen. Abl.: *appa-ho*.

(There are no plural forms of *appa-* in Ap.)

The following Pkt. declension of *appa-* base of OIA *ātman*, shows that *appa-* forms in Ap. are a natural development out of Pkts. In PISCHEL's *Grammatik* § 401, it is a part of Noun declension and has both sing. and plural numbers, and two bases *appa-* and *atta-*.

174 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 202.

177 S. M. KATRE, *Form. Konk.* § 254 Footnote 1. *ABORI*, 20.2.155 (1940).

178 See BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 203-4.

179 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 401, p. 251.

appa- (OIA *ātman*)*Singular*

Nom.: *appā* (M. AMg. JM. JŚ.), *appo appāno* (M. JM.)

Acc.: *appānaṁ* (M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Dh.), *appaṁ* (AMg.) *appānaaṁ* (M.)

Ins.: *appaṇa* (M. AMg. JM. Ś.), *appaṇa*, *ṇaṁ* (AMg.) *appāṇeṇaṁ* (AMg.), *appaṇeṇa* (M.).

Abl.: *appappaṇo* (JM.), *appā-o*, *ṇhi*, *ṇhinto*, *appā*.

Gen.: *appaṇo* (M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D.A.) *appāṇassa* (JM.) *appāṇaassa* (M.)

Loc.: *appe*, *appāṇe* (M.)

Plural

Nom.: *appāṇo*, *appā* (M.), *appāṇā* (AMg.)

Instr.: *appehi*.

Abl.: *appāsumto*.

Gen.: *appāṇaṁ*.

Loc.: *appesu*.

In Ap. literature there is nothing peculiar in the declension of this pronoun except the use of *appuṇu* in the oblique in WAp. It is used in the direct case and the Instr. in SAp. of the 10th and 11th centuries. Can we not trace *-u-* in Ap. *appuṇu* to OIA **ātpuman-* rather than to **ātpman-*? the last *-u* is a regular Ap. term.

appāṇa forms e.g., Nom. *appāṇa* (WEAp. 1000 A.D.) *appāṇu* (WAp. (WAp. 1200 A.D.) Gen. *appāṇa* (Sdd. 25. i.e., WAp. 1000 A.D.) are traced to OIA **ātmānaḥ* by PISCHEL. Without denying the linguistic possibility of OIA **ātmanah* (= *ātmā*) developing into Ap. *appaṇa-*, it may be suggested that OIA **ātpmanaka* may be the original form as such stem-widening is a common tendency in Ap. The remaining *appāṇa*-forms are explained by PISCHEL,¹⁸⁰ the gen. sg. *appaṇa* (Sdd. 84) and *appāṇa* (Sdd. 25) are directly traceable to OIA **ātpmānaḥ* = *ātmanah*. The *appa-* forms follow the declension of Masc. *-a* stems.¹⁸¹

uppahim = *ātmanā*¹⁸² in Sdd. 84 is inexplicable. The line is question runs as follows :

uppahim coraḥaṁ appiyayū khoju ṇa pattaṁ keṇa (Sdd. 84). H. L. JAIN, the editor, translates this in Hindi as follows : *‘upat kar corā ko diye hue*

¹⁸⁰ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 401.

¹⁸¹ Compare § 180A and § 81A—and § 84A.

¹⁸² Glossary to Sdd., p. 76.

*dhan kâ khoj kis-ne pâyâ hai?*¹⁸³ In *uppahim*, *-him* may be construed as the Loc. or Instr. sing. But *uppa* = *appa* is a riddle, unless we take *u* as a scribal error for *a*.

Lastly a reference may be made to ALSDORF's equation *appa*^a = *âtmiya*.¹⁸⁴ He quotes the following verse to support his view:

rakkhejjahu, tarunaho : appaṇā bāla hē jāā visama thana.

phondenti je hiaḍaṇi appaṇaṇi iāhā parāi kavaṇa ghaṇa (Hc. 8.4.350-.2)

Phonologically the equation is doubtful.

§129A. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN *appa*-(*âtman*) MASC. SING.

THE DIRECT CASE.

A.D.	Wap.	Sap.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>appaḍ</i> <i>paramappa</i> (PPr. 1.14)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>appa</i> , <i>appaḍ</i> <i>appāna</i> (DKs.29).
1000	<i>appaḍ</i> , <i>appa</i> <i>appu</i> , <i>appaṇi</i> <i>appāna</i> Acc. <i>appaṇaṇi</i> <i>appaṇi</i> (BhK. 102.1).	2. <i>appaṇim</i> 1. { <i>appuṇu</i> , <i>appaṇu</i> .	
1100	<i>appaḍ</i> <i>appu</i> , <i>appaṇim</i> (Sn. 270-190 A quotation).	<i>appuṇu</i> <i>appāṇaṇu</i> (KKc. 9.4.4)	
1200	<i>appa</i> , <i>appu</i> , <i>appa-u</i> , <i>appa-ū</i> (Sc.), <i>appaṇu</i> , <i>appāṇu</i> , <i>appaṇā</i> .		

INSTRUMENTAL

500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>appaḍ</i> <i>appim</i> (PPr. 1.76) <i>appu</i> ? (PPr. 1.30)		

¹⁸³ Sdd., p. 27.

¹⁸⁴ ALSDORF, *Ap. Studien*, pp. 68-9.

§ 129 B] REFLEXIVE FROM. *appa-* 217

700-1200 *appa-hi* (DKs. 62).

1000 *appā-e* *appaena* ..

appunu (Pd. 83) .. *appunu.*

1100

1200 *appanem*

DAT. GEN. ABL.

600-1000 *appaha.ū*

appā ? (PPr. 1.30)

700-1200

1000 *appa-hu*

.. *appaṇa, appāṇa*

1100 *appaṇu*

1200 *appaha*

appa-ho

LOCATIVE

500 ?

600-1000 *appaē*

700-1200

1000 *appi*

1100

1200

§129B. THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN *-appa*

MASC. SING. NUMBER

THE DIRECT CASE

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>zcrb</i>	..	..

A.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
700-1200	..	..	(^u <i>ā</i>) zero
1000	(^u <i>ā</i>) zero	-u	..
	-u	-u ^h <i>m</i>	
	-a ^u <i>ū</i>		
	- ^h <i>m</i> (Acc.)		
1100	zero	-u	..
	-u	..	
	-a ^u <i>m</i> (<i>Sn.</i> 20-190)		
1200	-u, -a ^u <i>ū</i>	..	..
..	zero	..	
	-a ^u <i>ū</i> (Acc.)	..	
.. INSTRUMENTAL			
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	-e, (- ^h <i>ē</i>)	..	..
	-i ^h <i>m</i> (<i>PPr.</i> 1.76)		
700-1200	zero ? (<i>PPr.</i> 1.30)		- ^h <i>hi</i>
1000	-(^u <i>ā</i>) ^e	-e ^h <i>ṇa</i>	..
	-u ? (<i>Pd.</i> 83)	-u ?	..
1100	..	.. ..	..
1200	-e ^h <i>m</i>	.. ..	..
DAT. GEN. ABL.			
500	..	..	..
600-1000	- ^h <i>ha</i> ^u		
	zero ? (<i>PPr.</i> 1.30)		
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	- ^h <i>hu</i>	..	..
	zero		
1100	-u ?	..	..
1200	- ^h <i>ha</i>		
	- ^h <i>ho</i>		

LOCATIVE

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	-e	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-i	..	..
1100	..	..	..
1200	..	..	..

MISCELLANEOUS PRONOUNS

§130. Out of the remaining pronouns *anya*, *sarva* and *itara* are more important. The number of their forms is too small and too unimportant to require chrono-regional analysis. They are not, therefore, tabulated in *Comp. Tables*. Their Pkt. forms are recorded by PISCHEL in *Grammatik* §§ 433-4.

(a) *anya*-

The following forms are found in Ap. literature :

Nom. Acc. Sg.: WSEAp. *anna*, *annu*; WEAp. *anna*, WAp. *anu*.

Gen. sing. : *annaha*.

Instr. Plur. *annanna-hi*, *annonnihī*, *annahī*. (The first two are traceable to OIA (*anyanya*)-).

Prakritisms need not be noted. The terms. are also the normal ones of the -a stems.

(b) *sarva*-

The form *sāha* < *sāśvat*,¹⁸⁵ is not popular though it is sanctioned as a substitute for *sarva* by Hc. 8.4.366. The following are some of the declined forms in Ap. literature :

Nom. Acc. sg.: *savva*, *savu* (cf. H. *sab*), *sahu*, *sāhu*, *savvui* (< *sarva cit* in *BhK*. 12.12.7 GUNÉ's Ed.)

185 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, §§ 64, 262, 434.

Abl. sg.: *savva-ho*, *savvattay* (<*sarvata-kaḥ* used adverbially in *Bhṣ.* 12.12.7 GUNÉ's Ed.)

Gen. sg.: *savva-ho*.

Abl. Gen. Plur.: *savva-haṇ*.

Morphologically this corresponds to the declension of *-a* stems.

(c) *itara*.

This is declined like other normal *-a* stems. To mention a few forms :

Nom. Acc. sg.: Masc. Neut. *iyaru* ; Fem. *iyara*.

Gen. sg.: *iyara-hu*, *iyara-ssu*-

Nom. Acc. Plur. *iyare* (cf. OIA Masc. Plur. *sarve* etc)

Gen. Plur. *iyaresi* (Prākṛitism).

As there is nothing remarkable regarding the declension of these we can pass on to Pronominal Adjectives.

PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES.

§131. Personal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative and other pronouns have contributed different types of adjectives to Ap. literature. Though the formative suffixes are noted in a separate chapter later on (Ch. IV. *Nominal Stem-Formation in Apabhraṃśa.*), a few adjectival suffixes are noted in passing here.

1—4 *-āra*, *-āraa*, Fem. *-erī* :

Possessive adjectives which form an important class of pronomina, adjectives, take these suffixes. They are traceable to MIA **kāra* **-kāri* <*kārya* which are usually used with Gen. form. (Compare the use of the post-positions *kera*, *keraa* < OIA *kārya*. < See §103). We have the following possessive adjectives from the above suffixes :

1st Person : Sing. — *mahāra*, *mahāraū*.

Fem. *mahāri* (<*maha- *kāri*) ; *hamāra*, *ri* (by Metathesis of the above) ; *mera* (<**ma-kera*), *merī* (<**ma-kerī*).

Plural : *amhāraya*, *amhārā*, *amhārī* (<*asma-kāra-ka *kāri*).

2nd Person: sing. — *tuhāra*, *tuhāraa*, *tuhāraū* (*tuha- *kāra*) *terau*,

Fem. *terī* (<*tva>ta kera*, *kerī*).

3rd Person: EAp. *tāhara* (<**tāha-kara* ?)

maha- and *tuha-* are the Gen. sings. and the use of *kera* with Gen. is a common Ap. idiom. (See §103). Proto-Marathi seems to have lost it at some period between 1150-1250 A.D., though it is found in SAp. of the 10th and the 11th centuries. Other branches of NIA have preserved these forms.

5-6 *-isa*, *-risa*.

-isa and *-risa* (OIA *-dṛśa*) are added to Pronominal themes to form adjectives in Ap. e.g., *jaīsa* (*yādṛśa*), *taīsa* (*tādṛśa*), *kaīsa* (**kādṛśa*) *aīsa* (**a-dṛśa*), *kerisa* (*kīdṛśa*), *hārīsa* (*asmādṛśa*), *tumharisa* (**tuṣmā-dṛśa*), *annāīsa* (*anyādṛśa*), *avarāīsa* (**aparādṛśa*). NIA forms e.g., M. *jasā*, *tasā*, *kasā*, *asā*, H. *kaisā*, *aisā* etc., are traceable to these Ap. forms.

7. *-eha*

The *-sa* element in the above (5-6) suffixes is changed to *-ha* in Ap. e.g., *kehaū*, *keha*, Fem. *kāhī* (<*kīdṛśa kaīsa*). So also *eha* <Ap. *aīsa*, *jeha* <Ap. *jaisa*, *teha* <Ap. *taīsa* etc.¹⁸⁶

Adjectives showing extent are of two types : (1) *kiyat* type and (ii) **vṛddha* type. The following are the suffixes of the first type :

8-10. *-(e-, i-)ttiya*, *-(e-, i-)ttila*, *-(e-i-)ttula*. e.g., *kettiya*, *kittiu* (*kiyat*) cf. Pali. *kiitaka*, *ettiya* (*iyat*) cf. Pali *ettaka*; *ettii* (*etāvat*), *jettiya*, *tetti-ya* etc. Sometimes these take pleonastic *-la* giving us *ettita*, *jettila*, *tettila*, *kettila* and *jettula*, *tettula*, *kettula* and others.

(ii) Adjectives of the second type take the following suffixes :

11-12. *-vaḍḍha*, *-vaḍu*. e.g., *jevaḍu*, *tevaḍu*, *kevaḍḍha*, *evaḍḍha* etc.

PISCHEL traces these *evaḍu* and *evaḍḍha* forms to **ayavaddra*.¹⁸⁷ Thus **kiyadvṛddha* > **ke-vṛddha* > *kevaḍḍha*, *kevaḍu* is the history of these forms. The same is the case with other *-vaḍḍha* and *-vaḍu* adjectival forms.

Both these types are conserved in NIA e.g., H. *itnā*, M. *itkā* (<*iyat*) ; H. *kitnā*, M. *kitī* (<*kiyat*). So also with *evaḍḍhā*, *kevaḍḍhā*, *tevaḍḍhā* and other Marathi forms.¹⁸⁸ Marathi retained the older suffix *-vaḍḍha* while Guj. prefers the later *-vaḍu* development.

186 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 262.

187 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 434.

188 For more NIA forms and the connection of **vṛddha*, see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 203.

CHAPTER III

CONJUGATION IN APABHRAMĒA

§ 132. The verbal system in Ap. is chiefly based on the phonological and morphological simplification of this system in OIA and Pkts. As in declension, the verbal system in IA shows a continuous process of simplification and modification, and conjugation in Ap. forms the medial stage between Pkts. and old NIA.¹ There are relics of some OIA archaisms out of which some are unrepresented in classical Sk. These have percolated to Ap. either through Pkt. speech or through the influence of AMg. which is rich in such forms.² Most of the Ap. writers being Jains, the influence of AMg. on Ap. is understandable.

As shown by Jules Bloch in 'La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit',³ and *L'indo-aryen*,⁴ the substitution of the nominal phrase for verb-system is the normal rule in epic Sk., MIA and NIA. Ap. is, of course, no exception to it. The gradual change in the verbal system of IA reached such a stage in Ap. as made it (the verbal-system in Ap.) appear to be based on :

- (1) the verbal group depending on the Present Indicative of OIA (and to a certain extent the Future and the Imperative in pre-Ap. IA), and
- (2) a group of nominal forms based on the verbal system noted above.

We find a similar state in Conjugation in NIA.⁵

Themes

§ 133. As in Pkts. verbal themes in Ap. repose on the following systems in OIA :

- (i) The Present System—the basis of the Present and Future Indicative, the Present Imperative, the Present Participle and the Infinitive.
- (ii) The Past Passive Participles.

Ap. roots are either transitive or intransitive, the former being many times active in sense. Again Ap. roots may be either primitive (simple) or causative in form.

1 For the development of the verbal system in pre-Ap. IA. see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 207-36. BLOCH's treatment of Pk. verbal system (p. 235-6) is very brief.

2 See FICKEL, *Grammatik*, §§515-8.

3 *MSL*. XIV. 81 ff.

4 *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 351-85.

5 See BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 235.

The sources of verbal bases in Ap. are (i) Present Active bases, (ii) Present Passive bases, (iii) Past Passive Participles, and (iv) Onomatopoeic.* The following are some of the examples.

(i) *Present Active bases:*

(1) OIA verbal bases of the present with the *-a* suffix in Ap., though originally they belonged to different classes (*gaṇas*) in OIA e.g., *pāvaṣ* (**prāpati*=*prāpnoti*), *ruvaṣ*, *ruaṣ* (**rudati*=*roditi*), *karaṣ* (**karati*=*karoti*), *bhaṣ* (*bibheti*), *ukkhinaṣ* (*utkṣipati* but *ut-khanati* according to some editors e.g., JACOBI see *BhK. Glossar*, p. 132), *hanaṣ* (**hanati*=*hanti*).

Under these, we may include roots of the 10th class and denominatives, where the Ap. forms do not inherit the augment *-aya-*, but the original roots.

e.g., *āyapaṇaṣ* (*ā-karna-*), *cinta-hiṃ* (*cinta-*), *tālaṇṭi* (*tāḍ-*), *vāvaraṣ* (*vyāpāra-*) SAp. *tandijjaṣ* (*tandā-*), EAp. *bakkhānaṣ* (*vyākhyāna-*). Relics of *-aya-* are sometimes found in forms like *abbhatthemī* (*abhi-√arthay-*).

(2) Stem forms of OIA which are to be reconstructed, e.g., *dekkhaṣ* (**drkṣ-*), *muṇaṣ* (<*man-* cf. *muni* 'a sage').

(3) Themes with a nasal which generally signifies some conjunct consonant in the original form. e.g., *jampaṣ* (*jalp-*), *gunthaṣ* (*grathnāti* <*grth* ?), *jimghai* (*jighra*=*ghrā*), *vindhaṣ* (*vidhya-*).

(ii) *Present Passive bases :*

Themes with the suffix *-ya*, under which category we can include OIA passive verbs. e.g., *uppajjaṣ* (*-ut-pad-ya*), *ghippaṣ* (**ghrp-ya*=*kṣip-*) *callaṣ* (*cal-ya*), *thippaṣ* (*stip-ya*), *phiṭṭaṣ* (*sphīṭ-ya*), *buṇṇaṣ* (*budh-ya*) but *bojjhu* < *budhyasva* (DKs. 53) is active, *lippaṣ* (*lip-ya*).

(iii) *Past Passive Participles:*

PP. participles in OIA supply a great many verbal bases in Ap. e.g., EAp. *mukkeṣ*, WSAp. *mukkaṣ* (**mukna*=*mukta*) EAp. *paṭṭhaṣ* (*praviṣṭa-*) WSAp. *saṃṭhaḍaṣ* (*saṃstṛta-*), *lagga-ṣ* (*lagna-*, *lag-ya* is also possible).

(iv) *Onomatopoeic :*

In Ap. narrative works, there are many onomatopoeic verbs e.g., *gulagulaṣ* "trumpets" (like an elephant), *salasalaṣ* "rustles," *pupphuvaṣ* "hisses," *lalalalanti* cf. M. *lalalalaṇṇ*, *kilikilanti* "exult with joy" (? *Hv.*

* GRIERSON'S classification of verbal bases in MIA is from a different standpoint. See 'The Prakrit Dhātuvācśas according to the Western and Eastern School of Prakrit Grammarians.' *JASB*, 1924.

84.5.9). The number of such onomatopoeic expressions and reduplicatives is very large in Ap.

Enlargement of bases by the addition of *-ra*, *-ṣa*, *-alla*, *-illa*, *-ulla* etc. are discussed in Ch. IV § 158.

Causatives

§134. Causative formations in Ap. take the augment *-ava* in WAp. and *-aba* in EAp., (cf. OIA *-paya*, Pali. *-paya*, *-pe*, Inscriptional Pkt. *-apa*).

e.g., WAp. *dāvaḥ* (*dā-*), *ṭhāvaḥ* (*ṭhā=sthā-*), *viṇṇavaḥ* (*vi-jñā-*), *cintavaḥ* (*cint-*), SAp. *jemāvaḥ* ($\sqrt{\text{jima}}$ 'to eat, to take one's meals'), *bolāvaḥ* (*bolai* 'to speak'), *tosāvaḥ* (*tuṣ-*), EAp. *paribhāvaḥ* (*pari-bhū-*), *dahāvaḥ* (*dah-*).

(1) Sometimes there is a *vṛddhi* of the radical vowel (chiefly of *-a-*, and *guṇa* of radical *-i-*, *-u-*) of the primitive root, and the morpheme *-aya-* is added to it.

e.g., *jhamkhāvaḥ* ($\sqrt{\text{jhamkha}}$ 'to get angry' vide Hc. 8.4.140), here *-a* being followed by the nasal, is not lengthened. SAp. *nāsaḥ* (*nāś-*), *rāvaḥ* (*ram-* but usually equated with $\sqrt{\text{rañj-}}$), *bhesāvaḥ* (*bhī-*). cf. OIA *bhīṣayati*, *lehāviya* (*likh-*). cf. *likhapita* in Inscr. Pkts., *mellāviya* (*milla=muc-*), WAp. *khāviya* (*khād-*).

(2) Sometimes *-āva-* is simply added to the primitive root e.g.

SAp. *ṇaccāvaḥ* (*ṇṛtya=ṇṛt-*), *bolāvaḥ* (*bolla-*) *lhikkāvaḥ* (*lhikka* 'to conceal'), WAp. *caḍāviya* ($\sqrt{\text{cṛt}}$ 'to ascend' or IE **qelde'*), *khaṇāviya* (*khan-*), *viyasāvaḥ* (*vi-kas-*).

(3) Some primitive and causal forms are identical. e.g., *nāsaḥ* (*nāṣayati*, *nāṣayati*). *pāvaḥ* (**prāpati*: *prāpayati*), *dalāḥ* (*dalati*: *dalayati*), *khavaḥ* (*kṣamati*: *kṣāmayati*). $\sqrt{\text{kṣap-}}$ also), *gamāḥ* (**gamati*: *gamayati*), *gamāḥ* (*namati*: *namayati*).

(4) There are some cases of double causatives: e.g., *kārāviya* (*kar-*), *khāvāviya* (*khād-*), *devāviya* (*dā-*), *mārāviya* (*mar-*), *hārāveḥ* (*har-*).

(5) Some causative affixes of NIA type e.g., *-āḍ*, *-ār*, *-āl*, were observed in Ap. e.g., *bhamāḍaḥ* (*bhram-*) cf. Guj. *bhamāḍvū*, *paśāraḥ* (*pra-viṣ-*) cf. Guj. *paśārvū*, H. *paśāra* 'access, admission.' *vaśāraḥ* (*upa-viṣ-*) cf. Guj. *beśāḍvū* *vaddhāraḥ* (*vṛddha<vṛdh-*) cf. Guj. *vadhāro*, *dekkhālaḥ* (**dṛkṣ-*) cf. H. *dikkhāṇā*

(6) Ap. literature, being classical, contains a number of Sanskritisms. e.g., *appai* (*arpayati*), *janai* (*janayati*), *ḍvaṭṭai* (*ḍvartayati*), *darisai*, *damṣai* (*darśayati*), *pāḍhai* (*pāṭhayati*), *mārai* (*mārayati*).

§ 135. The study of these causal formations shows the following types of regularising process corresponding to those in NIA.

(1) The *gunating* of the radical vowel,* *vyddhi* of radical -a- e.g.,
 ✓ *mār- mārāi* : *mārai* ; ✓ *paṭh- paḍhai* : *pāḍhai*, ✓ *ḍhala-ḍhalaḥ* : *ḍhālai* ;
 ✓ *jim- jimai* : *jemāvai* ✓ *dyut-jovai* : *joavai* (?) ; ✓ *tuṣ- tusaḥ* : *tōṣāvai* ;
 ✓ *chuka-chuḥ* : *ch(s)-johai* ; ✓ *truṭ- vittuḍai* : *toḍai*.

(2) Corresponding to the 2nd type e.g., H. *paknā* : *pakānā*, *sukhnā* : *sukhānā* :⁹ we have :

✓ **nṛtya- naccai* : *naccāvai* ; *bolḷa- bolḷai* : *bolḷāvai*

✓ *lhikka-lhikkaḥ* : *lhikkāvai* ; vi-✓ *kas- viyasai* : *viyasāvai*.

(3) The suffixes -āṛ, -aḍ, -āl of the NIA type are noted above in 135. (5).

PRESENT INDICATIVE

§ 136. The following are the desinences of the Present Indicative according to Pk. grammarians :

SINGULAR

1st Person :

-*mi* (*Hc.* 4.385, *Ld.* 4.51).

-*āmi* (*Rt.* 26).

-*um* (*Hc.* 4.385).

-*u* (*Ld.* 4.54).

2nd Person :

-*hi*, -*si*, (*Hc.* 4.383 so also *Tr. Ld.*, *Rt.* 26, 27).

3rd Person :

-*i*

-*di* (*Pu.* 72, *Hc.* 4.393 ex., *Rt.* 26, 27).

-*edi* (*Rt.* 26, 27).

-*e* -*do-*

⁸ BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 241-3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-5.

PLURAL

1st Person :

-mu (Hc. 4.386, Ld. 4.55).*-hum* (Hc. 4.386, Tr. Ld., 4.55, Pu. 72, Mk. 58, Rt. 26).*-mo* (Ld. 4.55).*-ma* *-do-*

2nd Person :

-hu (Hc. 4.384, Tr. Ld. 4.53, Rt. 27).*-ha* (Hc. 4.384, Ld. 4.53).*-iddhā* (Ld. 4.53).

3rd Person :

-him (Hc. 4.382, Tr. Ld. 4.51, Rt. 27).*-nti* (Hc. 4.382, Ld. 4.51).*-nte* (Ld. 4.51).*-ire* *-do-*

The pre-Ap. MIA background will be clear from the following Pali and Pkt., terms.

PALI

Sing.

Plur.

1st Person *-āmi* (<OIA *-āmi*)*-āma* (<OIA *-āmaḥ*, *-āmo*)2nd Person *-asi* (<OIA *-asi*)*-atha* (<OIA *-atha*).3rd Person *-ati* (<OIA *-ati*)*-anti* (<OIA *-anti*).LITERARY PRAKRITS¹⁰1st Person *-ami*, *-e*2nd Person *-asi*, *-ase**-aha*, JŚ. Mg. Dh. *-adha*. P. CP. *-atha*.3rd Person *-ati*, *-ae**anti*.JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. *-adi*,*-ante**-ade*P. CP. *-ati*.

Out of the two chief alternative terms. (viz. *-ami* and *-aū*), *-aū* (i.e., *-ū* *-ū*, *u*) is a *bona fide* Ap. desinence. *-ami*, *emi*, *-imi* (the latter ones

are comparatively rare), are the same as or altered forms of OIA -*ami*. -*āvi* in *Hv.* (and it is limited to that work) is nothing but -*ami* with the change of intervocalic -*m*->-*v*-. (vide *Hc.* 8.4.397, also 59). Even in *Hv.* it is rare as is seen from ALSDORF's calculation of terms. of Pres. Ind. 1 P. sing.¹¹ -*āū* is an important desinence, as it is conserved in old NIA.¹² It is not traceable to Pk. -*amu*<*-*āvu*>-*āū*, but it is the influence of 1 P. Nom. sg. pronominal ending -*āū*. We have such instances in MIA e.g., Pali 1 sing. Optative *vatteyyāham* **vatteyaṃ aham*, and Aśokan *vaṭṭe'ham*.¹³

Although we have both of these terms. for 1st per. sing., a calculation of morphological frequency shows that *āū* became more popular than -*ami* during the centuries between *Vk.* (500 A.D.?) and *Kp.* (1194 A.D.) in WAp. In *Vk.* -*āū* forms are absent, while in *Kp.* the proportion of -*āū* -*emi* and -*imi* is 11 : 4—that is all types of -*mi* endings are only one-third of -*āū* ones.¹⁴ In SAp. of 100 A.D., (if *Hv.* be the representative text) the proportion of -*ami*: -*āvi*: -*āū* is 86 7:1.¹⁵ Probably Puṣpadanta was a purist and wished to emulate Sk. and Pkt. epics, hence -*āū* may be an exceptional form. But if that be the real spoken stage (and SAp. is much conservative) -*ami* seems to be very popular in Mahārāṣṭra in 965 A.D. Are we to connect 1 P. sg. -*ē*, *ī*- in Old M. (e.g., in the *Jñāneśvari*) to this? The intermediate stage -*āvi* is represented in *Hv.*, and it is more popular than -*āū*. Thus -*ami* may be taken as the characteristic term. of SAp., while in WAp. -*ami* gave place to -*āū* during the 700 years between *Vk.* and *Kp.* We find both in EAp.

2nd P. Sing.

Out of the two chief terms. -*asi* (-*esi*, -*isi*) and -*ahi* (-*ehi* -*hi*), -*ahi* is the real Ap. development. Jules BLOCH¹⁶ and L. H. GRAY¹⁷ trace it to Imp. 2p. *-*dhi*. In earlier WAp. texts -*ahi* endings were in overwhelming majority, and the term. remained popular throughout the Ap. period (at least in speech) as there is no -*sa* element in Pres. 2p sg. of the NIA languages of that region. e.g., Guj. *cāle* (√*cala*) Jaipuri *calai*, Awadhi *calai*, Braj. *calai*, H. *cale*. Due to the strong

¹¹ ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* §55.

¹² BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 248-9; also R. HOERNLE, *Comparative Grammar of Gudian Languages*, London, 1880, p. 335.

¹³ Louis H. GRAY sees some II. influence in the 1st P. pronoun in MIA and here (*BSOS* VIII-ii-iii, p. 567). He points out that FISCHER's comparison of -*am* with OIA -*aki* forms e.g., *yāmaki*=*yāmi* (*Grammatik* § 454) is improbable. cf. L. RENOUE—*Grammaire Sanscrite* Paris, 1930, p. 247 quoted by GRAY in *BSOS* VIII, ii-iii above.

¹⁴ ALSDORF's calculation of forms (as is given in Intro. to *Kp.* § 35a) is followed here.

¹⁵ ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* § 55.

¹⁶ *L'indo-aryen*, p. 247 implicitly.

¹⁷ *BSOS* VIII ii-iii, 567.

influence of Sk. and Pkt., WAp. texts show a growth of *-asi* forms. The following table of frequencies will make this point clear.

BhK.	(1000 A.D.)	-ahi (47) : -asi (2)
Sc.	(1158 A.D.)	-asi.
Kp.	(1194 A.D.)	-ahi (7) : -asi (13).

(Kp. has *-asi* (7), *-ēsi* (5), *-ahi* (4+1), *-āhi* (2), W. *desi*¹⁸)

In SAP. in the 10th cent. A.D., the proportion between *-asi* and *-ahi* is 2 : 25,¹⁹ but due to the revival of Brahmanism and Sk. during 1100-1300 A.D., in Mahārāṣṭra, *-s-* element predominated again, and we find *-asi* and *-isi* 2p. sgs. in Old Marathi. *-asu* in forms e.g., *bhumjejjasu* (*bhu-*), *ni-vasijjasu* (*ni-√vas-*) in *ṣṭ.*, is clearly traceable to OIA *-sua* of Imp. 2p. sg.

In EAp. *-asi* is the only desinence and *-sa* is seen in Pres. 2p. sg. of Beng. Maith. and other modern representatives of EAp. cf. Pres. 2 sg. Beng. *calis* 'thou walkest,' Maith. *dekhasi* 'thou seest'.

3rd P. Sing.

The 3rd p. sing. is common throughout the Ap. period of all regions, and is an undisputed predecessor of most of NIA terms. of Pres. 3 p. sg. A few forms in EAp. deserve notice. SHAHIDULLA supposes that *paḍihāa* (DKs. 87), *bhāya* (DKK. 19), *mara* (DKs. 93), are the special forms in the *Dohākoṣas* taking *-aa* and *-a* desinences, though they were probably pronounced as *-āi* or *-i*.²⁰ The following is the context of these forms :

- (1) *siddho so puṇa takkhaṇe nāu jarā-marāṇa-ha- bhāya.*

'The very moment he is a Perfect Soul, he has no fear from old age and death' (DKK. 19). Here *bhāya* is not *bibheti* as SHAHIDULLA takes it²¹ but rather* *bhāta*=*bhīta* PP. of *√bhī-* cf. *bhāyayati*, *bhāpayati* *bhī-*.

- (2) *nīa pōsa baiṭṭhi citte bhatthi joinimahu paḍihāa* (DKs. 87.)

Here *paḍihāa*=*prati***bhāta*, and not a verb *pratibhāti* as SHAHIDULLA takes it.²²

18 ALSDORF, Intro. to *Kp.* § 35(a).

19 ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* § 55.

20 SHAHIDULLA, Intro. to *Les Chants Mystiques*, p. 43.

21 *Vocabulaire, Les Chants Mystiques*, p. 105.

22 *Les Chants Mystiques*, p. 43, 212. On p. 179 SHAHIDULLA translates the verse as follows : 'Assise près de son époux, corrompue dans l'esprit—ainsi m'apparait une femme ascète.'

(9) *jima tisā histāne dhābai*
mara sōse nabhajalu kaḥ pābaī.

'Just as the thirsty one runs out of thirst and dies with a dry throat...'
 (DKs. 93). Here *mara* appears to stand for *moroi* (**maratī*=*mriyate*),²³
 the contraction *-at*>*-a* being *metri causa*. These special desinences of
 EAp. viz., *-aa* and *-a* are otherwise difficult to explain. Forms in *-ā*
 and *-āi* in EAp. are passive ones.

In WAp. the special forms in *-di* (e.g., *bruvadi* in Hc. Kc.) and *-a*
 (e.g., *cintae* in Kp. J. 34.1*) are Prakritisms, the former a Śaurasenism.

Plural

Out of the Plur. number, the 2nd p. has *-ahā*, *-aha* and *-ahu* endings.
 BLOCH²⁴ and GRAY²⁵ trace it to Pres. 2 plur. **-thas* (on the analogy
 of 1 Plur. *-mas*) rather than the ordinary *-(a)tha* giving *-aha* in Pkt.
 That there is some contamination or confusion between the desinences
 of the Pres. Ind. and the Imp. in 2nd pers., is clear from the fact that
-ahu and *-aha* are used for Imp. 2 plur. *-ahu* of SAp. which appears as
 frequently as *-aha*,²⁶ can thus be satisfactorily explained. Desinences
 of 2 plur. in NIA e.g., M. *-ā*, *-ā*, Sdh. *-o*, Lahndi-*o*, Cameali *-ā*, Guj.
 Mar. (Jaipuri) *-o*, Awadhi, *-u* (i.e., *-au*), H. *-o*, Braj. *-u*—all are traceable
 to these Ap. forms. It is the *-h-* in these which accounts for the other-
 wise inexplicable *-h* in 1st and 3rd p. plur. *ahū* and *ahī*.

1st Plural

The 1st Plur. term. *-ahū* has been a bone of contention among
 linguists for a long time. HOERNLE supposes that the form *-ahū*
 probably contains a euphonic *-h-* for *-aū*<Pk. *-amu*, perhaps to dis-
 tinguish it from the 1st p. sing. *-aū* . . . and to assimilate it to the 3rd
 p. plur. *-ahī*.²⁷ COWELL gives optional 1st p. plur. terms. *-amho*,
-amha (e.g., *hasamho*, *hasamha*< $\sqrt{\text{has}}$).²⁸ These, if correct, would
 account for the *-h-* in Ap. *-ahū*. COWELL, however, admits that he knows
 no authority for them. FISCHER admits the obscurity of the origin of this
 1st p. plur. *-hū* though he suggests the similarity between this and Abl.
 plur. *-hū*.²⁹ BLOCH traces in it the influence of *-hu* of the 2nd plur.

23 cf. *Less Chants Mystiques*, p. 43, p. 216.

24 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 247, though indirectly.

25 L. H. GRAY, *BSOS*, VIII, ii-iii, p. 567.

26 See ALSDORF, Intro. to Hc. § 55.

27 R. Hoernle, *Comp. Gram.* § 497.

28 COWELL, [*Prākṛta Prakāśa* XXIX. Also LASSEN, *Institutiones* 335.

29 FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 455.

pers. and of Pk. -amho.³⁰ According to Louis H. GRAY Ap. *vaffahā* is from OIA **vartatham* < *vartatha* ~ Ap. *vaffaū*.³¹

In Ap. Morphology vowel + -sm- + vowel resulted into vowel + -h- + nasalized vowel e.g., *tasmāt* > *tahā*, *tasmin* > *tahī*. We can thus trace -ahū to OIA *asmaka*, the Nom. plur. of 1st pers. Pronoun. In Pali also we have *vatteyāmhe* < *vattey amheā*. The nasal in -ahū is due to the influence of 1st p. sg. -aū. It may not be impossible that the -h- element in 2nd p. plur. had some influence in having a -h- in 1st p. plur. also. This -ahū is the source of 1st p. plur. in NIA. e.g., M. -o, -ū, Sdh. -ū, Nep. -(a) ū, Maith. Beng. -ō. to mention a few important NIA languages.

3rd Plural

Out of the two terms, of 3rd p. plur. -anti is a continuation of pre-Ap. IA, and -ahī is the real Ap. development. It can never be traced to -anti, but is an analogical formation after the 1st Pers. :

1st p. sg. -aū : Plur -ahū.

3rd p. sg. -aī : „ -ahī.

-h- in both might be due to -h- in 2nd p. plur.

In WAp. -anti was the only term. in *Vk.*, but that term. was dying out fast and giving place to -ahī which appears first in *PPr.* The following is the frequency of -anti and -ahī from 1000 A.D., in WAp. (The calculation is adopted from the relevant sections of *Introductions* to these works.)

	-anti	:	-ahī
<i>BhK.</i> (1000 A.D.)	65	:	10
<i>Sc.</i> (1158 A.D.)	10	:	30
<i>Kp.</i> (1194 A.D.)	5	:	33

This fact is borne out by the 3rd p. plur. terms. of NIA of that region e.g., Guj., Mar., H., Braj. In SAP. -ahī is rare, and 3rd p. plur. of M. and Konk. is evolved out of -anti. The same is the case with EAp. and NIA languages of the East e.g., Maith., Beng.³²

The special terms. of the 'Eastern' Pkt. grammarians viz., 1 p. pl. -mha (*Mk.* .58,50), and 3 p. sg. -di, -edi, -e (*Rt.* 26, 27) are not represented in EAp.

³⁰ BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 247.

³¹ GRAY, *BSOS*, VIII, ii-iii pp. 563-77.


³² See BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 246.

136A. PRESENT INDICATIVE.

1st Person Sing.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>pāvami</i> <i>abbhatthemī</i> <i>pucchimi</i>	..	..
600-	<i>bhaṇami, akkhami</i>	..	..
1000	<i>vandau, kijjau</i>		
700-	..	..	<i>acchaū, jāṇau</i>
1200			<i>jāṇami (DKs. 92)</i>
1000	(1) <i>karauṃ, °u, jovaūṃ</i> <i>caḍḍavaūṃ</i> (2) <i>akkhami, karami,</i> <i>sikkhavami,</i> <i>ukkhīṇami, acchami,</i> <i>samāsami.</i>	(1) <i>kahaūṃ karauṃ</i> <i>lehuṃ (Hv. 84.15.6)</i> (2) <i>ghallami, acchami</i> <i>ṇihālamī, pheḍami,</i> <i>dakkhālamī</i> <i>samāsami, lemi</i>	..
1100	<i>savaū</i> <i>pekkhami, bīhemi</i>	<i>chaṇḍauṃ</i> <i>sarami, heremi,</i> <i>karami.</i>	..
1200	<i>laggaūṃ, pariyāṇauṃ, kaḍḍhaūṃ,</i> <i>bandhiijau (Kp. J. 63.2)</i> (3, 4) <i>saḷahemi, muṇāmi.</i>	<i>haraūṃ, karauṃ, giṇḥauṃ,</i> (2) <i>karimi, thāmi,</i>	

2nd Person Sing.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	<i>mellahi, hohi</i> <i>muṇahi, pāvahi</i>	..	
700-1200	..	..	<i>bujjha-si</i> <i>pābasi.</i>

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	<i>karahi, ullūriyahi, acchahi, karahi, nehi paḍāsi (Pd. 91)</i>	<i>ghallahi, nivasahi, ghattahi, bhunjejjasu, nivasijjasu.</i>	
1100	..	<i>jamṇahi, acchahi</i>	..
1200	<i>karahi, bubbuyahi, pecchahi, muṇahi. hārāvehi, saccavēhi. karasi, hōrasi, pattijjasi ; muṇesi.</i>	..	

3rd Person Sing.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>ottharai, mellai, parisakkai varisei.</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>phāsai, dekhai, muṇai, vilai havei, galei, muṇei.</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	(1) <i>bhamijjai, kijjai, munai, puchai, chadḍai, takka, dekkhai, dei.</i> (2) <i>muṇai.</i> (3) <i>bhāya (DĀ. 19) paḍihāa (DĀ. 87), mara (DĀ. 93).</i>	
1000	(1) <i>thāharai, buḍḍai, cadhai, bujjhai, ṇavaī vaḍavaḍai, phittai, choḍai, karai, khampaī</i>	<i>ghoṭṭai, thakkai, ḍollaī jokkhai, dāvai, viṇṇavaī, dubbhai, cakkhai.</i>	..
..	(2) <i>karei, mailei, bhamei.</i>		
1100	(1) <i>jamṇai, muṇai, gheppai, hoi, dijai.</i>	(1) <i>pabhāṇai, acchai, sambhavai kīrai</i>	..
	(2) <i>raṇetti (DS. 4.5.1)</i>	(2) <i>pujji (KĀ. 10.4.5)</i>	

A.D.	WAp.
1200	(1) <i>āyaṇṇaī, akkandaī, jāṇaī, bhiyaī, suyaī, jhalahalaī, lahalahaī</i> <i>munāī, thāī, karaī.</i> (2) <i>peccheī, cintei, karei, cintae</i> (Kp. J: 34.1*) Special forms : <i>bruvaī, vuṭṭaī, prassadi, grṇhaī</i> (Kc. & Hc.)

1st Person Plural

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
No forms upto 1000 A.D., were traced.			
1000	(1) <i>khamāvahā, ghallahā, avayarahum</i> <i>jāṇahā, jāhā.</i> (2) <i>jāhū, mṇahū.</i>	<i>gacchāmo</i> (Pkt.)	..
1100	..	<i>karahum, ṇavahum</i> <i>dekkahum</i> <i>jāhum</i> (?)	..
1200	(1) <i>ekkhahum, mṇahum</i> <i>karahū, jāyahū</i> (2) <i>vinṇavimō</i>	..	..

2nd Person Plural

No forms upto 1000 A.D., were found.

1000	(1) <i>acchahu, saṃcallahu, karaḥa, paḍivujjaha</i> <i>karahu, cintijjahu</i> (2) <i>ghallah</i> (?)		..
1100	<i>icchahu</i>	..	..
1200	<i>acchahu, icchahu</i> <i>acchaha, icchaha.</i>	..	..

3rd Person Plural

500 ?	<i>kīlanti</i>	..	..
600-1000	(1) <i>acchah</i> , <i>vacchah</i> .	..	..
1000.	<i>maṇṇahū, bujjahū.</i>		..
700-1200	(2) <i>bhaṇanti, mucanti</i>		..

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
1000	(1) <i>karahim, laggahim, pūrahim, lahahim, kaṭṭah.</i> (2) <i>uppajjaṁ. (Sdd. 22) ḍasanti</i> (3) <i>vaccanti, thanti, dharanti, karanti, acchanti, ghippanti.</i>	(1) <i>melavahim, harahim, hiṇḍahim.</i> (2) <i>hūlanti, modanti, rahanti, ghoṭṭanti, loṭṭanti.</i> (1) <i>phalahim, jāhim, samcallahim.</i> (2) <i>harahim, āvahim.</i>

A.D.	WAp.
1200	(1) <i>āvahī, karahī, vaccahī, lahahī, khillahī, ṇi-sunahī, dharahim, cintahim, dāmsahim, pasamsahim.</i> (2) <i>payampahi (Jdc. 11.1), bhaṇijjahi (Jdc. 5.4).</i> (3) <i>talanti, karanti, hanti, inti (Sn. 15.296).</i>

§136B. PRESENT INDICATIVE.

1st Person Sing.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>-ami, -emi, -imi</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>-ami</i> <i>-aū.</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	..	(1) <i>-aū</i> (2) <i>-ami.</i>
1000	(1) <i>-aūm</i> (2) <i>-ami</i>	(1) <i>-aūm, -um (Hv. 84.15.6)</i> (2) <i>-ami, -emi (rare).</i>	
1100	(1) <i>-aū</i> (2) <i>-ami, -emi (rare)</i>	(1) <i>-aūm</i> (2) <i>-ami -emi (Kkc. 10.23.6) (rare).</i>	
1200	<i>-aūm, -aū</i> <i>-āmi, -em - mi</i> (comparatively rare).	..	..

A.D.	Wap.	Sap.	EAp.
<i>2nd Person Sing.</i>			
500 ?	..	..	..
600-1000	-ahi, -hi	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-asi.
1000	-ahi, -ehi (not frequent) -isi (rare)	-ahi -asu (Jc.)	.. ..
1100	..	-ahi	..
1200	-ahi -ehi -asi -esi (rare).	..	..
<i>3rd Person Sing.</i>			
500 ?	-ai -ei (rare,	..	..
600-1000	-ai, -āi (rare) -ei (chiefly in Cd.)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-ai, -i (DKJ. -iai (Pass.) -aa, -a
1000	-ai -ei (rare)	-ai..	....
1100	-ai -i (rare etti (Ds. 4.5.1)	-ai -i (rare) (KKc. 10.4.5)	..
1200	-ai, -i -ei (rare) -ae (Kp. J. 34.1*) -di (Hc. 4.393)	..	..
<i>1st Person Plural</i>			
No forms upto 1000 A.D., were traced.			
1000	(1) -ahā (2) -ahū	-ahum -amo (Pkt.)	

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1100	..	-ahum	
1200	-ahum, -ahū -imō (Pkt.)	..	..

2nd Person Plural

No forms upto 1000 A.D. were found.

1000	-ahu -ahā	-aha	..
1100	-ahu	..	..
1200	-ahu -aha.	..	..

3rd Person Plural

500 ?	-anti	..	..
600-1000	-ahīṣ -anti	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-ahim, -ahī -am, -anti	-ahim -anti	....
1100	-anti	-ahim -am	..
1200	-ahim, -ahī -ahī (Jdc.) -anti, -nti.	..	..

§ 137. Even in OIA, Pres. Ind. was used in the sense of the past and the immediate Future.³³ In Ap. also it stood for the same, and was widely used for the Historical Present and for the immediate future. As this is in no way a special characteristic of Ap. it is not illustrated.

³³ BLOCH, *MSL.* XIV, pp. 35-6, 67 and *FLM.* §238 where he refers to SPEYER, *Vedische u. Sanskrit Syntax* §§172-3.

IMPERATIVE

§138. The following are the special terms of the Imperative in Ap. according to Pk. grammarians. 1 p. plur. *-hum* (kt 66); 2 p. sg. *-i, -u, -e, -h* (Hc. 4.387, K 64); 3p. sg. *-ū* (K. 65). The remaining are the same as in Pkt. In Pkts. we get the following set of terms. for this mood.³⁴

Singular

1st p. (*-āmu*)

2nd p. zero (or *-a*), *-(a-, e-)su, -ehi*, Amg. also *-āhi*.

3rd p. *aū* Ś. Mg. Dh. *-adu*.

Plural

1st p. Amg. JM. *-ōmo*; Mah. Ś. Mg. Dh. also JM. *-(a-, e-)mha*

2nd p. *-aha*; Ś. Mg. (Dh.) *-adha, -edha*; CP. *-atha*.

3rd p. *-antu*.

The Comp. Tables of the desinences of the Imp. (§138A) show that there is a richer variety of terms. in Ap. literature than in Pk. grammars. Thus we have 11 terms. of 2. p. sg. in SAP. (1000 A.D.), 9 in WAp. (1200 A.D.), 7, but a different set of terms. in EAp. Secondly certain desinences recorded by Pk. grammarians viz., 1 p. plur. *-hum*, 3 p. plur. *-ahi* (as recorded in PISCHEL's Gram. §467, but which is originally a term. of the Present Ind.) are either untraced or exceptional in Ap. literature. Thirdly out of this variety of morphemes only 6 are common to all regions. They are as follows :

2 p. sg. : zero (i.e., *-a*), *-aha, -ahu*;

3 p. sg. : *-(a)u*, 3 p. plur. : *-(a)ntu*.

2 p. plur. : *-(a)hu*;

As expected there are no forms of 1 p. sing. and plur. *nehu* (*nayāma*) in Śn. 17-570 is the only exception. *-ru* in *bha yimu* (Sc. 337.9), *genhimu* (Sc. 400.8) are Prakritisms.

In 2 p. sg. we have a gradual growth in the number of terms. In Vt. (500 A.D. ?) we have only one term viz., *-ahi*. zero (i.e., *-a*) as in *pasiya=prāsīda* is Sanskritic. This *-ahi* is traceable to OIA 'athematic' term. *-dhi* (e.g., *kr̥dhi, juhudhi*) and has been extended to Pres. Ind. in Ap. (See §136). In the 10th Cent. A.D., *-ahi* spread all over

³⁴ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, §467.

India and was the most popular term. in SAp. as is seen from ALSDORF's calculation of term. in *Hv.*³⁵ as given below :

-*ahi* (71), -*u* (22), -*i* (32).

It was widely used in *BhK. Sdd. Pd.* in WAp., but it (-*ahi*) is not much popular in EAp.

In 600 A.D., -*i*, -*hu*, and -*u* came to be used in WAp. (in *PPr.* and *Ts.*). Is this -*i* due to OIA passive base+zero or the loss of -*h*- in -(*a*)*hi* mentioned above? Thus *sevi* in *PPr.* is probably derived from OIA **sevyā* if not from Ap. *sevahi*. We have -*ehi* in Pk. and -*āhi* in AMg. in pre-Ap. MIA. (See the Pk. terms. quoted above from PISCHEL's *Gram.* §467). -*hu* is obviously traceable to OIA *-*ihu* < OIA -*tha* ~ *u* that is a contamination of Sk. 2 p. plur. -*tha* of Pres. Ind. and 3p. sg. -*u* of Imp. in Pkt. This -*u* of 3 p. sg. has affected the terms. of 2 p. sg. and plur. e.g., -*asu*, and -*esu* in Pkt., and 2 p. plur. -*ahu* and *esu* in Ap. L.H. GRAY regards this explanation of -*asu* and -*esu* more plausible³⁶ than the theory of regarding it as a transfer from the middle voice for OIA -*sva* and Pali -*ssu*.³⁷ According to PISCHEL OIA -*sva* becomes -*su*.³⁸ In Ap. -*u* is a characteristic ending which is added not only to terms. but to indeclinables also. Can we not apply the same reasoning to the -*u* ending terms. of Imperative 2 p. sing., instead of accepting the somewhat far-fetched process explained in GRAY's paper mentioned above.

Imp. 2 p. sg. -*u* is probably the extension of Imp. 3 p. sg. -*u* (<OIA -*tu*) to 2 p. sing. Such a direct application of terms. to the root (in suppression of the final vowel) is not unusual in Ap. e.g., Imp. 3. p. sg. *āu* 'let it come,' *anuhavu* (*anubhavatu*) in *Sdd.* and other texts. GRAYs in the paper mentioned above in BSOS VIII ii-iii, differs, and regard, Ap. *vaṭu* as derived from OIA **varṭas* < (a)*varṭas*.

In the 10th cent. A.D., a new term. viz., -*aha* appears, or is extended to Imp. 2 p. in Ap., though the forms are but few. It originated from Pres. Ind. 2 p. plur. -(a)*tha* in OIA. The confusion of numbers in Ap., and the use of the Pres. Ind. for Imp. (which is of the Pres. Tense even in OIA) are already exemplified elsewhere. -*aha* is normally unusual in contemporary SAp., although forms like *paśāheha* = *praśrāvaya* (Jc. 1.18.10) attest to its existence in Puṣpadanta.

Due to the paucity of published WAp. material of the 11th cent. A.D., we cannot trace all the desinenes of the 10th cent. in it. In

35 Intro. to *H.* §56.

36 See BSOS, VIII ii-iii, 570.

37 Bloch, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 249.

38 PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, §467.

1200 A.D., the influence of Pkt. appears very strong as the Pkt. desinences *-asu* and *-esu* (see PISCHEL *Gram.* §467) predominate. The following frequency of terms. in *Kp.* will clarify the point.³⁹

Imp. 2 p. sg. : *-asu* (7), *-esu* (7), *-ahi* (2+2), *-thi* (1), *-zhi* (3), *-i* (4+4),
-ā (4), *-u* (1 in *Kp.* E. 29a)

In his remarks on these terms., ALSDORF observes that the form with *-u* ending is unusual in Somaprabha's Ap., and occurs once in a strophe in the history of Nala.⁴⁰ The fact is that *-u* was never popular in WAp. even in 1000 A.D., In SAP. of the 10th cent. (in *Hv.*), it stands for 3 p. sg. It is much more popular in EAp. where it stands next to *-aho* and *-ahu* in frequency, as will be seen from the following desinences arranged in a descending order of popularity: Imp. 2 p. sg. : *-aha*, *-ahu*, *-u*, *-ahī*. zero and *-ssa* are rare in EAp.

Due to the paucity of EAp. literature and unsettled chronology of some texts, it is very difficult to determine the mutual loans in WSEAp. What one finds is the popularity of certain sets of desinences in certain regions. Thus *-ahī* *-i* and *-u* are popular in SAP. (1000 A.D.) *-aha*, *-ahu* and *-u* are so in EAp.

In WAp. there is a continuous growth in the variety of terms., and these terms. have different frequencies in different centuries and works. Thus *-ahi* is very popular in 500 A.D., *-ahu*, *-ahī*, *-i* in 1000 A.D., and *-asu*, *-esu* in 1200 A.D.

3 P. Sing.

-u or *-au* of 3 p. sing. is clearly traced to OIA *-tu* > Pk. *-u*, *-ahu* in WAp. (1000 A.D.) as in *accha-hu*, *kara-hu* is probably the extension of 2 p. sing. term. to 3 p. sing. In SAP. (1000 A.D.) we have two special terms. *-ai* and *-aiñ*. *lavijai* in *Nc.* 3.7.8 is the use of the Pres. Ind. 3 p. sg. for Imp. *-aiñ* in *vandijjaiñ* (*Jc.* 3.31.8) is probably a scribal error for *-ai* as *-ñ* is inexplicable. The use of *ijja* shows the Optative influence.

2 P. Plural.

1 p. plural forms are very rare and are already discussed above. The desinences of 2 p. plur. fall in three regional groups :

- (1) WAp. : *-ahu*, *-ahū* *-aha* (1100 and 1200 A.D.)
- (2) SAP. : *-aham*, *-aha*, *-ahā* (rarely).
- (3) EAp. : *-aha*, *-ijja-ha*, *-ahu* (only in *DKs.*)

³⁹ ALSDORF, Intro. to *Kp.* §35 (b).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

As explained above *-ahu* is derived from **athu* < OIA 2 p. plur. *-(a)tha* of Pres. Ind. 13 p. sing. Imp. *-u* (< OIA-*tu*). It is the only term. in *Vk.* (500 A.D.) It persisted down to 1200 A.D., but it was superseded by *-aha* which began to appear in 1100 A.D. *-aha-* is the only term. in *Sc.* Its frequency in *Kp.* is as follows.⁴¹

-aha (2+1), *-āha* (2), *-ahu* (1+1), *-ehu*. Suffice it to show that *-ahu* which is the only and original term. in WAp. grew less popular in the same region in the 12th cent. A.D., We can roughly indicate its history in our period thus :

- i) 2 p. plur. *-ahu* { WAp. (500-1200 A.D.)
 { SAp. (slightly in 1000 A.D.)
 EAp. (In Dks. in 1000 A.D.)

ii) The history of *-aha* in Ap. may be sketched as follows : Historically and linguistically it is the term. of Pres. Ind. 2 p. plur. in OIA., and has been applied to the Imp. in Ap. SAp. (1000 A.D.) uses it but rarely as in *Hv.* 87.5.16, the regular term. being *-aham*. It is popular in EAp. of the 10th cent. and WAp. of 1000-1200 A.D.

The nasal element in *-ahū* is due to the plur. nature of the term. Thus, in Ap. Imp. 3 p. plur. is *-antu* and *-ahū*, Pres. Ind. 1 p. plur. is *-ahū*, 3 p. plur. is *-ahī*. This association of nasalisation with the plur. has descended to NIA (e.g. Marathi), though sometimes it is etymologically doubtful. *-ahū* is thus an analogical formation from Ap. *-ahu* < OIA **-ithu*. Although ALSDORF records *-ahu* as the most popular term. in *Hv.*⁴² *-aham* and *-aha* are much more so in the works of Puṣpadanta. The relation between *-aha* : *-aham* is the same as that between 2 p. plur. *-ahu* : *-ahum*, the nasal in the latter is analogically due to its plur. *-aha* < OIA *-(a)tha* developed in 2 p. plur. *-ā* in M.

In EAp. we find *-aha*, *-ijjaha* and *-ahu* (only in *DKs.*). *-ijjaha* is nothing but the optative *-ijja* + *-aha* discussed above. *-ahu* is absent in *DKK.* and in *DKs.* It might be a loan from WAp. where it was well-established from 500 A.D.

3 p. plural.

In 3 p. plur. *-antu* < Pk. OIA *-antu* is quite clear. *-ahum*, *-ahū* and *ahu* are discussed above, and this extension of 2 p. plur. found a favourable ground in Ap.

Pres. Ind. has 1 p. sg. *-(a)ū* : Plur. *-(a)hū*.

3 p. sg. *-(a)ī* : Plur. *-(a)hī*,

⁴¹ *Ib d.*, 35 (b),

⁴² Intro. to *Hv.* 56.

so in Imp. we find 3 p. sg. *-(a)u* : plur. *(a)hū*. There are many terms. common to Pres. Ind. and Imp. (which is of the Present Tense from OIA. period) e.g., 2 p. sg. *-ahi*, *-hi*, *-asu*, 2 p. plur. *-ahu*, *-ahū*, *-aha* (in corresponding centuries and in the same texts). The importance of 2 p. in Imp. made such extension more probable.

The relations between NIA 3 p. sing. -e.g., M. *-o*, Oriya *-u* Beng. *-uk-*, and Ap. *-au*, between 3 p. plur. M. *-ot*, Oriya *-antu*, *untu*, Beng. *-um* and Ap. *-antu*, and also between Raj. Braj. 2 p. sg. *-a*, *-i* (in M. also),⁴³ *-ē*, *-ī* and Ap. *-ahi*, *ehi*, are already established.⁴⁴ The continuation of Imp. from MIA to NIA is well described by BLOCH⁴⁵ and Ap. forms the essential connecting link between the two.

§ 138A. IMPERATIVE MOOD.

2nd p. sing.

A.D.

WAp.

500 ? (1) *akkhahi*, *uttōrahi*, *ṇisammahi*.(2) *paṣiṇa* (Sktism.)600-1000 (1) *jōṇi*, *jōi*, *sēvi*, *kari*.(2) *jāṇu*, *laggu*, *viyāṇu*.(3) *cāha-hu*, *kahahu*.(4) Some forms of Pres. Ind. 2nd Person sg. e.g., *muṇahi*, *mellahi* are used in this sense.

A.D.

EAp.

700- (1) *ṇiahu*, *muṇahu*, *bhamahu*, *suṇahu*, *khāhu*.1200 (2) *lagagha*, *jagaḍaha*, *mellaha*, *dekkhaha*, *muṇaha*.(3) *acchahi* (^ohu), *karahi*, *puccha-hi*.(4) *karu*, *thakku*, *chāḍḍu*, *bujjhu*, *pekkhu*.(5-7) *cintassa* (DKs. 77), *puccha*, *cinta*.⁴³ e.g., *ghei ghei mājhe cāce goda nāma Vithobāce*—*Tukārāma*.⁴⁴ BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 249.⁴⁵ *La langue marathe* 239; *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 233 and 49.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
1000	<p>(1) <i>bujjhahu, karahu, jāṇahu, lehu, suṇahu, chaṇḍahu, cāḥahu, uccallahu, galathallahu.</i></p> <p>(2) <i>karahi, acchahi, millahi-harahi, dekkhahi, hohi, jhōvahi, gaṇijjahi, jampijjahi,</i></p> <p>(3) <i>munchi, bhāṇehi, karahi, dehi.</i></p> <p>(4) <i>kari, chaṇḍi, bolli, baadhi, parihari, maṇṇi.</i></p> <p>(5) <i>karu, vyaṇu, dikkhu, ūsaru.</i></p> <p>(6) <i>pekkhaha (Sdd.)</i></p>	<p>(1) <i>suvarahi, niyacchahi, ahināṇahi, avaherahi, caḍavahi, paṭṭhavahi,</i></p> <p><i>chaṇḍahi, sambharahi, khḍhi.</i></p> <p>(2-3) <i>tāḍahu, jāhu, āṇḍu, pārchu.</i></p> <p>(4) <i>du, haru, caḍu, utthiṭṭhu.</i></p> <p>(5) <i>lai, melli, kari, hari, pecehi.</i></p> <p>(6) <i>mar, magge, kare.</i></p> <p>(7) <i>jaya, jiva, pattiya (Skt.)</i></p> <p>(8) <i>jāṇasu, kahasu, haṇasu, gacchasu, bihasu.</i></p> <p>(9) <i>karejjasu, pujejjasu.</i></p> <p>(10, 11) <i>āyappaṇahim (Nr. 1.3.1) pasāheha (Jc. 1.18.10) ; nisupahum (Jc. 3.11.14) (Probably Infinitive).</i></p>
1100	<p><i>lehi</i></p> <p><i>lai, dhari,</i></p> <p><i>geṇha.</i></p>	<p>(1) <i>rovahi, jōhi, khavahi, savitharahi.</i></p> <p>(2) <i>marehu, ullarehu, ravahu.</i></p> <p>(3) <i>jaya (Skt. sm.)</i></p>
1200	WAp.	
	<p><i>āgacchasu, giṇḥasu, muṇasu, cirtasu, bandhasu.</i></p> <p><i>ajjesu, pucchēsu, cintesu.</i></p> <p><i>karahi, dehi; munehi, lehi,</i></p> <p><i>sumari, kari, bhāṇi, rakkhi, kahi.</i></p> <p><i>vaccu, haru, accchu, laggu.</i></p> <p><i>peccha, vāha.</i></p> <p><i>āgascha-ha (Sc.)</i></p> <p><i>kero (hc.)</i></p>	

3rd Person Sing.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
No forms upto 1000 A.D. were found.			
1000	(1) <i>aṇuhavu, āu, hou, acchāu</i> <i>bujjhaū, acchāū.</i> (2) <i>acchahu, karahu,</i>	(1) <i>uaḍḍaū, bhukkaū,</i> <i>ḍajjhaū, nivaḍaū, gamaū,</i> <i>huvāū, pinijjau, pāvevvaū.</i> (2) <i>laijjai, (Nc. 3.7.8)</i> <i>vandijjaiṃ, (Jc. 3.31.8) ?</i> (3) <i>ho (Jc. 2.1.17)</i>	
1100	..	<i>aṇusaraū, āruhu, leu, saṃpaḍaū.</i>	
1200	<i>ruṭṭhaū, māraū, hou,</i> <i>acchāū, kiṇṇau, nisunaū.</i> <i>peccijjau.</i>		

1st Person Plural.

1200	<i>ṇehu (Sn. 17.570).</i> <i>bhaṇjimu (Sc. 337.9),</i> <i>geṇhimu (Sc. 400.8) Pktisms.</i>
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2nd Person Plural

500	<i>pecca-hu</i>
600-1000	<i>muṇahu, chaṇḍahu (Ys.)</i>

A.D.	SAP.	EAp.
700-	(1) <i>mānaha, cintaḥ, karaha, pucchaha, dekkhaha; pattiṇjaha.</i>	
1200	(2) <i>chaḍahu, khamahu, pellahu, dekkhahu, karahu, jāṇahu (All in DKs.)</i>	

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.
1000	(1) <i>rakkhejjahu, acchahu,</i> <i>akkhahu, karahu, dekkhahu.</i> (2) <i>nisunaū.</i>	(1) <i>kuṇaham, thunaṇam,</i> <i>ṇavaham, ṭhavaham.</i> (2) <i>mellaha, saṃharaha.</i> (3) <i>āroḍahu, jāhu, pekkhahu,</i>

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
1100	<i>kahahu</i> <i>cintaha</i> (Sn. 168-115 A quotation)	<i>aruhumjahu.</i> <i>avalovahu.</i>

A.D.	WAp.
1200	(1) <i>muccahu, sārāhu, nijojuhu, jeyahu, karahu.</i> (2) <i>archaha, picchaha, avahālahā, anutṭhaha, kunaha, āruhaha, cayaha, thūṇaha, vandijjaha</i> , (Sr. 173.7), <i>samejjaha</i> (Sc. 178.2); <i>avaharaha</i> (Sr. 599.3).

3rd Person Plural

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.
No forms upto 1000 A.D., were traced.		
1000	<i>dintu</i> (Sad.), <i>karantu</i> <i>acchantu, karantu, jantu.</i>	<i>pasiyantu, dentu, hontu</i> (Intro. to Hv. § 56.)
1100	..	(1) <i>avaharantu, samtharantu,</i> <i>ghaḍantu.</i> (2) <i>Samṇajja-haṇṇ.</i>
1200	(1) <i>piḍaṇtu</i> (2) <i>vuva-hu</i> (Sn. 16-286)	

§ 138B. IMPERATIVE MOOD

1st Person Singular

No forms of Imperative 1st Person sing. were traced.

2nd Person Singular

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	-hi -zero (Sktism.)	..	..
600-1000	-i -u -hu	..	..

(Sometimes -hi of the Pres. Ind. 2 p. sg.)

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
700-1200	..	..	-ahu aha- -ahi -u]] -ssa zero.
1000	-ahu -ahi, -ehi -i -u -ha	-ahi -ahu, -ehu. -u -i -e -a -asu, -ejjasu -ahim -eha	..
1100	-ehi -i zero (i.e., -a)	-ahi, -hi -(e)hu zero (i.e., -a)	
1200	-asu, -esu -ahi, -ehi -i -u zero (i.e., -a) -aha -e (rare).	..	..
<i>3rd Person Singular</i>			
No forms upto 1000 A.D., were traced.			
1000	-aü, -u -ahu	-aü, -u (-ijja) -u, (-evva) -v, (-ijja) -i zero	..
1100	..	-u	..
1200	-aü, -u -(-ijja) -u.	..	..

1st Person Plural

Only one form with -ehu in Sn. 17-570 (in 1200 A.D.) was found

2nd Person Plural

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	-ahu	..	..
600-1000	-ahu (Ys.)	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-aha, -ijja -ahu (All in Dks.)
1000	(1) -ahu	-aham	..
	(2) -ahū	-aha -ahu (Hv. 86.9.3)	
1100	-ahu -aha	-ahu	..
1200	-ahu -aha, (-ijja)-ha -cha (Sc. 599.3)		

3rd Person Plural

Forms upto 1000 A.D., were not traced.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	(a)ntu	-(a)ntu	..
1100	..	-(a)ntu -ahum.	..
1200	(a)ntu ahu (Sn. 16 286.)	..	..

FUTURE

§ 139. In Ap. there are two sets of terms. of the Future—the *-sa* type, and the *-ha* type. In Pkts. also we meet with these two types.⁴⁶ The following are the desinences in Ap. literature :

⁴⁶ *Practical Gram.*, § 520. For the discussion of different verbs, see §§ 521-544.

(i) THE *-sa* FUTURE.

Singular.

- 1 p. WSAP. *-esami*, *-sami*; WAp. *-isu*, *-esu*, *-su*.
 2 p. WSAP. *-esahi*, WAp. *-sahi*, *-īsi*, *-issasi* (Sanskritism).
 3 p. WSAP. ; *-esai*, *-sai* WAp. *-isai*, *-issai* (do.)
 .. SAP. *-esahi*.

Plural

- 1 p. WSAP. *-esahū*, WAp. *-issahū*, *-isahū*, SAP. *-sahim*.
 3 p. WSAP. *-sahim*, WAp. *-esahū*, *-issahi*.

(ii) THE *-ha* FUTURE.

Singular

- 1 p. WSAP. *-ihumi*, WAp. *-hissu* (*ha-issu*), WAp. *-hu*.
 2 p. WSAP. *-ihusi*, *-hi* ; WAp. *-ihahi*, *-hisi*, SAP. *-chi*.
 3 p. WAp. *-ihai* *-ehai*, *-ihihai*, *-hii*, *-hī*, SAP. *-hai*.

Plural.

- 3 p. SAP *-ihinti*, *-hinti*, *-ihahī*, *-hahim*.

These two sets of terms. disclose that the terms. of the Pres. Ind. are added to the augments *-sa* and *-ha*, both of which are traceable to OIA *-sya* of the 2nd Future. TURNER has shown that this *-ha* Future is 'a special treatment of *-ssa* > *-s* in a terminational element' seen also in Mg. Gen. sg. *puttāha*, Ap. *puttaha*, ^o*hō*. This *-ssa* < OIA *-sya* is obvious.⁴⁷ As noted by JACOBI⁴⁸ the future is Prakritic, and *-esa*, *-issa*, *-isa* etc., are the augments derived from OIA *-sya*.

In SAP. *-sa* Future appears to be popular as 51 : 11 is the proportion of the two types in Hv.⁴⁹ and M. preserves only the *-sa* future (though a few *-ha* future forms are occasionally found in SAP.) WAp. discloses a confused state to which we can trace the different sets of Future designences in NIA of that region e.g., the *-sa* future in Guj., the *-ha* future of Marwari, Braj., Bundeli, and the mixed state in Bhilli on the borders of Gujarat.⁵⁰ Although the confusion is witnessed in Ap. literature the bifurcations of these Futures are a post—Ap. development.

Future forms are rarely used in EAp. In DKs. 38, *basiau* < **basihau* < **vasisyatha* = *vatsyatha* is the only form.

47 TURNER, JRAS 1927, pp. 232-5 ; BSOS V (1930), 50, VI (1932), 531.

48 Intro. to Sc. I Grammatik § 24, p. 17.

49 ALSDORF, Intro. to Hv. § 58 (a) and (b).

50 BLOCH, FLM. § 241 ; also L'indo-aryen, p. 250.

§ 139A. FUTURE

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAP.
<i>1st Person Singular.</i>			
500 ?	<i>sahīhimi</i>	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	<i>hosami</i>	<i>pariṇesami</i> <i>kīlīhimi, picchihimi</i>	..
1100	..	<i>hosami, pīlesami.</i>	..
1200	<i>pāvisu, dalisu, jātsu,</i> <i>kerisu,</i> <i>drsu, pekkhesu (Sc.)</i> <i>hohissu (Sn. 306-169).</i> <i>ṇamamsa-hu (Sn. 238-271)</i>	..	..
<i>2nd Person Singular</i>			
500 ?	<i>jāṇihisi, karīhisi.</i>	..	..
600-1000	<i>karīsi, gamīsi, lahīsi</i> <i>sahīsi.</i>	..	..
700-1200	..	—	..
1000	(1) <i>pāvohi, jāhi,</i> (2) <i>tarihahi (Sdd. 67)</i> (3) <i>hosahi</i> (4) <i>lahesahi.</i>	(1) <i>pekkhesahi</i> (2) <i>bhamihīsi.</i> (3) <i>paḍi-vajjahi,</i> <i>vivajjahi (Jc.)</i>	..
1100	..	(1) <i>lahesahi, karesahi</i> <i>pālesahi</i> (2) <i>lahahi (KKc. 2.8.10)</i>	..
1200	<i>riṭṭhīhisi, laṅghihisi.</i> <i>hohsi, kōhisi (<kar) Kp. S. 84.2)</i>		
<i>3rd Person Singular</i>			
500	—	—	..
600-1000	<i>karesai, lahesai, hosai</i>	..	..

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	(1) <i>karesai acchesai,</i> <i>lahesai lahesai</i>	(1) <i>mellasai, lunesai, bajjhesai,</i> <i>bhumjesai.</i>	
..	(2) <i>hosai, esai</i>	(2) <i>hosai, pahosai,</i>	
..	(3) <i>paḍisai.</i>	(3) <i>āvesahi (Hv.)</i>	
1100	..	<i>pāvesai, āvesai, lohesai-</i>	..
..		<i>hosai,</i>	
..		<i>hohai, (KKc. 1.16.15).</i>	
1200	(1) <i>jīṇihai, harihai, karihai,</i>		
..	<i>marihai.</i>		
..	(2) <i>laṅghihai (Kp. E. 28).</i>		
..	(3) <i>hohi; pādijjihū (Sc.)</i>		
..	(4 & 5) <i>hohi (Sn.), hohi, jāhi</i>		
..	(6) <i>bhavissai</i>		
..	(7) <i>karisai, hoisai,</i>		
..	(8) <i>hosai.</i>		
..	..	<i>1st Person Plural</i>	
Forms upto 1000 A.D., were not found.			
1000	..	<i>hosahim (Jc. 2.22.5)</i>	..
..		<i>laesahū (Hv. 85.20.5)</i>	
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>purisahū, sevissahū</i>	..	..
..	<i>karisahū, thakisahū</i>		
..	<i>jīvesahū.</i>		
..	..	<i>2nd Person Plural</i>	
None were traced.			
..	..	<i>3rd Person Plural</i>	
No forms upto 1000 A.D., were found.			
1000	<i>bhajesahim</i>	<i>karihinti</i>	..
..	<i>hosahī</i>	<i>khāhinti.</i>	..
1100	..	<i>hosahim, cadesahim</i>	..
..		<i>hohahim.</i>	
1200	<i>paḍissahī, jaṇissahī</i>	..	..

§ 139B. FUTURE.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
<i>1st Person Singular.</i>			
500	-ihimi	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	..
1000	-sami (BhK.)	-esami -ihimi	..
1100	..	-sami -esami	..
1200	(1) -isu (2) -esu, -su (Sc.) (3) -hissu (Sn. 306-169) (4) -hu (Sn. 238-271).	..	..
<i>2nd Person Singular</i>			
500 ?	-ihisi	..	
600-1000	-īsi	..	
700-1200	..	..
1000	(1) -hi (2) -ihahi (3) -sahi (4) -esahi.	-esahi -ihisi -hi (Jc.)	
1100	..	-esahi -ehi (KKc. 2.8.10)	
1200	-ihisi -hisi.	..	
<i>3rd Person Singular</i>			
500 ?	..		
600-1000	-esai		
700-1200	-sai		

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1000	(1) - <i>esaī</i> (2) - <i>saī</i> (3) - <i>isaī</i>	- <i>esaī</i> - <i>saī</i> - <i>śaī</i> (<i>Hv.</i>)	..
1100	..	- <i>esaī</i> - <i>saī</i> - <i>haī</i>	....
1200	(1) - <i>ihāī</i> (2) - <i>ihihāī</i> (<i>Kp. E. 28</i>) (3) - <i>hiī</i> (4) - <i>hī</i> (<i>Sn. 15-141</i>) (5) - <i>hi</i> (<i>Kp. Sc.</i>) (6) - <i>issaī</i> (<i>Sc.</i>) (7) - <i>isaī</i> (<i>Sc.</i>) (8) - <i>saī</i>	..	

1st Person Plural

Forms upto the 10th cent. A.D., were not traced.

1000	(<i>esa</i>)- <i>hā</i>	- <i>sahim</i> (<i>Jc. 2.22.5</i>) - <i>esahā</i> (<i>Hv. 85.20.5</i>)
	(Intr. to <i>BhK. § 36 p. *41</i>)	
1100	..	..
1200	(1) - <i>issahā</i> (2) - <i>isahā</i> (3) - <i>śahā</i>	..

2nd Person Plural

No forms of the 2nd Plural were found.

3rd Person Plural

No forms upto 1000 A.D. were found

1000	- <i>esahim</i> - <i>sahī</i>	- <i>ihinti</i> - <i>hinti</i>
1100	..	- <i>sahim</i> , - <i>esahim</i> - <i>hahim</i> .
1200	- <i>issahā</i>	..

THE PAST

§ 140. In Ap. the past tense was expressed by the pp. of the verb with the auxiliary \sqrt{as} or $\sqrt{bhū}$ 'to be' expressed or implied (generally the latter), e.g., *Hv.* 81.10.9, 82.8.6 etc. The *-la* suffix of the Past does not yet appear to have gained literary status,⁵¹ though it became an augment of the Past in many NIA languages. Sanskritisms of this tense in Ap. are exceptional. A few forms of the Past are given below : *ahāsi=abhūt* (*Sc.* 447.8), *nisuṇṇim=nyaśruṇvaṁ* (*Mp.* 2.4.12); *sahu=asahe*. For a few more forms of \sqrt{as} see §144.

.. THE OPTATIVE

§ 141. As in Pkts. *-ijja* characterises the Optative in Ap. It is also the augment of the Passive in Ap., and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two. The Optative *-ijja* is a successor of *-eyya* of the Primary Pkts., while the Passive *-ijja* is traceable to *-iya* or *-iy(y)a* of Literary Pkts. Optative forms without the augment *-ijja* e.g., 2 p. sg. *vaṭṭe* and Sanskritisms e.g. *soceya* (*śocayet*) are exceptional. *-ijja* forms are common to WAp, and none were traced in EAp.

The following are some of the instances of the Optative in Ap. :
2 p. sg. : WAp *acchijjahi*, *acchijjahu* (*accha-* 'to be')

SAp. *bhūṇijjasu* (*bhuj-*), *niवासijjasu* (*ni-vas-*) *jīṇijjasu* (*ji-*).

3 p. sg. : SAp. *viratijjai* (*vi-rac-*), *saṁtosijjai* (*saṁ-tuṣ-*), *vandijjai* (*vand-*).

In *Kp.* we have *-ijja* for all persons : e.g., 2 p. sg. *dejja* (*dā-*), 3 p. sg. *caijja* (*tyaj-*), *bhamijja* (*bhram-*). SAp. *soceya* (*śuc-*) in *Nc.* 9.20.12 is a pure Sanskritism. *-iavva* forms are from OIA suffix of Pot. Part *-avya*.

The Optative in Ap. is a continuation of pre-Ap. IA with due allowance to phonological changes.⁵² The Optative in Ap. stands for the OIA Potential Mood (e.g. see *Nc.* 3.2.14, 3.3.10), and the Imperative, and as such shows possibility, necessity, compulsion, etc.

* DENOMINATIVES

§ 142. As in OIA, denominatives are used throughout the Ap. period and in all regions. To take a few examples :

WAp. *jh(j-)agaḍaṇ*, < *jhakaṭa* 'a quarrel,' *hakkārai* < *hakāra* 'calling out,' *bubbuyahi* < *budbuda* "a bubble,"

⁵¹ In his Intro. to *Ap. kāvyā-trayī*, L. B. GANDHI quotes 2 *-la* forms of the past from the language of the Marathas in the 8th cent. A.D. The forms are *diṇṇale* (*dā-*), *gahille* (*grah-*) and are noted by Udyotana in *Kuvalayanāla* (1778 A.D.).

⁵² See BLOCH, *Indo-aryan*, pp. 233-34 and FISCHER, *Gram.* §§ 459-86.

EAp. *bakkhāṇai bakkhiṇiṇiṇi-i*.....

SAp. *vakkhāṇai* < *vyākṣhāṇa* 'a lecture,' *raṇḍami* *raṇḍā*, 'a widow, a term of abuse to women,' *dugumicchavi* < *dugumicchā* = *jugupsā* 'disgust, abhorrence,' *sandāṇai* < *sandāṇa* 'a bond' cf. *Hc.* 8.4.67, *ahijāṇai* *abhijāṇa* 'recognition'

The conjugation of the denominatives is like that of other verbs in Ap.

DUPLICATE VERBS

§ 143. The duplication of the verbal base to express intensity, frequency or repetition is quite common in OIA. In Ap. we find such forms, and sometimes they have become a part of the NIA verbal bases e.g., *vaḍavaḍai* (*vaḍ-*) 'to talk idly, to prattle' cf. M. *baḍbaḍṇē*, *ḍhaṇḍholanta* (= *bhramat*) cf. M. *dhāṇḍolnē*, H. *dhandhornā*, *jhalakalai* (\sqrt{jva} -) 'to shine' cf. M. *jhalajhalṇē* or *jhalālṇē*, H. *jhaljhalānā*; *dedeḥi* (*dē-*), *jējḍhi* ($\sqrt{jā}$ -), *gammagammai* (*gamgamyate* < \sqrt{gam} -) *gahagahai* (*gāhāḥi*). These bases are different from onomatopoeic reduplicatives e.g., WAp. *ghavaghavanta* (?) 'glittering,' EAp. *khusakhusahi* 'whispers,' SAp. *sulasalai* 'rustles,' *gumagumanta* 'trumpeting of elephants.'

There is nothing peculiar regarding the conjugation of these verbs.

DEFECTIVE VERBS

§ 144. The verb \sqrt{as} 'to be' is defective in Ap. We find WSAp. *mhi* (*asmī*), WSEAp. *atthi* (*asti*) both Pres. and Past 3 p. sg., and *atthiu* (*astu*) Imp. 3 p. sg. Forms of \sqrt{as} 'to be' noted by PISCHEL (in *Grammatik* §498) are occasionally met with in Ap., but they, being Prakritisms, are not mentioned here. \sqrt{ho} is related to $\sqrt{bhū}$ and not to \sqrt{as} . WSAp. *āsī* (*āsīt*) is the only Ap. past of \sqrt{as} - (e.g., *Hv.* 92.18.13), but is used in the 1st and 2nd p. as well.

NEGATIVES

§ 145. In Ap. negation is expressed by the use of OIA particles *na* and *mā*. With the exception of *Hc.* 8.4.418 and the illustrative verses (and those in *Kc.* also), OIA *mā* (Ap. *mam*) seems less in vogue, and the use of OIA *na* + \sqrt{as} was more popular. Its regularisation was complete in NIA but Ap. forms e.g., *nahim*, *nāhī* or *nāhi*, *natthi*—all are traceable to OIA *nāsti*. These are found in WSEAp. regions, and are the predecessors of negatives in NIA.

NOMINAL FORMS OF VERBS

§ 146. The Present, the Past Passive and the Future Participles, Infinitives and Absolutives are the important nominal forms of verbs in Ap. Out of these the last two are indeclinables. They are treated below in the above-mentioned order.

PRESENT PARTICIPLES

§ 147. Apart from Sanskritisms and Prakritisms, Ap. takes *-anta* (Fem. *-anti*), and *-māṇa* (Fem. *-māṇā*, *-māṇī*) with or without the stem-widening *-au* or *-ao* as the terms. of the Present Participles. *-anta* and *-māṇa* are found in Pkts. also.⁵³ We cannot follow ALSDORF in accepting *-ira* as the suffix of the Pres. Part. even in Kp.⁵⁴ *-ira* shows habit (*tācchīlye*) which may sometimes be interpreted like the Pres. Part. e.g., *niyacchira* (*niyaccha* 'to see'), *cāvira* (*carvat*) 'biting', *pathippira* (*pra-√stip*) 'dripping down' in SAp. in the 10th cent. The 9 forms in Kp. e.g., *bhamira* (*bhram*-), *kampira* (*kamp*-), *hasira* (*has*-), *vāvira* (*vep*-) etc. can be explained as habit-showing ones. EAp. does not possess *-ira* and *-māṇa*. It shows *-anta*, *-ante*, *-anto*, *-āte* which are nothing but different forms of *-anta*. *-anta* and *-māṇa* are found in WSAp. (irrespective of its original *pada* in OIA). These are uninterrupted developments of OIA and have been handed down to NIA.⁵⁵ Out of these *-anta* is very popular as it is found in WSEAp. and in NIA of all regions.⁵⁶

Ap. being a 'classical' literature, is under the influence of Sanskrit and Prakrits, and archaisms e.g., *enta* (*ā-√i*-), *janta* (*yā*-), *denta* (*dā*-), *ḥanta* (*sthā*-) are frequently met with. The details regarding the use of the Pres. Part. in IA⁵⁷ show that Ap. occupies a very important place in the formation of NIA tenses and syntax—a common ground where MIA shades off into different NIA usages.

§ 147A. PRESENT PARTICIPLES :

A.D.	WAp.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>bhamanta</i> , <i>janī</i>	..
600-1000	<i>janantu</i> , <i>vasantu</i> , <i>muṇantu</i> <i>sahantu</i> ; <i>lahantu</i> .	..

53 FIEBIGER, *Grammatik* §§ 560-63.

54 Intro. to Kp. § 35, p. 62. ALSDORF is, however, cautious in his statement: 'Dem. p. pr. *gleichzeitig* ist das adj. auf. *-ira*, von dem in unsern Texten folgende 9 Bildungen vorkommen.' The underlining is ours.

55 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 259-61.

56 BLOCH, *FLM.* § 255 and *L'indo-aryen*, p. 259.

57 *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 261-9.

700-1200

kahanta, pharanta, jāṇanta,
janta,
abanta ; ramanto.
khāyante, cāhāte, milante.

A.D.

WAp.

SAP.

1000

joyanta, dhaṇḍholanta,
rillanta.
khantu, jhāyantu ;
uttāraṇṭi, ducchanṭi,
cavanṭi.

ohaṭṭanta, dhagadhaganta,
magganta, vaccanta, kuṇanta,
jīyanta honta, hunta, havanta
hontau (Jc. 3.37.17).
vijjijamāṇa.
cāvira (Hv. 85.11.14).
pathippira (Jc. 3.9.1) ?

1100

denta, bhaṇanta
jantaū; āḍhantao

khanta, vihasanṭi
bhaggamāṇu.

1200

WAp.

bahiranta, rasanta, dhalanta, āgacchanta, vilasanta, gaḍayaḍanta,
buḍḍantaū, alahantau, paribhamantu, niharantu, hammantu, haṇantaū
bhavanti (✓bhram-).
āgamira, hallira, bhamira, parisakkira.

§ 147B. PRESENT PARTICIPLES.

(The case terminations and Feminine suffixes are excluded.)

A.D.

WAp.

SAP.

EAp.

500 ?

-anta, -nta

600-1000 -anta

700-1200

-anta,
 -nta
 -āta.

1000

-anta
 -nta

-anta, -nta
 -māṇa {
 rarely.
 ira ? }

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
1100	-anta, -nia	-anta, -nta -māṇa (rare).	..
1200	-anta, -nt -ira (-māṇa Prakritic & rare).	..	..

PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

§ 148. A reference to Comp. Tables (§148A) will show that -ia, -iu, -iya, -iyau, -iaa, -iaū are the suffixes of pp. participles in WSEAp. All these are traceable to OIA -i-ta which has been progressively normalised in Pāli and Pkt., and is found in the NIA of the midland today (and with -la in other provinces).⁵⁸ This -ita with or without the stem-widening pleonastic -ka is applied to :

- (i) the Prakritic forms of Sanskrit roots. and (ii) the deśi roots.

Thus for example (i) Ap. *viṇṇaviya*, *bisariau* are not directly derived from OIA *vi-√jāā*, *vi-√smṛ*:- but from the Prakrit roots *√vinṇa* and *√bisara* with the suffixes -iya, -iaū <OIA -ita, while (ii) *chaddia* <*√chaddā*-, *phullia* <*√phulla kokkiya* <*√kokka*- etc., are the examples of the latter. -ita is the chief suffix of pp. in all regions throughout the Ap. period.

In addition to these -ia forms we have the following types of pp. participles in Ap. :

- 1) Phonological descendants of OIA pp. forms both *seṭ* and *aniṭ* c.g.

WSAp. *kaa*, *kaya*, *kiya*, *kaīya* (*kṛta*), *catta* (*tyakta*),

SAp. *hua*, *hūvau*, *hūva* (*bhūta*).

EAp. *kahia*, *kahiya* (*kathita*).

- 2) Direct combination of the root (even deśi ones) and the pp. suffixes. Such formations are found in NIA today.⁵⁹

- .. (i) In the case of Sk. roots : *diṇṇa* (**didna*), *ruṇṇa* (**rud-na*), *mukka* (**muk-na*), *natṭa* (**nṛtta*) etc. These are represented as *datta*, *rudṭā*, *mukta*, *nartita* in classical Sk.

- (ii) In the case of deśi roots : *ghitta* <*√ghiva* or *√ghippa*, *abbhitṭa* <*√abbhiḍa*, also *abbhiḍa*, *vicchitta* <*vi-√chiva*- cf. Hc. 4.257-8, *chiddha* <*√chuha*=*kṣip*-, *ḍhukka* <*√ḍhauka* etc. These are *aniṭ* type of formations in deśi roots.

⁵⁸ BLOCH, *FLM.* § 256 and *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70.

⁵⁹ BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 269-70.

3) Phonological descendants of reconstructed OIA pp. participles See 2 (i) above. The geminated forms e.g., *latta* < **lap-ta*, *hitta* < **hita* are MIA modifications of colloquial OIA forms.

PP. forms in -a e.g., *phāraa* < *sphārita* (DKs. 109), *pariṭṭhāba* < *paristhāpita* (DKs. 59) are the speciality of EAp. -ī endings as in *ani* < *ānīta* (Pd. 99), *muddi* < *muddita* (DKs. 5), *khetṭi* < *khetrita* (Sdd. 55), *buddi* < **buddiya* 'sub-merged, lost' (Jdu. 62.2) are due to the loss of final -a in -ia or -iya < OIA -ita. -ya endings e.g., *caṭṭuya* 'purified,' *cāḷuya* 'sifted' are on the analogy of -iya suffix.

Ap. literature including EAp. (where the old Bengali chants ascribed to Kāṇha and Saraha give us a number of -la forms e.g., *rundhelā*, *āilā gelā*), does not attest to the -la past tense which is common in 'Outer', NIA languages. Was it current in spoken Ap. as attested in the forms *diṇṇale* (dā-), *gahille* (grah) in the 8th cent. A.D., in Udyotana's *Kuvalāyāmālā*?⁶⁰ The use of pp. and their influence on NIA are already traced by BLOCH.⁶¹

§ 148A. PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

A.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
500 ?	(1) <i>pasaria</i> , <i>khukha</i> , <i>jhakārie</i> (Mt. 31)		..
	(2) <i>kaa</i> , <i>diṇṇa</i> , <i>ṇaa</i>.	..	..
600-	(1) <i>vinnaviu</i> , <i>payāsia</i>,	..	..
1000	<i>pariṭṭhiya</i> .		..
	(2) <i>tatta</i> , <i>viṭṭhiya</i> , <i>pattu</i> , <i>niṭṭharitu</i> .		
700- 1200		..	(1) <i>muṇḍa</i> , <i>saṃjai</i> , <i>bisariau</i> , <i>kahia</i> , <i>kahiya</i> , <i>tuḍia</i> , <i>tuttiaa</i> , <i>birahia</i> , <i>sakhiya</i> . (2) <i>muddi</i> (DKs.5) <i>phāraa</i> (DKs.109), <i>pariṭṭhāba</i> (DKs. 50).

60 L. B. GANDHI, *Intro. to Ap. Kāvyaṭrayī*.

61 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, pp. 271-80.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.
1000	<i>chaḍḍia, phullia, vaviya,</i> <i>bhāiya, vasiya, purāiu, uṭṭiya, kokkiya, kokkāviya,</i> <i>kappariya, ukkhambhiya,</i> <i>allaviya, kiriya, kaiya.</i>	(1) <i>gamjolliya, halliya,</i> <i>ḍeviya, ohāmiya, ghuliyau,</i> <i>acchoḍiu, caṭṭiya (ḥc.)</i> (2) <i>catta, ṭṭhiya, riṇa,</i> <i>visaffa, āṇī (Pd. 99), ālatta,</i> <i>ummilla, uvalagga, vihāya,</i> <i>kilīṇa, kaya, kiya.</i>
A.D.	WAp.	SAP.

1000		<i>baṭṭha, hittiya, palhatthiya</i> <i>(palhatthau.)</i> (2) <i>abbhiṭṭa, vicchitta,</i> <i>ghitta, ḍhukka, bhulla,</i> <i>jhīṇau, hūvau, ruṇṇa, ṇaṭṭa,</i> <i>hitta, latta, aṭṭa.</i>
1100	(1) <i>vahelia, calliu,</i> <i>uṇṇāmia, ullasia, piḍia,</i> <i>vivillia.</i> (2) <i>kantao, visaffha.</i>	(1) <i>turia, parajjiya,</i> <i>uccāiu, piṇia, bolliu,</i> <i>uddāṇiya, chuddhiyā.</i> (2) <i>hūva, hu(ḤḤc. 1.2.7), kṭya.</i>
1200	(1) <i>ubbhaviu, dhariya, kaḍayaḍiya,</i> <i>ḍvariya, jhampio, taliu,</i> <i>jhalakkiyau.</i> (2) <i>buḍḍi, appaḍihaya, āyaḍḍa,</i> <i>palhattha, raḍḍa, chūḍha,</i> <i>viḍhatta, ḍakka, bhugga.</i> <i>palitta</i>	

§ 148B. PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

(Case-terminations and Feminine suffixes are deleted).

Forms phonologically derived from Sk. *aniṣ* formations and analogical forms from *deśi* roots are not noted here.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500	-ia	..	..
600-1000	-ia, -iu, -iyau	..	..
700-1200	..	..	-ia, -iya, -iaa, -iau, -a
1000	-ia, -iya	-iya ; -ia, -iu -uya, -gemination.	..
1100	-ia, -iu	-ia, -iya -iu.	..
1200	-iya, -iyau, -iu.		

FUTURE AND OBLIGATORY PARTICIPLES

§ 149. The following are the suffixes of these participles according to Pk. grammarians :

-*evvaūm*, -*evvaūm*, -*evā* (Hc. 8.4.438),

-*evvai*, *eppai*, -*evva* (Tr. Ld. 3.3.17) ;

-*iaava*, -*evvaūm* (for Neut. only Pu. 17.38),

-*ivvañ*? (Kṛ 5.22)—the last four according to the Eastern School of Pk. grammarians.

In SAp. -*evva*(*ya*), -*evaya*, Masc. Plur. -*evā* and Fem. -*evī* and Prākritis ending in -*avvaū* (-*tavyaka*), -*amija* (-*aniya*) are found. WAp. favours -*avvu* especially in the latter half of the 12th cent. A.D., whence we have Guj. Infinitive in -*vū*. In EAp. -*iba* < OIA -*tavya* is the most common term. upto 10th cent. i.e. in DKS. In DKn (circa 1300 A.D.) we find -*ai*, -*avi* and -*ao*.

Out of these OIA and Pali-*-ya* (e.g. Ved. *-ya*, *śapathēya*, Pa. *phājanēya* < \sqrt{phj} -), and Sk. *-tāya* developed into SAP. *-avva*(ya), *-evaya*, *-vā*. Most probably *-tāya* developed into the Prakritisms in *-avva* WAp. *-avvu* and EAp. *-iba*. Prakritisms with *-anta* and *-māna* added to the *-sta* augment of the Future are sometimes found.

§ 149A. OBLIGATORY AND POTENTIAL PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500 ?	<i>avicalliu</i>	..	..
600-1000	..	..	..
700-1200	..	..	<i>sugoppa</i> (DKs. 95) <i>bādhā</i> (DKs. 90), <i>bande</i> (DKs. 10)
1000	<i>dekkheva</i> (Sdd. 39)	<i>joevvau</i> , <i>dharevvau</i> ,	
..	In BhK. gerunds, e.g.	<i>jānevvī</i> , <i>mārevvau</i> ,	
	<i>carivvau</i> ,	<i>varhcevvā</i> , <i>jāevā</i> .	
	<i>khañdivvau</i> .		
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>karievvaūm</i> ; <i>karevvaūm</i> , <i>sarevau</i> , <i>karevā</i> . Pktism. e.g., <i>duggijjha</i> , <i>duggejjhaūm</i>.	..	..

§ 149B. OBLIGATORY AND POTENTIAL PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
No Sanskritisms and Prakritisms are noticed here. Few pure Ap. developments upto 1000 A.D., were found.			
1000	<i>-vva</i> <i>-ivvā</i>	<i>-evvā</i> <i>-evvā</i> <i>-evva</i> <i>-evvā</i> .	
1100	..	..	..
1200	<i>-evvāūm</i> <i>-evvā</i> , <i>-evā</i>.	..	..

INFINITIVE

§ 150. The Western and Southern Pk. grammarians—the 'Western School'—admit the following Infinitive suffixes : -*evam*, -*ana*, -*anaham*, -*anahum*, and -*eppi*, -*eppiṇu* -*evi* -*eviṇu* (Hc. 4.491, Tr. 3.3.29, followed by Sh. and Ld.) The Eastern Pk. grammarians do the same, but Pu. 17.36 is a defective *sūtra*. '(tumo)+*edanahum naṁ nahim+eppi eppiṇu* -*evayah*' is the text in NITTI-DOLCI's edition. According to her interpretation -*evam* (?) -*nahum*, -*nam*, -*nahim*, -*eppi*, -*eppiṇu* and -*evi* are the Infinitive suffixes.⁶² It appears that Pu. took into account the final *a* of the roots, and implied -*anam*, -*anahum*, -*anahim* in the suffixes -*nam*, -*nahum* and -*nahim*. Kī 5.55 also prescribes -*evi*, -*eppi*, -*eppiṇu*, -*anam*, -*aum*, and -*evvaum*.

The following are the Infinitive suffixes in Pkts.⁶³ -*ium*, -*eurm*, (*ve*)*um*, -*um* < OIA -*tum*. Absolutive terms. -*tu*, -*ittu*, -*tlā* are used for Infinitives. In Ang. -*itae*, -*ettae*, -*ittae*, cf. Ved. -*tave* e.g., *vastave* < √*vas*.

Ap. literature shows the -*ana* group (i.e., -*ana*, -*anu*, -*anaham*, -*anahim*) as the most important one in WAp. This -*ana* is the Nom. sg. of the OIA action-noun corresponding to Sk. stem in -*anam* (e.g., *karanam* < √*kar*). -*anu* has the usual -*u* which is added to many other terms, and indeclinables in this period. -*anahim* < OIA -**anasmīn* i.e., the Loc. sg. of -*ana*. PISCHEL regards -*anaham* as the Gen. plur. of -*ana*.⁶⁴ It appears first in WAp. literature, and it has persisted down to NIA as -*na* of the Infinitives e.g., Raj. -*no*, -*nu*, H. -*nā*, Braj. -*naū*, Sdh. -*nu*, Panj. -*nā*, -*nū*. M. has -*ṇē* < -**anakam* as SAp. preserves only -*anaham*. In EAp. -*ana* is absent in DKK. and a rarity in Dks. It is probably a loan from the WAp. in DKK., as Beng. has no -*na* Infinitive.

Another characteristic of WAp. is the use of Absolutive terms. for the Inf. Although it is sanctioned by Eastern Pk. grammarians, it is totally absent in EAp. Even in WAp. it became established roughly after 1000 A.D., and got recognition in the works of the 'Western School' of Pk. grammarians. It was very widely used in 12th cent. A.D.

In Pd. 105 we have -*la* in the Infinitive sense. The line runs thus :

ve paha java lā darisiyam jahim bhāvaḥ tahiṁ laggu.

⁶² We do not know why Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar accepts -*eda* (*A Grammar of the Pkt. Language*, Calcutta (1943), p. 116), where NITTI-DOLCI, the original editor, is 'inclined to -*evam* as the original reading. -*eda* is absent in other Pk. grammars and Ap. Literature.

⁶³ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, §§ 573-78.

⁶⁴ PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 579. In this connection it may be pointed out that Louis H. GRAY traces this to OIA -**anatham* which is a combination of the term. -*no* of nouns of action and II formative -*tha* < -*tha* which is also used as *nominative actions* e.g., Sk. *gāthā*, Av. *gāpā* (BSOS VIII. ii-iii). This Plur. Inf. form may be regarded as exceptional as Inf. forms in Plur. are not known in the whole field of IE. (For details, see GRAY's paper in BSOS VIII ii-iii mentioned above).

'These two ways for going (*java lā*) are shown. You may follow what you like.' H. L. JAIN, the editor, translates it in Hindi: '*Te do path jāne ke liye batlā diye gaye hai*.'⁶⁵ *-la* is traceable to **laa* < **laga* < $\sqrt{\text{lag-}}$. Like *attham* (*artham*) it is a post-position.

In SAP. *-hum* is the most popular suffix of the Infinitive, and is probably the origin of M. *-ū* e.g., M. *karū* < *kara-ūm* < *kara-hum*. In the 10th cent. in WAp. *-hum* and *-hu* are less common. So also in the works of Joindu. Another special feature of SAP. of the 11th cent. A.D., is the use of obligatory *-evvaīm*, *-evaēm* < OIA **tavyakam* for Infinitive. Though these are not seen in WEAp. literature (forms in *-evam* in WAp. are exceptional) it seems to have spread to those regions in the proto-NIA period. e.g., Guj. *-vū*, Raj. *-bo*, Braj. *-ibaū*, Beng. *-ibuā*. In M. it (i.e., *-vā -vū -vē*) is preserved in its original (obligatory) connotation.

In EAp. *-ai* is the special term. of the Infinitive. In EAp. Absolutes take *-i* suffix e.g., *gai=gatvā* (DKs. 82), *baisī* < *upaviśya* (DKs. 4), *mih* < **milya*=*militvā* (DKK. 27). In Ap. we have many other Absolute terms. for the Infinitive. e.g., *-eppi*, *-eppinu*, *-evi*, *-evinu*. This *-i* or *-ai* of the Inf. is similarly an extension of Absolute, and as such may be traced to OIA *-ya* (*-lyab*). Thus in EAp. *bhaṇai* < **bhanya*=*bhanitum* (DKs. 60), *bhamai* (**bhramya*) in *Dis*. 50. The few *-i* Infinitives in WAp. e.g. *rāhi* < **rāhya*=*roḍhum*, *mun* < **mun-ya*=*mantum* (both from *Jdu.*, 1200 WAp.) may be similarly explained. Here we cannot rule out the linguistic possibility of *-lavai* < **avai* < **ai* < *-ai*, and *-āya* < **āi* < *-ai* for both *-lavai*, and *-āya* are infinitive in sense. But the use of the Absolute for Infinitive is a normal usage in WAp. in the 10th cent. A.D. Its existence in contemporary EAp. follows the same lines, although SAP. does not attest to such forms.

Sanskritisms and Prakritisms need not be discussed.⁶⁶

§ 150 A. INFINITIVE

v.D.	WAp.	Sap.	EAp.
500 ?	-	-	-
600-	<i>sahaṇa, samttthavaṇa</i>	-	-
100	<i>sahanu.</i> <i>munahu</i> <i>lenahe</i> (PPr.2.89)		
700-	-	-	<i>kahaṇa</i> (DKS. 54).
1200	-	-	<i>bhaṇai</i> (DKs.60), <i>bhamai</i> (DKs. 50)

⁶⁵ H. L. JAIN, *Pahuda-dāha*, p. 33.

⁶⁶ For the use of Infinitives in NIA see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 283-4.

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.
1000	<i>dhavalanaham, karāṇaham</i> <i>toḍahum</i> (Sdd.) <i>kahwi, karwi.</i> <i>java lā</i> (Pd.105).	<i>karāṇaham</i> (Jc.) <i>vaṇṇahum, sikkahum,</i> <i>khāhum.</i> <i>nāsahum, dharahum mārah.</i>
1100	-	<i>jīṇanaham</i> <i>vahevvarim, tarevvarim</i> <i>devam.</i> <i>pekkaha-hum.</i>

A.D.	WAp.
1200	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div style="width: 48%;"> (1) <i>karāṇa, bhumjana</i> (3) <i>sevanaham</i> (Kc.) (5) <i>karevi</i> (7) <i>kareppi</i> (9) <i>caevam</i> (11) <i>dharwi, jampivi, jiṇavi</i> (13) <i>niyattem</i> </div> <div style="width: 48%;"> (2) <i>dharaṇu</i> (E Jdu.) (4) <i>mumcanahim</i> (6) <i>karevinu.</i> (8) <i>kareppinu</i> (10) <i>haru</i> (Kp.S.86,6) (12) <i>vāhi, muṇi.</i> </div> </div>

§ 150 B. INFINITIVE

A.D.	WAP.	SAP.	EAP.
500 ?	-	-	-
600	<i>-ana, -anu</i>	-	-
1000	<i>-hu</i> <i>-(e) ṇaha</i> (PPr.2.87)	•	
100-1200	-	-	<i>-ana.</i> <i>-ai</i>
1000	<i>-anaham</i> <i>-hum</i> <i>-wi</i> <i>-lā</i> (Pd.105).	<i>-anaham</i> <i>-hum</i> (most popular) <i>-hā</i>	
1100	-	<i>-anaham</i> <i>-evvaiṇ, -evaeṇ</i> <i>-hum</i>	-

- 1200 -aṇa, -aṇu
 -aṇaṇam -aṇaṇim
 -evi, eviṇu
 -eppi, eppiṇu
 -evam
 -iu.
 -ivi, -avi.
 -i.
 -eum.

ABSOLUTIVES

§ 151. The following are the desinences of the Absolute according to Pk. grammarians. According to the Eastern Pk. grammarians, we have :

- i) -epi, -epiṇu, -evi, -evinu, -i, -ia (Pu. 17.32-5) Kṛ. 5.53.-4, 58-9).
- ii) -ppi, -ppiṇu in the case of $\sqrt{brū}$, $kṛ, \sqrt{gam}$ and $\sqrt{bhū}$ (?)
- iii) -eppi, -eppiṇu (Kṛ. 5.53).

Out of these -i, -eppi, -eppiṇu, -evi, -evinu are recognized by Hc. 8.4.439 -42 and -i, -eppi, -eppiṇu by Tr. 3.3.18, 19. Hc. admits -ppi, -ppiṇu for $\sqrt{brū}$ and \sqrt{gam} (Hc. 8.4.391 and 442 and exs.), but Tr. 3.3.21 restricts their use to \sqrt{gam} only. Tr. recognizes -epi, -epiṇu (3.3.19).

The terms. which are noticed only in the 'Western School' are as follows :

- (iv) -ltu, -lta, -ccā, -ltu, -ltum, -tuṇa, -(i)o, -ppi (if Cd. II.19 be an authentic sūtra as claimed by GUNÉ—Intro. to Bhk.)
- (v) -iu, -ivi, -avi (Hc. 8.4.439).

Out of these -iu is sanctioned by Tr. 3.3.18. -eavi is the only suffix peculiar to Tr. 3.3.18.

In Pkts. we find the following terms. of the Absolutes.⁶⁷

- ia(ṽā), -āe, -āyāe, -llā, -lā, -llāṇam, -tuāṇam, -^oṇa, -tūṇa, -ūṇaṇi, -dūṇa (JŚ), -ūṇa, -ccā -ccāṇam -ccāṇa.

In Ap. literature, we find EAp. is characterised by -ī̃ and -iā̃. Not that -i is absent in WSAp. (Hc. 8.4.339 and Tr. 3.3.18 also prescribe it), but its frequency is negligible when compared with that in EAp.

According to PISCHEL -ī̃, -iā̃ (and its WSAp. cognates -iu, -iya (-ya

67 PISCHEL, Grammatik, §§581-93.

<pleonastic *-ka*) developed out of OIA suffix *-ya* (*lyab*).⁶⁸ This *-ya* seems to be the origin of Ap. *-ia*, *-iya*, *-iu*, *-ī*.⁶⁹ *-ia* (*-iyā*) although found in Pkts,⁷⁰ was not much popular then, but it appears first in WAp. (1000 A.D.). There are only five examples in *BhK.*, but in *Kp.* (1194 A.D.) the frequency of alternate terms is⁷¹ : *-ivi* (56+4), *-īvi* (9+2), *-evīnu* (4), *-avi* (4), *-i* (3), *-iu* (1). In SAp. of the 10th cent. (*Hv.*) we find⁷² : *-evi* (430), *-īvi* (59), *-eppīnu*, *gampi* (7), *gampīnu* (2), *hoevi* (9), *hoeppīnu* (3) and *hovi* (2) i.e., there is no *-i* in *Hv.*, though we have a few ones e.g., *ṇava + yāri* (Jc. 1.27.10) in other works of Puṣpadanta. The desinence persists in the bardic texts in Raj., in Guj., Old Hindi, Maith. and in some of the speeches in the Hindukush.⁷³

It is, however, interesting that most of the desinences noted 1, 'Eastern' Pk. grammarians are not found in EAp.

Vedic Absolute suffixes *-tvi*, *-tvīnam* are regarded as the origin of Ap. *-eppi*, *-epi*, *-eppīnu*, *-epīnu*, *-evi*, *-evīnu*, *-ivi*, *-avi*, *-ppi*, *-pi*, *-vi* and *-pīnu*.⁷⁴ In WAp. *VK.* uses *-evīnu* only, while the works of Jōindu show only *-va* forms viz., *-ēvi*, *-vi*, *-evīnu*, *-avi*. It is only once in *PPr.* 2.47 that we have an *-eppīnu* form (viz *mueppīnu = muktā*). Though this term. appears more frequently from the 10th cent. A.D., it was not very productive in WSAp. *-ttu* found in WAp. *visitti* < **viśitū* < *√viś* 'to enter' is rare.

There are two clear currents in the Absolute terms, one traceable to OIA *-tva-*, and the other to *-ya*. Out of these the former is absent in. EAp., while the latter (i.e. *-ya* forms) appears in WSAp. from 1000 A.D. Vedic Absolute suffixes *-tvānam* became *-tūṇa(m)*, *-tūṇa(m)*, *-dūṇa(m)*, *-ūṇa(m)* in Pkts., the relics of which are scattered in Ap. literature. Such Prakritisms are more frequently met with in the works of Puṣpadanta rather than in *KKc.* EAp. is free from them.

Apart from the linguistic consideration put forth by BLOCH⁷⁵ the very fact that *-tūṇa* or *-(i)uṇa* has become practically obsolete in

68 *Ibid.*, § 594.

69 Louis H. GRAY differs. He suggests that this is a survival of a Loc. Infinitive in -i, of the same type as the Vedic infinitive *nesam* (only 8 examples. See MACDONELL, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 412) and Gatha Av. *fraxant*. For the suffix -i we find parallel in Vedic *cedi*, *vedi*, and some in II. and IE (GRAY, *BSOS*, VIII ii-iii, p. 575). Ap. and II or IE are chronologically unconnected. GRAY's observations on MIA Morphology in *BSOS* VII ii-iii try to emphasize the relations of Pk. and Ap. with those of II and IE. Sometimes in a farfetched manner.

70 FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 589.

71 ALSDORF, Intro. to *Kp.* § 39, p. 63.

72 ALSDORF, Intro. to *Hv.* § 60.

73 BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 285.

74 FISCHER, *Grammatik*, § 588.

75 BLOCH, *La Langue Marathe*, § 264.

SAp. literature after being so much used in Pkts., is enough to show that we cannot connect M. -*ūna* with them. As suggested by KATRE, a contamination of OIA -*tvāna* and -*tvīna* giving -**tūṇṇau*, -**tuṇṇai*, -**tuṇṇu* or -**tuṇṇi* in spoken Ap. should be regarded as the common source of Konk. and M. *ur*-forms -**aunu*, -**(v)auri*.⁷⁶ The difficulty of dentalization of cerebral -*ṇ* can be overcome by supposing two currents of pronunciation (*viz.*, -*n* and -*ṇ*) as we find them in coll. M. to-day.

As noted above Guj. Sdh. Singh. -*ī*, Panj. and H. -*i*(>*o*) and -*e*, Beng. -*ya* (<-*īā* in EAp. with -*ya* *fruti*) are traceable to OIA -*ya* > WSEAp. -*ī*, -*īā*.⁷⁷

§ 151A. ABSOLUTE

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
500?	<i>rundheviṇu</i>	..	..
600-1000	(1) <i>dhāi evi, dēvi, ṇavevi</i>	..	..
	(2) <i>mellivi, paṇaviṇu</i>	..	..
	(3) <i>mueviṇu, laheviṇu, kareviṇu</i>	..	..
	(4) <i>pariharavi, hoyavi.</i>		
	(5) <i>mueppiṇu</i> (Only in PPr. 2.47)		
700-1200	—	(1) <i>munī, chaḍḍī, milī, lai.</i> (2) <i>munia, hoia, upaṭṭia, palutia; cinthā (matri) causa</i> (3) <i>baisī, jāli, ribesī, bandhī, uḍḍī.</i>	
A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	
1000	(1) <i>caveri, uḍḍevi, ubbhevi, khuḍḍevi.</i> (2) <i>phuttivi, bujjhivi,</i>	(1) <i>phāḍevi, niṭṭi, thappevi, kapparevi, ubbhevi, laggevi, phāevi,</i>	

⁷⁶ S. M. KATRE, *Form. of Konk* § 291.

⁷⁷ For the usage of Absolute in Ap. and NIA, see BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen*, p. 285-86.

A.D	WA.	SAp.
	<i>bhumyāsvi, laggvi, mullvi,</i> <i>phusvi, valvi, ghullvi,</i> (2) <i>mānvi, cappvi, osavi,</i> <i>apphālvī, ancvī,</i> (3) <i>cadevinu, padevinu,</i> <i>ānevinu, levinu</i>	<i>pekkhevi, pallattevi.</i> <i>vedhvi, pallattvi,</i> <i>laggvi, upphālvī,</i> <i>kaddhvi, samodvi</i>
1000	(4) <i>namakāreppinu, ghalleppinu</i> (5) <i>lahi, pulli, kari, utthalli</i> (6) <i>imchiya, joiya</i> (7) <i>gampi</i>	(3) <i>levinu, luncvinu,</i> <i>chandevinu</i> (not found in <i>Hv</i>) (4) <i>todeppinu, pelleppinu,</i> <i>āneppinu, laeppinu,</i> <i>haveppinu, hoeppinu,</i> <i>huneppinu</i> (5) <i>jhadavi, jhampavi, hovi</i> (6) <i>leppi, gampi</i> (7) <i>thaviūna, hakkūna,</i> <i>mantūna</i> (8) <i>bhaniūnam, soūnav</i> (9) <i>daum, kaum, neum</i> (10) <i>pamottūna</i> (11) <i>nasayari</i> (The same as (6), (<i>Jc</i> 1.27 10)
1100	(1) <i>sunvi</i> (2) <i>padicchavi</i> (3) <i>vāli, visitti</i> (4) <i>nisunū</i>	(1) <i>cadevi, nevi, pavevi, ullalevi.</i> (2) <i>dharavi, kalvi,</i> <i>pekkhvi, karvi,</i> <i>kokkāvi</i> (3) <i>vāhi.</i> (4) <i>vāuna, gāuna,</i> <i>sajjuna, sunūna</i> (5) <i>karevinu, mohevinu.</i>

A D.	WAp.
1200	(1-2) <i>(anevinu, ahiyāsvi, bhumyvi, karvi, karevi</i> (<i>Kc</i> 77) <i>namvi</i> <i>gacchvi, manvi, peccavi, pechevi</i> (<i>Kp S</i> 104.1) <i>hakkārevi</i> (<i>Kp S</i> 49.7), <i>phedvi, ghuntvi, nirumbhvi, a-lahvi.</i> (3) <i>karavi, taravi, karāvi</i> (4) <i>kirevinu, nisunevinu, karevinu.</i>

(5) *bhaṇi, lahi, suṇi, ṇihoḍi, lahi, gacchi-*

(6) *ḍahiu* (Sn. 270-190), *āgantu* (Sc. 506.7), *kariu* (Kc. 76)

(7) *kareppi, gameppi.*

(8) *kareppinu, gameppinu.*

(9-10) *gamppi, gamppinu* (Kc. 80).

§ 151B. ABSOLUTIVE.

A.D.	WAp.	SAp.	EAp.
500 ?	- <i>evīnu</i>	.	
600-	- <i>evi</i>	.	
1000	- <i>ivi</i> - <i>ēvinu</i> - <i>avi, -vi</i> - <i>eppiṇu</i> (only once PPr. 2.47.)		
700-1200	..	..	-<i>i</i> - <i>iā, -iā</i> - <i>ī.</i>
1000	- <i>evi</i> - <i>ivi</i> - <i>evīnu</i> - <i>eppiṇu</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>ya</i> - <i>pi</i> (BhK. 14.7)	- <i>evi, -ēvi</i> - <i>ivi</i> - <i>evīnu</i> - <i>eppiṇu</i> - <i>avi, -vi</i> - <i>i</i> (?) c.g., Jc. 1.27.10) - <i>p(p) i</i> - <i>iūṇa, -iūṇam</i> - <i>ūṇa m</i> - <i>u m</i> - <i>eu m</i> - <i>ūṇa.</i>	
1100	- <i>ivi</i> - <i>(u)vi</i> - <i>i</i>	- <i>evi</i> - <i>wi</i> - <i>i</i>	

A.D.	WAp.	SAP.	EAp.
1100	-iu	-iura, -iura -evinu.	
1200.	-ivi, -evi. -avi -evinu -i -iu (Sn. 270-190, Kc. 76.) -u -eppi, -eppinu. -ppi, -ppinu (Kc. 80).	..	..

ADVERBS.

§ 152. Adverbs in Ap. are based on (i) nouns (ii) pronouns, and (iii) older adverbs and adverbial expressions :

(i) Adverbs based on nouns :

e.g., SAP. *taru* (*tvarā*) 'quickly,' *nicchāu* (*niścaya*) 'certainly,'
WAp. *accattham* (*atyartham*).

(ii) Adverbs based on pronouns .

OIA *kim* : WSE *kahm*, *kahī*, WAp. *kahi* (= *kutra*) *kau* (*kutah*),

OIA *yad* : *jahm*, *jahī* (= *yatra*), *jāma*, *jāmu*, *jāva* (*jāvat*), *jāmai*,
jāvai, *jaiyaha* (*yadā*).

OIA *tad* : WAp. *to*, *tu* (*tatah*), WAp. *tavve*, EAp. *tabbe* (*tadvā*),
tahm, *tahī* (*tadā*), *tā*, *tāma*, *tāmu*, *tāva*, *tāvai* (*tāvat*).

(iii) Adverbs based on older adverbs and adverbial expressions :

SAP. *ajju*, WEAp. *ajja*, WAp. *aju* (*adya*); WAp. *itthu*, *itthi*,

ittha (*itthā* = *atā*), WSAP. *ihu*, WAp. *ihā* (*iha*); SAP. *dhruva*,

dhruu (*dhruvam*); WSAP. *bahvi*, WAp. *bahvau*, *bāhm*, SAP.

bāhva, *bāhvaḍi*, EAp. *bahu bahu* (*bahh*); *arena*, *arīna* (*acireṇa*),

agga (*agre*), WAp. *aha*, *hetthū* (*adhastāt*).

§ 153. Adverbs in Ap. may be classified as (A) Adverbs of Time, (B) Adverbs of Place, (C) Adverbs of Manner, and (D) Miscellaneous Adverbs.

The following are the lists of some important adverbs. These are by no means exhaustive as this is not a lexical work.⁷⁸

(A) ADVERBS OF TIME

- 1) WSAp. *ajju*, WEAp. *ajja*, W. *aju* (*adya*).
- 2) WAp. *āireṇa*, *airiṇa* (*acireṇa*), also SAp. *ciru* (*ciram*)
- 3) SAp. *ettahē* (*itas* = *atrāntare*) cf. Hc. 4.420.
- 4) SAp. *evahim* = *adhunā*.
- 5) WSAp. *kayā*, *kaiyā*, WAp. *kaiyāhā mi* in BkK. 93.7), *kaiaha* in Hc. 8.4.422.1, EAp. *kabbe* (*kadvā*) in DKs. 62. —All used for OIA *kadā*.
- 6) WSAp. *jaiya*, WAp. *jaiya-ham*, *°hum*, EAp. *jai*, *jabbe* (*yadvā*) = *yadā*.
- 7) WSAp. *jāma*, *jāva*, EAp. *jāba*, WAp. *jāmu*, SAp. *jāhu*. (*yāvat*), but WAp. *jāmai*, *jāvai* (*yadā*) in PPr. 2.41, 174, *jiltiu* (*yāvan-mātra*).
- 8) WSAp. *tā*, *tāma*, *tāu*, *tau*, WAp. *tāmu*, *tāva* or *tāvā*; SAp. *tāva*, WAp. *tāvai*, EAp. *tāba* (*tāvat*).
- 9) WAp. *tāmai*, *tāvai* in PPr. 2.41.174, *tavve*, EAp. *tabbe* (*tadvā*), SAp. *taiya*, *°hā*, *°hu*, *tā*, *to* (*tadā*), WSAp. *to*, WAp. *tu* (*tatah*).
- 10) EAp. *paccha*, SAp. *pacchae* (*paścāt*) cf. Hc. 8.4.120.
- 11) WAp. *saṅ* (*vadā*).
- 12) *sajjo* (*sadyah*).

(B) ADVERBS OF PLACE

- 1) SAp. *ihu* (Jc. 3.37.17), *ihā* (Pd. 162) < *iha*.
- 2) WSAp. *itthu*, *etthu*, *itthi* (Sdd. 71. v.1.) < **ittha* = *atra*. *etthau* (Jc. 1.25.1), *eu* (Nc. 1.15.15), *ettahe* (Kc. 75)—all used in the sense of 'here.'
- 3) *uppari* (*upari*) 'over.' In *sandhis* the last vowel of the first word is suppressed e.g., *majj*-*uppari* = *majjha* + *uppari* 'above me' (Hv. 88.19.13), *Kalas* + *upari* = *kalasa* + *upari* 'on the pitcher' (Hv. 85.9.16).

⁷⁸ In these lists WAp. or SAp. does not mean that that form is exclusively limited to the region unless it is specially stated to be so.

4) WAp. *kau* = *kutaḥ*, also *kahanti-hu* in *Kc.* 61 and *Hc.* 8.4.416. The latter form is not popular in Ap. literature.

5) WSAp. *kattha*, *ketthu*, *katthaī* (*kutra cil*) in *Jc.* 2.6.6. *kittu* (*PPr.* 2.47) = *kutra*. In *BhK.* 57.11 *kahī* = *kutra*, Loc. sg. of *ka-* used adverbially. EAp. *kui* = *kutra* (*DKs.* 64).

6) *kayā* (*kadā*), WAp. *kaīyā vi* = *kadā'pi* (*Kp.* J. 46.1)

7) *jattha*, *jettu*, *jittu*, *jettahe* (*Hv.* 83.16.4), *jettahim* (*Jc.* 3.12.6), *jattu*, (*Kc.* 52, *Hc.* 8.4.404), *jahim* (*yasmin*) = *yatra*.

8) *tattha*, *tettu*, *tittu*, *tettahe* (*Nc.* 5.2.2.), *tettahim* (*Jc.* 3.12.6), *tettahi* (*Kc.* 75, *Hc.* 8.4.436), *tattu* (*Kc.* 52, *Hc.* 8.4.404), *tahim* = *tatra*.

9) WSAp. *bāhiri*, WSAp. *bāhira*, *bāhirau* (*Sdd.* 57), *bāhera* (*DKK* 2), *bāhim* (*Kp.* S. 44.8) < *bahiḥ*. In *KKc.* *bāhuḍi* = *bahiḥ* governs the Abl. or Gen. e.g., *bāhudi gau so ṇiyapu-raho*. 'He went out of his own town.' (*KKc.* 1.12.10).

10) *savattau* = *sarvataḥ* (*BhK.* 12.12.7 GUNE'S edition), cf. *Pai.* *savatto sarvataḥ*

(C) ADVERBS OF MANNER

1) WSAp. *avaropparu avarupparu* (*paśasparam*) 'mutual.'

2) *aḥa* < *yathā* from *jaha*.

3) WAp. *ittiyaīm*, *ittiya* (*iyat*).

4) WSAp. *emu*, *eū*, *iū* *ema*, *eṁva*, *emaī*, *emvahiṁ*, *evahiṁ*, *evu* (*evam*) : *ēvalum*, *emahiṁ* = *idānīm*, *emēva* (*eva-meva*).

5) EAp. *eta* (*DKs.* 39, 63), WAp. *ettadaiṁ*, *ettula* (*etāvat*).

6) *ettiya*, *evaḍḍa*, *evaḍa*, *ēvaḍu*, *evaḍḍa* (*iyat*).

7) WSAp. *kaha* (also *kahāmi*, *kaha-va* in WAp. *BhK.* 44.2, 42.7), *kiha*, *kema*, *keḍa* or *keḍva*, *keva* (*Jc.*), *kima*, WAp. *kimi*, *kiṁva* or *kiḍa*, *kiva*, *kīvaī*, *kēma*, WAp. *kium* (*KKc.* 1.10.2), also *kāhau* (*Jc.* 2.28) = *katham*.

8) *kettiū*, *kittiu*, *kettya* (*kiyat*) : also *kettula*. cf. *Hc.* 8.1.435 and *Kc.* 75.

9) *kūra* = *iṣat* (*Hv.* 85.19.9) cf. *Hc.* 8.2.29.

10) WSAp. *chuḍu*, *chuḍu chuḍu* = *kṣipram*.

- 11) WSAp. *jema, jima, jīmva, jīvā, jēvā, jwa, jiha jehau*, (Jc. 2.28.)
=*yathā*. Also *jahā* (Kc. 26) cf. Hc. 8.4.355.
- 12) *jittu*=*yāvanmātra* (PPr. 2.38).
- 13) WSAp. *jhatti*, SAp. *jhaḍatti*=*jhatiti*.
- 14) *ḍhāvu*=*śīghram* (Kc. 35).
- 15) WSAp. *nirāru*—*nitarām* (Pd. 120), *atīsayena* (MP. 13.7.13),
anivāritam (MP. 2.18.8), but *nirutta* (Pd. 121), *niruttau*
(Nc. 2.13.11), *niruttaum*<*nirutta-kam*=*nitarām* (KKc.
1.2.4, 7.1.4), *niru* (Mp. 1.1.9), (Sn. 25.2.2) cf. Dn. 4.30).
- 16) WSEAp. *nāhī*, *nāhi* (*nāsti*).
- 17) SAp. *taru*<**tvaram*=*śīghram* (Mp. 25.19.13).
- 18) WSAp. *taha, tīha, tema*, WAp. *tahā, tīma, temu, timu tēōva*,
tēōla, tēōa (cf. Hc. 8.4.397, 401) *tīmva*=*tathā*.
- 19) *tittadau, tittidau*=*ūvan mātra* (PPr. 1.105).
- 20) WAp. *daḍavaḍa*, SAp. *ḍavatti* (MP. 29.6.3), *daḍatti* (MP.
9.13.2)=*śīghram*.
- 21) *dive dive*=*divā* (Hc. 8.4.419).
- 22) *punu* (*punah*), WAp. *puṇo* (Kp. J. 41.2*).
- 23) *phuḍu* (*sphutam*).
- 24) *lai* 'much' (Jc. 3.10.4).
- 25) *saṇium*=*śanath*.

(D) MISCELLANEOUS ADVERBS

- 1) WAp. *accattham* (*atyartham*).
- 2) WSAp. *avasa, avasem*, WAp. *avasaya, avasu, avasi, avassu*
(*avayśam*).
- 3) EAp. *ālē* (*alam*).
- 4) WAp. *i* (*api*), EAp. *i*=*hi*.
- 5) WSAp. *ia, iya*, WAp. *iu* (*iti*).
- 6) WAp. *kau, kahantihu* (*kutah*) as in Hc. 8.4.416.
- 7) WSAp. *kira*, WAp. *kiri* (*kira*=*kila*).

- 8) WAp. *ghaṇauṁ* = *prabhūtaṁ*.
- 9) SAp. *ciya*, *cciya*, EAp. *ceba* (*caiva*).
- 10) WAp. *jan*, *janu* = *iva*.
- 11) WSAp. *ji*, WAp. *-jja*, *-jji*.
- 12) WSAp. *ṇaṁ*, *ṇau*, *ṇāi*, *ṇāī*, *ṇāvai* = *iva* cf. Ved. *na*, and Hc. 8.4.444.
- 13) WSAp. *ṇam* (*nanu*).
- 14) WAp. *ṇahi*, *nahī*, SAp. *ṇeya*, WAp. *ṇea* (*naiva* = *na*), SWEAp. *ṇa*, WEAp. *ṇai*, EAp. *ṇau*, WAp. *ṇavi* (*nāpi* = *na*) all showing negation.
- 15) WAp. *ṇavari*, *navaru*, *ṇavara* (*na para* = *kevalaṁ*).
Also used as conjunction in the sense of 'thereupon' (Hv. 82.15.4), 'however, yet' (Hv. 86.8.1)
- 16) SAp. *ṇicchau* (*niścayam*), also *ṇikkhuttaṁ*.
- 17) WSAp. *ṇiru*, *ṇirāriu*, SAp. *ṇiruttaṁ* (*niruktaṁ* = *niruktaṁ*).
- 18) WAp. *prāu*, *prāiva*, *prāimva*, *paggiṁva* = *prāyah* (Hc. 8.4.414, Kc. 59).
- 19) *pi* (*api*) also changed as *vi*, EAp. *bi*, WSAp. *mi* as in *tuhū mi*, *haū mi*; also *va* in Nc. 6.10.12 '*ṇa perai kaha va maṇu*.'
- 20) WSAp. *piva*, *viva*, *va*, EAp. *bia*, WAp. *viu*, *-vava* (*iva*).
- 21) WSEAp. *puṇu*, WAp. *puṇo*, EAp. *puṇa* (*punaḥ*).
- 22) SAp. *phuḍu* (*sphutaṁ*).
- 23) WSAp. *ma*, WAp. *maṁ*, *maṇa*, *maṇāṁ* (Hc. 4.418) = *mā*.
- 24) WAp. *maṇu*, *miva* = *iva* (Cd.)
- 25) WSAp. *vāra vāra* (*vāraṁvāraṁ*). WAp. *valivali* < (**vālyavālyā* < *val-*) is used in the sense of '*vāraṁvāraṁ*' in PPr. 2.137.
- 26) WSAp. *viṇu*, EAp. *biṇu* (*vinā*).
- 27) WSAp. *saiṁ*, *saī*, SAp. *sae*, EAp. *sai* (*svayena* = *svayaṁ*).
- 28) WSAp. *sahuṁ*, *sahu*, WAp. *sahu* (PPr. 2.109) < *saha*.
- 29) WSAp. *lu* < *kkhu* < **khlu*, an abbreviation of *khalu*.
- 30) EAp. *lu* = *hi* (DDK. 21).

It is only EAp. which shows a different set, or rather a different phonological development in these adverbs. Most of the adverbs (with some exceptions) are common to WSAp. regions.

CONJUNCTIONS

§154. In Ap. we have the same conjunctions as in Pkts., though some of them are slightly modified in form, a few unusual in Pkts. : e.g., *ahava*, *ahavaḥ* (*athavā*), WAp. *anu*, *annaha* (*anyathā*), WSAp. *chuḍu* = *yadi*, but adverbially *yadā* as in *BhK.* 121.10, WSAp. *jaī*-(*yadī*) with the corresponding *tā*, *to*, *toi*, *taha* etc., *je* < *jaī* (*yadī*) in *Mt.* 9, *ṇavari* 'there-upon' as in *Hv.* 82.15.4, 'however, yet' (*Hv.* 85.5.7, 86.8.1). In *Hv.* 81.5.7 *ṇam*. *to* are used to mean 'If not—so.' *va* is used for *vā*, but in *sn.* 355 27 '*ajja ki kalli*' *ki*=*vā*.

This list is only suggestive.

INTERJECTIONS

§155. The following are some of the Interjections found in Ap. literature. Some of them are *ts.*, while most of them are found in *Pkt.*, and we cannot hence regard them as peculiar to Ap.

- 1) *ammie*=*aho*. To address a particular person cf. *amba*, *ambike* in OIA.
- 2) *ari*, *ariri*, *arari*, *are* < OIA *re re*, *are*.
- 3) *avvō*, *avvo avvo* 'oh mother!' (*Hv.* 89.10.12, 85.10.25) cf. *Dn.* 1.5 *avvā*=*ambā* 'mother.' It is found in Dravidian.
- 4) *ahaha* 'Alas' (*Sc.* 585.1) *ts.*
- 5) *aho*, *ahu*, *aho'hu*, *uhu* (*Hv.* 89.15.10) < *aho*.
- 6) *chē chē*, *thū thū* ; to express disgust.
- 7) *haūm haūm*=*hā hō* 'Alas,' as in
haūm haūm lahivī sudhammihim juttau.
chāyā : *hā hā labdhvā sudharmāiḥ yuktam.* -*Sn.* 308.169.
- 8) *hahā*, *hāhā* < *hā*, *dhiraṭṭhu*=*dhig astu* ('Fie' (*Kp.* A. 2.4, 8. 46.8).
- 9) *hali*, *hali hali* < *hale* 'oh', in addressing a friend (*Jc.* 2.7.2).

In *Kc.* 39 we have *ra*=*re* e.g., *āhara*=*ehi re*, *jāha ra*=*yāhi re*. In *Kc.* 68 and in *Hc.* 8.4.423 *huhuru*, *ghugghiu* are onomatopoeic expressions.

The above list is by no means exhaustive.

CHAPTER IV.

NOMINAL STEM-FORMATION IN APABHRAMŚA

§156. Ap. suffixes are divided as (I) Primary and (II) Secondary. Most of them are derivable from IA sources, although in a few cases Dravidian influence is suspected.

I. PRIMARY SUFFIXES

§157. The following is the list of important Primary Suffixes in Ap. :

- 1) *-a* <OIA *-ka* : 'agent, doer'. e.g., WAp. *khavaṇaa* (*kṣapaṇaka*), SAp. *bappihaya* (*bāṣpa-īha-ka*), EAp. *biṇua* (*viñjuka*).
- 2) *-aṇa* <OIA *-ana* with or without pleonastic *-ka*: applied to verbs to make Abstract Substantives. Some forms are clear developments of OIA Abstract nouns. e.g., WAp. *ukkovaṇa* (*utkoṣana*), *payadīṇa* (*prakaṣaṇa*), *-ina* <*-anna* by Umlaut; *avikkhaṇa* (*avekṣaṇa*); SAp. *khamcaṇa* (*karṣaṇa*), *paūlaṇa* (*prajvalana*), WAp. *thāṇa* (*sthāna*) or MIA $\sqrt{tha} + aṇa$.

MIA roots take this Primary Affix as in the following examples : WAp. *jamṇaṇa* ($\sqrt{jamṇa} < \sqrt{jalp-}$), *caḍḍaṇa* ($\sqrt{caḍḍa} = \sqrt{mṛd-}$) cf. Hc. 8.4.126, SAp. *khunṭaṇa* ($\sqrt{khunṭa} = \sqrt{truṭ-}$), *khamcaṇa* ($\sqrt{khamca} = \sqrt{krṣ-}$), *ghaṭṭaṇa* ($\sqrt{ghaṭṭa}$ usually connected with $\sqrt{ghṛṣ-}$).

3-4, *-ia*, *-iya* <OIA *-in* + pleonastic *-ka*; also from OIA *-ika* : 'action, agent.' e.g., SAp. *ullūriya* (*ullūra-īya*) 'a baker.'

- 5) *-ira* To show habit (*tācchīye*). This is regarded by ALSDORF as an equivalent suffix of Pres. Part '. It must be admitted that OIA Pres. Part. forms can be cogently used in some of these examples (See §147). It is however a Primary Suffix showing habit. e.g., SAp. *kīlliri* ($\sqrt{kriḍ-}$) = *kriḍana-śīlā*, *himsira* (\sqrt{himsa} - 'to neigh') = *heṣaṇa-śīlā*, *cāvira* ($\sqrt{carv-}$) = *carvaṇa-śīlā*, *gasiru* ($\sqrt{gras-}$) = *grasana-śīlā*. Similarly WAp. *cūmvira* ($\sqrt{cumb-}$), *kandira* ($\sqrt{krand-}$) *hallira* (\sqrt{halla} - 'to move'), *hasira* ($\sqrt{has-}$). EAp. has no forms with this suffix.

1 ALSDORF, Intro. to *Kp.* 35, p. 62. (See also §148 Footnote 64).

- 6) -illa < OIA -ia or -la (?) : 'Agent, doer.' e.g., SAp. *kaṇailla* (√*kaṇa*-<*kvaṇ*-) 'a parrot.'
- 7) -evva < OIA -lavya: added to verbs to form Adjs. 'This is a suffix of Pot. Pass. Part. e.g., *vañcevva* (√*vañc*-), *jāṇevvī* (√*jāṇ*-) etc. For more see §149. Additional Suffixes are also discussed there.
- 8) -ga < OIA -ka : 'agent, doer.' e.g., WAp. *khamaga* = *kṣamaka* < √*kṣam*-, *khavaga* = *kṣapaka* < √*kṣap*-, *jāṇaga* (√*jāṇ*-) = *jñāyaka*.
- 9) -lāra OIA -tṛ : 'Agent, doer' e.g., *ahittāra* (*abhivak-tṛ*), *kattāra* (*kar-tṛ*).

As most of the OIA suffixes became so much identified with the original root, the sense of OIA root-+ suffix (e.g., *dhar-ma*) was lost quite early in pre-*Ap.* MJA. There is hence no propriety in analysing *Ap.* *carisu* (*carīṣṇu*), *jalahi* (*jaladhī*), or *kisī* (*kṛṣī*) into *cara-isu* (-*iṣṇu*), *jala-ha-i* (-*i* technically known as *kī* in *Sk.* grammar) or *kisa-i* (-*i* known as *ik* in *Sk.* grammar).

II. SECONDARY SUFFIXES

§158. The following is the list of important secondary suffixes. The powers of each suffix are indicated one after another :

- 1) -a < OIA -ka . pleonastic e.g., WAp. *bāḍhaa* (*vrddhaka*), *santāviya-a* (*santāpīṭaka*), *ahānaa* (*ābhānaka*); SAp. *Joheya-a* (*Yaudheya-ka*), *bhaḍāra* (*bhaṭṭaraka*); EAp. *tuttia-u* (*trutitaka*), *bisariaa* (*viśmīṭaka*), *paḍhia-a* (*paṭhita-ka*), *arabinda-a* (*aravindaka*).
- 2) -a < OIA -ā : Feminine gender. Sometimes used where normally OIA is seen. e.g., WSAp. -*gattia* (-*gātrikā* = *gātrī*), *taruṇa* (*taruṇī*).
- 3) -aya < OIA -aka : Pleonastic e.g., WAp. *accheraya* (*āścarya-ka*) SAp., *tṛya*, *tūya* (*strī-ka*), *Nisriya* (*Niṣṛika*).
- 4) -ara < OIA -kara : added to substantives for forming Adjectives. e.g., SAp. *royara* (*ruci-kara*) in *Mp.* 17.12.7.
- 5-6) -āra, -gāra- : 'Agent, doer,' e.g., *sonṇāra* (*suvarṇa-kāra*), *sūnāra* (*sūnā* 'murder'+*kāra*) ; SAp. *janerī* (**janaya-kāri*) and not *janayitṛī* with which it is equated (See *Nc.* glossary. *ahagāra* (*agha-kāra*). For -*k*->-*g*- see *Hc.* 8.4.396.

- 7) **-āla** < OIA **-āla**, **-āra** : affixed to substantives to form Adjs. in the sense of 'possessing, full of.' It is very popular in SAp. and Marathi e.g., *khirāla* (*kṣīra*-), *dāḍhāla* (*damṣṭrā*-) *haḍḍāla* (*haḍḍa*- 'a bone'), *guṇāla* (*guṇa*-), *sohāla* (*śobhā*); WAp. *payāla* (*prajūāla*) in Pd. 69, 84).
- 8) **-ālu** (*ya*) < OIA **-ālu**, **-āru** : Added to Substantives to make Adjs. chiefly in WSAp. e.g., *saddhāluya* (*śraddhā*-), *dayālu-a* (*dayā*-), *tiṭṭhālu-ya* (**tiṣṭhā* 'thirst'), WAp. *giddhālu* (*graddha*-). In these forms *-ya* and *-a* are derived from OIA pconastic **-ka**.
- 9) **-ī** < OIA **-ī** : For the Fem. gender, but many times used for OIA **-ā** suffix. These are traceable to OIA colloquial forms, though these are not recognised by the School of Pāṇini.
e.g., WAp. *parithu* (**praviṣṭi*—*ṣṭā*), *-vadaṇī* (**-vadaṇī*—*vadana*), *-saṃkuḍī* (*-saṃkatā*), SAp. *kampillī* (*kāmpilyā*) 'N. of a town,' *vayamaṇī* (**vayayī* = *vayayā*).
- 10) **-i** (*ya*) < OIA **-in** with pleonastic **-ka** : 'possessing, or having,' used to form Adjs. from Nouns. The Adjs. in **-in** were already formed in OIA e.g., *yoga* + *in* > *yogin* 'possessing or having yoga.' *yogin* > *joi* is a Pkt. form. Ap. adds pleonastic **-ya** < **-ka**, and the suffix appears as **-iya** in Ap. Really speaking it should be classed as **-ya** < **-ka** below. e.g., SEAp. *joiya* (*yogin-ka*), *varriya* (*varin-ka*), WAp. *dchiya* (*dehin-ka*), *ahigāriya* (*adhikārin-ka*). SAp. *aṇṇūniya* (*ajñānin-ka*), *bandiya* (*bandin-ka*).
- 11) **-iya** < OIA **-kiya** (?) : 'possessing, belonging to': To form Adjs. from Adjs. e.g. WAp. *parāiya* (*parakiya*), SAp. *mahaiya* (*mahat*-).
- 12) **-itta** < OIA **-i-tra** or **-i-ṭṭ** : 'having, possessing'. Applied to Nouns to make Adjs. It is rare and is found in WAp. e.g. *chadāitta* (*chanda*—*ṭṭa* = *chanda-vat*).
- 13) **-ima** < OIA **-ima** : Affixed to Adjs. to form Abstract nouns. e.g. WAp. *bhallima* (**bhad-la-ima*). SAp. *dhutima* (*dhūrta-ima*): *kārima* (**kār-ima* = *kartrima*).
- 14) **-ira** : < To show habit (*tūcchilye*). This is regarded by ALSDORF as an equivalent suffix of Pres.Part. (See §117 Footnote) It must be admitted that OIA Pres. Part. forms can

be cogently used in some of these examples (see §147). It is, however, a Primary Suffix showing habit. e.g. SAP. *kilivī* ($\sqrt{\text{krīḍ-}}$) = *krīḍana-śīla*, *hī im sira* ($\sqrt{\text{himsa-}}$ 'to neigh') = *heṣaṇa-śīla*, *cāvira* ($\sqrt{\text{carv-}}$) = *carvaṇaśīla*, *gasiru* ($\sqrt{\text{gras-}}$) = *grasanaśīla*. Similarly WAp. *cuṁvira* ($\sqrt{\text{cumb-}}$), *kandira* ($\sqrt{\text{krand-}}$), *hallira* ($\sqrt{\text{halla-}}$ 'to move') *hasira* ($\sqrt{\text{has-}}$). EAp. has no forms with this suffix.

- 15) *-ira* < OIA *-ira* : 'possessing, having'. It is used with substantives to form Adjs. SAP. *surosua* (*surosa*), *ānandira* (*ānanda-ira*). This is closely allied with the Primary Suffix *-ira* noted above (See §157). It is applied to Adjs. to form Adjs. e.g. WAp. *gaggira* (*gadgada-*), SAP. *lambira* (*lamba-*).
- 16) *-ila* < OIA *-ila* pleonastic: e.g. WAp. *samila* (*sama-*), SAP. *aṭṭhiliya* (*asthi-la-ika*?). This suffix is another form of *-illa*.
- 17) *-illa* < Allied with OIA *-ila*? 'Pertaining to, possessing having'. e.g. WAp. *chaila* (*chāyā-*) of. *Hc.* 8.4.412 and PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, §595, WSAp. *kaṭilla* (*kati-*) 'a dhoti' in *BhK.* 167.2 and *Hr.* 86.10.6, but 'a thread round the waist' in *Mp.* 4.4.5., *sohilla* (*śobhā-*), SAP. *jhūṇilla*, (*dhvani-*), *ṇēhilla* (*sneha-*), *saṁkaṭilla* (*saṁkaṭa-*), *uvarilla* (**upara-*) cf. *Hc.* 8.2.163. Generally it is adjectival. Pleonastically we have: WAp. *kuḍḍiliya* (*kuṭi-*), SAP. *samilla* (*sama-*).
- 18-20) *-ulla*, *-ullaya*, *-ullī* (Fem.) < OIA *-ṭa* : All these are pleonastic. Sometimes there are combinations of such *svārthe* suffixes like < OIA *-ka*, *-la*, *-ṭa* etc. cf. *Hc.* 8.4.430. The following are some of the examples. WSAp. *hiya-ulla* (*hrdaya*), WAp. *kuṇullī* (*kuṭi-*), *vilalulla* (*vilola-*), *kaṇnulla-ḍa* (*karna-*), SAP. *morulla-a* (*mayūra-*), *bahinulla* (*bhaginī-*), *ciḍaulla* (*cataka-*?) probably cognate with *cetaka* < $\sqrt{*crt-}$ or $\sqrt{*cr-}$ as KATRE² and S. K. CHATTERJI³ take it, *maḍahulla* (*maḍa ha* 'small') see *Dn.* 6.117.
- 21) *-evva* < OIA *-lavya* : added to verbs to form Adjs. Pot. Pass. Participles e.g. *vaṁcevva* (*vañc-*), *jāṇevvī* (*jñā-*) etc. For more see §149. Additional suffixes are also discussed there.

2 S. M. KATRE, 'Prakrit, *uccidima* and *uccuḍai*, in *Festschrift Prof. P. V. Kane*, p. 258-9.

3 S. K. CHATTERJI, *New Ind. Ant.* 2, 421-7.

- 22) *-kka* < OIA pleonastic *-ka* geminated : e.g. *guruki* (*guru-*). In *BhK*. 126.7 it is an adj. of *āsamka* 'doubt'. It need not be connected with M. *gurakṇē* as JACABI does in *BhK* p. 146.
- 23) *-ḍa*, *-ḍi* (Fem.) < OIA *-ta* pleonastically. Its use and combinations with other pleonastic suffixes are sanctioned by Pk. grammarians of all schools.⁴ It is very popular in WAp. and especially so in *Sdd.* and *NIA* of that region. e.g. WAp. *rukḥa-ḍa* (**rukṣa-*) 'a tree', *bhitta-ḍi* (*bhiṭta-*) 'a visit', *vaṭṭaḍiṭṭā* (*vartman-*), *goraḍi* (**gaurati*) *vakkhāṇa-ḍa* (*vyākhyāna-*). SAP. *mamchuddu* (*maṅkṣu*). OIA *-ks-* > *-ch-* is found in SAP. and Marathi⁵ *ukkuruḍa* (*utkara-*); EAp. *kh...u-ḍa* (*khara-*). It is however rare in SEAp. It is applied to Adverbs to form Adjs. e.g. *ettaḍaya* (*iyat-*), *tettaḍau*, *tittaḍau* = *tāvan-mātra*: EAp. *evaḍu* (*etāvat*). These forms are found in all regions.
- 24) *-ḍḍa* < OIA *-*dra*: WSAp. *tevaḍḍa* (**tayavadra* = *tāvat*), *evaḍḍa* (**ayavadra* = *iyat*).
- 25) *-ṇi* < OIA *-nī*: Fem. e.g. *sāhu-nī* (*sādhu-*), *thambha-nī* SAP. *candāṇi* (*candra-*) on the analogy of (*stambānī* *Indiānī*, *hālīṇi* (*hala-* 'a plough') 'a peasant woman', WSEAp. *jōṇi* (*joginī*).
- 26) *-tta* < OIA *-tva*: added to Substantives to form Abstract Substantives e.g. WAp. *mantitta* (*mantrin + tva*), *maṇuyatta* (*manujatva*). EAp. *sallatta* (*śalya-*). These are Prakritisms.⁶
- 27) *-ttana* < OIA *-tvana*: applied to substantives to make Abstract Nouns. e.g. WSAp. *maṇuya-ttana* (*manuja*), *siddhantana* (*siddha-*), *devattana* (*deva*). SAP. *rora-ttana* (*rora* 'poverty-stricken'), *carittana* (*cārin-*).
- Both the above-mentioned suffixes are used with Adjs. to form Abstract Nouns. e.g. WAp. *bahutta* (*bahu-*), *cavallatana* (*capala-*), *bhallat-tanu* (**bhad-la* = *bhad-ra*); SAP. *pharusattana* (*paraśa-*), *thadḍha-ttana* (*stabdha-*); EAp. *tisi-ttana* (*trṣita-*).
- 28) *-ltiya* < OIA **-tika* < *-tā + ika*: added to Adverbs to form Adjs. e.g. WSAp. *eltiya* (**ayat-tika*) = *iyat*. PISCHEL traces this from

⁴ e.g., *Pu.* 17.18-19 *Hc.* 8.4.429-32, *Tr. Ld.* 3.3.29-32 *Rt.* 3.2.6-7, *Mk.* 17.5-7. Artificial combinations in *Sh.* 22. 4.29.33, 34 are not found in actual literature.

⁵ BLOCH, *FLM.* § 104; TURNER *BSOS* VIII ii-iii, p. 797. I or Ap. see Ch. I. § 61.

⁶ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 597.

to OIA **ayattya* + **ayattiya*⁷. *kettii*, *kittii* (**kayat-tika*) though equated with **kayattya*, **kayattiya* by PISCHEL. The same is the case with *jettia*, *tettia* and others.

- 29) *-tula* < OIA **-tūla* < *-tā* + *-ula*: This is affixed to make Adjs. from Adverbs. e.g. *ettula* (*etāvat*), *kettula* (*kiyat*-. *jettula* (*yāvat*-), *tittula* (*tāvat*-).
- 30) *-du*: pleonastic. This is found only in the works of 'Eastern', Pk. grammarians.⁸ e.g. *rukha-du* (**rukṣa*-) 'a tree'. *taruṇi-du* (*taruṇi*-), *bhūmidu* (*bhūmi*-), *vaṇa-du* (*vaṇa*-) Neither EAp. nor WSAp. attests to it.
- 31-32) *-ppa*, *-ppaṇa* < OIA *-tva*, *-tvana*, a labial development (See §62.2.3). Another development viz. *-tla*, and *-ltana* is noted above. These are added to Adjs. to make Abstract Substantives. e.g. *vaḍḍaḍḍaṇa*; *vaḍḍattāṇa*, *bhallappaṇa*; *bhallattāṇa*.
- 33) *-maĩ* < OIA *-matī*: As in Pk. the last member of Fem. proper Nouns. e.g. *Śrīmāi* (*Śrīmatī*), *Dharmāi* (*Dharmatī*), *Kaṇaya-mai* (*kanaka-matī*).
- 34) *-ya* < OIA *-ka*: It is found as *-a*, *-ya*, *-a-ya*, *-i-ya*, *-u-ya*. It is directly applied to words or is used in combination with other pleonastic affixes in their different forms. As most of these are separately treated, the examples are not repeated here. *-ya* being common to Pkt., words, e.g. *Nīṣṇīya* (*Nīṣṇīka*), *tīya* (*strīka*), need not be regarded as purely Ap.
- 35) *-va* < OIA *-vat*, *-mat*: Out of these Adjective-forming suffixes. *-va* < OIA *-vat* is an ordinary Pkt. development. We may presume OIA **-vat* > *-va* in the spoken stage, though classical Sk. uses *-mat* for them. e.g. *Haṇuva* < **Hanu-vat* = *°mat*. *-va* ending Ap. words e.g. *āṇḍakava* (*āṇḍaka-vat*) can be found in other Pkt. dialects.
- 36) *-anda* < OIA **-vrnda*: It is added to substantives to make nouns. e.g. *baliranda* 'might, force' as in *balivaṇḍae dharantaho suravahm̐*. 'In spite of the mighty efforts of the king of gods to hold it up'. (No. 8.3.2). Is there some Dravidian influence on this rare suffix?

⁷ *Ibid*, § 153.

⁸ See *Pu.* 17.20, *Mk.* 17.7.

- 37) *-vanta* < OIA *-vanta* = *vat* : 'possessing, having'. This adjectival suffix is too common in Pkts. to need any elaboration here.
- 38) *-vāla* < OIA *-vat* : 'possessing'. e.g. *dhandha* = *vāla-lajjāvat* (*Pd.* 122) for *dhayadhandhā nara-lajjā*. *Dn.* 5.57. Can we trace modern *-wala* in proper nouns to this?
- 39) *-vi(ya)* < OIA *-vin* + *-ka* : 'possessing'. This is not peculiar to Ap. as forms in *-viya* (e.g. SAp. *māyāviya*) are the normal Pk. development of *-vin-ka*.
- 40) *-ra(?)* < OIA *-ru* : Pleonastic e.g. *kappara* (✓ *kṛp-*). Is Deśi *maḍap-phara* 'pride', a contamination of *mada* + *darpa* + *ra*?
- 41) *-riṇa* < OIA ? : Another rare suffix of Abstract nouns in SAp. e.g. *tīla-riṇa* (*tīla-tva*) 'oily'.
- 42) *-riśa* < OIA *-drśa* applied to Adverbs to make Adjs. e.g., *erisa* (*īdrśa*), *kerisa* (*kīdrśa*) and the like.⁹
- 43-44) *-la*, *-lī* (Fem.) < OIA *-la*, pleonastic. It is different from *-āla*, *-ālu*, *-illa*, *-ulla* which are traceable to OIA *-ra* or *-la*. It was much productive in Ap. of all regions. e.g. WSAp. *potta-lī* (*potta* 'stomach'), *andhalaya* (*andha-*), EAp. *nag-gala* (*nagna-*). *-alla* as in SAp. *navalla* (*nava-*), WAp. *mahalla* (*mahat-*) *Dn.* 6.143 may be included under this.
- 45) *-(e)ha-u* < MIA *-isa* OIA *-drśa* : applied to Adverbs for forming Adjs. e.g. *jehau* (*yādrśa*), *tehau* (*tādrśa*), *kehau* (*kīdrśa*), etc.¹⁰

This list of secondary suffixes is not exhaustive, but it may be claimed to be fairly representative of this stage of IA though some of these suffixes are common to other MIA dialects.

§ 159. The following table of Ap. suffixes gives their classification according to their powers :

- 1) Suffixes added to substantives to form substantives : *-tta*, *-ttana*, *-ppa*, *-ppana*, *-maī*, *-riṇa* (?), *-vaṇḍa*.
- 2) Suffixes applied to Adjs. for forming Abstract Substantives : *-ima*, *-tta*, *-ttana*, *-ppa*, *-ppana*.

⁹ For the change of OIA *-dr-* > MIA *-ri-*, see PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 245.

¹⁰ PISCHEL, *Grammatik*, § 262.

- 3) Suffixes added to Substantives for forming Adjs.: *-ara*, *-āla*, *-ālu(ya)*^{*} *-i(ya)*, *-ilta*, *-illa*, *-ira* *-va*, *-vanta*, *-vi(ya)*.
- 4) Suffixes added to Adjs. to form Adjs.: *-iya*, *-i(e-)ra*.
- 5) Suffixes for forming Adjs. from Verbs: *-ira*, *-evva*, *-rima* (?).
- 6) Suffixes added to Adverbs to form Adjs. *-(a)ḍa*, *-(a)ḍḍa*, *-ttia* *(-ya)*, *-ttula*, *-risa*, *-ha(u)*.
- 7) Pleonastic suffixes: *-a*, *-ya*, *-aya*, *-āla*, *-ālu*, *-iya*, *-illa*, *-uya*, *-ulla* *-kka* (rare), *-ḍā* *-ḍī* (fem.), *du* (only in Eastern Pk. Grammars), *-ra* (rarely), *-la*, *-lī* (fem.), and different combinations of the pleonastic suffixes, *-ka*, *-ḍa*, *-la*.
- 8) Fem. suffixes: *-ā*, *-ī*, *-āī*.
Many of these are common to literary Pkts.

AN INDEX VERBORUM OF Ap. WORDS OCCURRING IN 'A HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF APABHRAMŚA.'

This Index Verborum covers all the Ap. vocables occurring in the body of the thesis, and includes the morphological illustrations as well. As we have prepared a separate Index Verborum of Ap. words cited in Pk. grammars and commentaries on them, and in PISCHEL's *Grammatik*, and as this is not a lexicon of Ap. words, only those vocables (from different Ap. texts and Pk. grammars) which have been used in preparing the present work, are incorporated in this Index. It is thus quite natural that some Ap. works, which have not been mentioned herein, may contain that form or vocable. The abbreviations used herein have been already tabulated at the beginning. The remaining ones, being common to other standard works on Indian linguistics, can be easily understood. A single arabic figure indicates the verse number as in the cases of those coming after *DKK.*, *Dks. Mt.*, *Pd.*, *Sdd.*, etc. Three consecutive arabic figures (with dots to separate them) indicate the *sandhi*, *kaṭavaka* and line number ; for example figures after *MP. NC. JC. KKC.* etc. In every case we have followed the critical text and numbering of the editor. In *Hc.* all references are to Ch. VIII.4 unless mentioned otherwise. Though we have given etymological equations and cognates from OIA, MIA and NIA, this does not claim to be a comparative etymological Index Ap. vocables.

aira- (*acira-*) Adverbially -*iṇa Sc.* 586.5, -*eṇa Sc.* 508.9.

airatti (**ati -rakti*) *Ins. sg. -e Hc.* 438.

āisa (**a-drśa=īdrśa*) *DKK.* 24, *DKS* 10, 78, *Sh.* 22.61. 'here' *DKK* 20.

(SHAHIDULLA - *Les Chants Mystiques* p. 99).

Masc. Nom. sg. -*ṣ DKS.* 77, -*u Kc.* 52, *Ld. Tr.* 3. 3. 10,
-*o Hc.* 403.

āūho (*ayudhaḥ*) *Mt.* 11.

akayattḥa (*akṛtārthaḥ*) *Kc.* 46.

akkaṭa (*akṛta*) =*āścarya* 'wonder' *DKS.* 78.

akkanda-i (= *ākṛāmatī*) *Sc.* 529.8, Abs. -*iṇa, Sc.* 531.4 (cognate with Sk. *ākṛānta* ?)

akḥai (*akṣati*) = *akṣaya Pd.* 169.

akḥaiṇi (*akṣayinī*)

Loc. sg. zero *Pd.* 42 ('*akṣayinī . . par*' H. L. JAIN *Fd.* p.15).

akkha (*akṣa*) 'game at dice' *Kp.* 27.6.

akkha-i- (*ā-khyā-ti*) *BhK.* 25.5, Pres. Ind. -*mi BhK.* 95.6, *Sdd.* 1, *Ys.* 2. -*hi Mt.* 29. -*hā BhK.* 180.6. -*hum Kc.* 42. Imp. -*hi BhK.* 145.3. -*hu BhK.* 99. 6. pp. -*ya BhK.* 106.9 *MP.* 2.6.2.

akkhara (*akṣara*) *BhK.* 18.2, *DKK.* 23, *DKS.* 60, *KKC.* 1.7.7. Ins. Pl. -*him Sdd.* 1

akkharaḍa (*akṣara-ta*) (plconastic) *Pd.* 86.

akkhāḍaya (*akṣapāta*), *aksavāta* (Sk. lex.) 'arena, place of combat' *Hv.* 86.6.13. (Pa. *akkhāvāta*, M. *akhāḍā*, Punj. *akhāḍā*, Kāshmiri -*akahār*. For more discussion S. M. KATRE, *Prākṛit Languages*, p. 76).

akkhi (*akṣi*.) Loc. sg. -*him Hc.* 357, Acc. pl. zero *DKS.* 2, 5. (M. H. Guz. *ākhi*, M. *ākhi*, Sdh. *akha*, Punj. *akkh.* Beng. Or. *khi*)

akkhiya-mettī (= *ākhīyāta-mātreṇa*) *Mp.* 2.6.2

akkheva (*āksepa*) Ins. Sg. -*ṇa Sn.* 335-127.

akkhoha (*akṣobha*, *aksohhyā*) Ins. Pl. -*ehi DKK.* 3.

agāa (= *agamya*) *Nc.* 2. 3. 12.

agga (*agra*) Adv. *aggaṭ* = *agre Sc.* 504.5.

aggi (*agni*) Acc. Sg. zero *DKS.* 2, Ins. Sg. -*em*, -*m*, -*ṇa Hc.* 344. Loc. Sg. -*him Sdd.* 39. *ṇya-ṭ* = *agninā PPr.* 1. 1. (Pa. Pk. *aggi* M.H. Guz. *āg*, Maith. *āgi*, Punj. *agga*).

aṁga (*ts.*) Ins. Sg. -*em Mt.* 32, cf. *Hc.* 396.4.

aṁgulī (*ts.*) Nom. Pl. -*u BhK.* 167.8, *Hc.* 333. (M. *aṁgalī*, *aṁgulī*, Guz. *aṁgulī* (*ṇlī*), *aṁglī*, H. *aṁgulī*, *umglī*, Sdh. *aṁguri*. Punj. *umgulī*).

acokkha-u- (*a-cokṣa-ka*) 'dirty' *Jc.* 3. 36. 17. (M.H. *cokh*, Guz. *cokkhā*, Punj. *cokkhā*).

accattham Adv. *atīyartham Kp.* S. 103.1*

Accuya *Acyuta* 'N. of a heaven in Jain mythology.'

Hv. 81. 11. 12; 92. 18. 13. also 90.6.9, 92.15.6.

✓ *accha* = ✓ *as* 'to be,' 'to stand' cf. *Hc.* 215; but rather *ā-kṣi* 'nivāsa-gatyaḥ',

Pres. Ind. -*mi Bhk.* 82.6, *Jc.* 3.21.6, -*ṇ DKK.* 18.

-*esi Pd.* 91. -*hi BhK.* 25. 7, *KKC.* 1. 15. 7. -*hu BhK.* 226. 10.

-i *BhK.* 36. 2, *KKC.* 1. 11. 5, *Pd.* 58, 136. -(a)nti *BhK.* 24. 9. -hī *PPr.* 1. 5. Imp. 2p. sg. -hi *BhK.* 38. 2, *DAS.* 56. -hu *BhK.* 28. 9. *DAS.* 59. -u *BhK.* 4. 1, *Pd.* 215, *Sc.* 516.7, *Sdd.* 30. 2pl. -ha *Jdu.* 1. 3. -(a)ntu *BhK.* 215.8, Fut. -isu *Sc.* 142.8. -esaī *Pd.* 182. Pres. Part. -anta *Pd.* 122.

(Sk. *ākṣeti*, Pa. *acchati* 'abides, stays.' M. *asṇē* Nep. **chunu*, Guz. *chū*, Mar. *chū*, Maith. Beng. *āchi*, Or. *achi*. For more discussion TURNER, *BSOS* 8. 2-3. 795-812).

acchi (*akṣi*) *BhK.* 250. 9, *PPr.* 1. 121, *Sc.* 584. 5. Loc. Sg. -hī *Mt.* 7.

accheraya (*āścaryaka*) *BhK.* 65. 1, *Kp.* K 3.2.

acchoḍi (*ākṣoḍita*) = *āspoḍita* in *Jc.* 3. 10. 8 *Kp.* J. 72.1. cf. *āccoḍa*. 'das Schlagen mit dem Schwanz' *PWB* as quoted by ALSDORF in *Kp.* Glossar.

ajoa (*ayoga*) Ins. Sg. -em *BhK.* 87. 6.

aju < *ajju* (*adya*) *Sc.* 614.3.

ajja (*adya*) *BhK.* 10.7, *Sc.* 706.1, *Sn.* 355-27.

ajju (*adya*) *BhK.* 178.10, *Jc.* 4. 5. 12, *Sc.* 489.7 (Sk. *adya*, Pa. Pk. *ajja*, M. H. Guz. *āj*, Beng. Or. *āji*, Sdh. *āju*, Punj. *ajj*).

√ *ajja* (*arjay*) Imp. 2p. Sg. -esu *Kp.* A. 6. 4.

√ *amca* (*aracay*) PP. -iya *BhK.* 114.13, *JC.* 2. 4. 1, Abs. -ivi *BhK.* 47. 1.

amcāṇi (= *arcitā*) *JC.* 1. 9. 13.

aṭṭa (*ārta*) *JC.* 3. 21. 6.

aṭṭha (*aṣṭa*) *BhK.* 96. 4, *Kp.* J. 82.4, S. 31.2, * 34.2*, *Sc.* 470.5. Nom. Acc. zero *Sc.* 602.3, 600.9. Neut. -im *Sdd.* 26. Ins. -hī *Sc.* 604.6, Gen. -h *Sc.* 601.8. (Sk. *aṣṭā*: Pa. Pk. *aṭṭha*, M. H. Guz. *āṭh*, Beng. *āt*, Punj *aṭṭh*).

aṭṭhaṭṭisa (*aṣṭa-trimśat*) *Mp.* 2. 5. 4. (Pa. *aṭṭha-timśam* M. H. *aḍḍis*, Guz. *aḍḍiris*).

aṭṭhama (*aṣṭama*) *KKc.* 10. 16. 4, *Sdd.* 15.

aṭṭhami fem. (*aṣṭamī*) Loc. Pl. -him *Sdd.* 13.

aṭṭhayāla = *aṣṭa-catvāriṃśat* *BhK.* 316. 1.

(Pa. *aṭṭhacattārīsa*, Pk. *aṭṭhacattālīsa*, *aṭṭhacattāla* > **aṭṭhācatāla* leading to the Ap. vocable. M. *aṭṭhecāl*, *aṭṭhetaḷ*, Guz. *aḍḍālīs*, etc. TURNER 9*).

- aṣṭottara-saya* (*aṣṭottara-śata*) *Kp.* S. 31.2.
- aḍavaḍa* (*aḷapaṭa*) (Onomatopoeic) *Pd.* 6, 145.
- aḍavi* (*aḷavi*) *Loc. Sg.* -*hiṃ* *KKc.* 7. 1. 10.
- aṇaṇṇa* (*ananya*) *Kp.* A. 6, 3.
- aṇaṇṇāisa* (*ananyādrśa*) *Kc.* 58.
- aṇavarāisa* (**anaparādrśa* = *ananyādrśa*) *Kc.* 58.
- anahijja* (f.) (*anabhijjā.*) *Loc. Sg.* -*e* *Mt.* 20.
- anāi* (*anādi*) *Ins. Pl.* -*hi* *Jc.* 1. 2. 26.
- anu* (= *anyat*) *PPr.* 2. 44. = *anyathā* *Hc.* 415, *Kc.* 60, *Ld.* 3. 3. 51, *Sh.* 22. 21.
Tr. 3. 3. 51.
- anuttha* (*anu* √ *sthē.*) *Imp.* 2 pl. -*ha* *Sn.* 30-231.
- aṇuṇenti* f. (*anu-nayanti*) *Loc. Sg.* -*hi* *Mt.* 3.
- aṇupehā* (*anupreksā*) *Acc. Pl.* zero *Pd.* 211.
- aṇumaḥ* (*anumati*) *Acc. Sg.* zero *Sdd.* 16.
- anumagga* (*anumārga*) *Ins. Sg.* -*em* *BhK.* 46.11.
- anu-valla* (= *anu-pālaya*?) (*JACOBI BhK.* p. 124). -*hi* *BhK.* 160.2.
- anu-sara* (*anu* √ *sr* (*sar-*)) *Pres.* 3p. *Pl.* -*hiṃ* *Sdd.* 117. *Imp.* 3p. *Sg.* -*u* *Ā Kc.* 9.7.4.
- aṇu-hara-* (*anu-* √ *hr*) (*har-*) *PPr.* -*māṇaū* *BhK.* 132. 5.
- aṇu-hava-* (*anu-* √ *bhū-*) *Imp.* 3p. *Sg.* -*u* *BhK.* 115.10, 3p. *Pl.* -*ntu* *BhK.* 188.13.
- aṇu-humja-* (*anu-* √ *bhuj-*) (*bhuñj-*). *Imp.* 2p. *Pl.* -*hu* *KKc.* 3.10.10.
- aṇṇa* (*anna*) *anya*, *anyat* *DKK.* 16, *DKs.* 40, 104 *Hc.* 372, *PPr.* 2.45. *Sc.* 617-1. *Masc. Nom. Sg.* -*u* *Sc.* 490.8. *Gen. Sg.* -*ha* *Sc.* 735.3. *Loc. Sg.* -*hiṃ* *Hc.* 357.2, 383.3, 422.9. *Neut. Direct Pl.* -*im* *Hc.* 427.1. *Ins. Pl.* -*hi* *Sc.* 769.3. **Fem.** *Gen. Sg.* -*hi*, -*he* *Hc.* 425.1
- aṇṇa(ṇṇ)aha* *anyathā* *Hc.* 415, *Kc.* 60., *Sc.* 504.8.
- aṇṇ(ṇṇ)āisa* *anyādrśa* *Hc.* 413, *Tr. Ld.* 3.3.55, *Sh.* 66.
- aṇṇ'ekka* *anyaika* *Hv.* 82.13.9. **Fem. Ins. Sg.** -*i* *Jc.* 2.34.3.

- apññāhe* *anyatra Hv.* 81.11.1
- apññā* *anyanya.* Ins. Pl. -*hē Mt.* 13.
- atta* *ārta Sc.* 692.7.
- atthamiya* *astamila* Masc. Loc. Sg., -*im Sdd.* 37.
- atthavaṇṇa* *astamana (atthamaṇa in Hc.* 444.2). Loc. Sg. -*i PPr.* 2.132.
- atthi* (Sktism) *asti BhK.* 84.5, *DKs.* 7. *Jc.* 1.3.4.
Kp. J. 2.1, 46.1. *MP.* 1.17.1 (Sometimes Historical Present.)
- atthu* (Sktism) *astu Kp.* A. 2.4, J. 51.5.
- adaa* *advaya DKs.* 100.
- adaṁsaṇa* *adarśana* Ins. Sg. -*i Jdc.* 9.4.
- addaṁsaṇa* *adarśana* 'invisibility' *Hv.* 82.4.3. 'invisible' *Hv.* 82.1.6.
- addaiya-vāya* *advaita-vāda Hv.* 83.5.10.
- addiya* *ādrila BhK.* 40.5
- anta-ḍa, °-ḍaa, °-ḍaaā, °-ḍiā, °-ḍi=antra* *Sh.* . 28-34 but
- antra-ḍi* =*antra* in *Hc.* 445.3.
- antara (ts.)* Ins. and Loc. Sg. -*e Mt.* 17,33. Loc. -*i Hc.* 434.
- antima-tigu* °-*trikam Sn.* 15-286.
- Andhakaviṭṭhi* °*vr̥ṣṇi Hv.* 83.11.14.
- andhāra* *andhakāra DKs.* 99. Ins. Sg. -*im Sdd.* 6, Loc. Sg. -*ē DKK.* 22. -*i Hc.* 349.1.
- appa-i* *arpayati* Abs. -*ivī K Kc.* 2.6.5.
- appa* *ātman Kp.* J. 4.9. Nom. Sg. zero *DKs.* 62, 107, *Pd.* 44. -*u BhK.* 243.4, 257.3, *Sc.* 489.4. Acc. Sg. -*u BhK.* 70.3, *Hc.* 422.3 *Mt.* 1. *Pd.* 129. *Sc.* 669.4. -*ū Sc.* 515.8, -*m BhK.* 102.1. -*um Jc.* 3.7.2. *Sn.* 270-190. Ins. Sg. -*ē, °-em, -ē Pd.* 178. *PPr.* 1.56, 99. -*ena Jc.* 3.7.2. -*im PPr.* 1.76. -*hi DKs.* 62. Dat. Gen. Sg. -*ho Hc.* 336. -*hu Sdd.* 104, -*ha Sc.* 589.9. -*ha PPr.* 2.155. Loc. Sg. -*e Pd.* 204, *PPr.* 1.102. -*i Pd.* 83, 10. -*him Pd.* 78. -*hi DKs.* 62. -*ham Pd.* 133.
- appaññaya* *apratihata Sc.* 470.2.

- appaṇa* = *ātman* Direct Sg. -u *DKs.* 67, *Hc.* 337, 422, *Jc.* 2.10.15. Ins. Sg. -em *Hc.* 416. *appaṇā* (Sktism) *Pd.* 119. Gen. Sg. zero *DKs.* 85, *Sdd.* 84. *appaṇu DKs.* 81, *Mt.* 13 (M. Guz. *āpaṇ*, Nep. *āphnu*).
- appattha* *apathya* Ins. Sg. -em *Sdd.* 41.
- appā* *ātmā PPr.* 1.51. Direct Sg. zero *DKs.* 62, *Mt.* 13, *Pd.* 8.3. *PPr.* 195, Ins. Sg. -e, *Pd.* 75. Gen. Sg. zero *PPr.* 1.30.
- appāṇa* = *ātman*. Direct Sg. zero *DKs.* 98, *Pd.* 33. -u *Hc.* 396, *KKc.* 9.44. *Kp.* S. 12.2. *Pd.* 7, 139. *Sc.* 613.7. Gen. Sg. zero *DKs.* 108, *Pd.* 25.
- appia* *apriya* Loc. Sg. -e *Hc.* 365.1.
- appuṇu* = *ātmanā Jc.* 1.5.17. *Pd.* 83.
= *ōtmanah KKc.* 4.3.4.
- apphāla-i* *āsphālayati* Abs. -vi *BhK.* 146.3.
- avadhūi* *avadhūti* Nom. Sg. zero *DKK.* 4.
- abejja* *avidyā DKs.* 53.
- abhakkha* °*kṣ-ya BhK.* 320.3.
- abhaṇiya* °*ṇya* 'unbecoming, unseemly.' *Hv.* 91.2.5.
- abhha* *abhra Sc.* 757.5 Direct Pl. -ā *Hc.* 445.
- abbhattha-* *abhi-√arthay-* Pres. 1p. Sg. -emi *Mt.* 24.
- abbhiṭṭa* = *abhigata Mp.* 32.6.13.
Prob. pp. of *√abbhiṭṭa* cf. *Pk.* *bhiṭṭana Hc.* 383.3
(*M.* *bheṭṭē* 'to meet each other,' 'to embrace.' Traceable to Sk. *abhi-√at-abbhyatati* ?)
- abbhukkhaṇu* *abhyākhyānam Sn.* 271-190.
- amaṇṭha* **amṛṣṭa* = *amanojña*, *amarṣaṇa Hv.* 91.15.4.
- amaṇā* *āgmana* °*gamana* 'coming and passing' *DKs.* 70.
- amaya* *amṛta Sc.* 465.2.
- amayamāi* *Amṛta-matī Jc.* 3.41.6.
- Amayavāi* *Amṛtavatī Hv.* 91.7.8.
- amara (ts.)* Nom. pl. zero *MP.* 87.16.12.
- Amarādurī f.* *Amara-purī KKc.* 3.22.5.

amāvāsa

amāvāsyā *Hv.* 82.9.5.
(*Pk.* amāvāsa *Guz.* amās, *M.* āvas amās, amotā. *H.* amās,
Sdh umāsu

amīa

amīta *DKs.* 58, *KKc.* 2.15.6, *Sdd.* 168.
Direct Sg. -u *Sdd.* 2.

amū

Amiyaveya *Amita-vega* *KKc.* 5.4.2.
=adas.
Direct Sg. zero *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.32 *Ins. Sg.* -em, -na.
Tr. Ld. 3.4.35. Direct Pl. -im *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.32.

ammā

ambā 'mother' *Hv.* 85.7.4.
Dat. Sg. -him *Jc.* 3.11.6. *Voc. Sg.* ammi *Hc.* 395. *ammē*
Hc. 396. Hence the Interjection ammiē=aho *Pd.* 51.
It is probably to this vocable that ammahīraa 'lullaby'
in *MP.* 4.4.13. is traceable.

ambhāra

*asma-kāra. *Pu.* 17.30 (vide amhāra- below).

ambhu

aśman *Ld.* 3.3.2.

-amhala

or -aṇhala, °kamala
Direct Pl. -ī *Kc.* 47. cf. *Hc.* 4.397.

amha

asma
Direct: -im, *BhK.* 28.6, *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.48,
Sh. 22.54. -ī *BhK.* 29.2, *Hc.* 376.
-i *Jdu.* 51.3. *Kp. J.* 4.6. *Sc.* 643.6.
-e (i.e. amhe) *Hc.* 376, *Kp. E.* 4. *Sh.* 22.54.
-em *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.48.
Instr. -ī *BhK.* 44.6. *Jc.* 4.4.2.
-ihī *Kp.S.* 66.3.
-chim, °hī *Hc.* 378, *Sh.* 22.56.
-chu *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.49
-zero *BhK.* 111.4 -him *Pd.* 138.
Dat. Gen. zero *BhK.* 14.3, *Jc.* 3.2.12, *Kp.J.* 46.1,
Pd. 138, *Sc.* 561.2.
-im *Jc.* 4.4.7.
-hā, -ham, *BhK.* 28.3, 41.7, *Hc.* 380,
KKc. 1.14.12, *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.44.
Sc. 601.1, *Sh.* 22.58
-ha *Kp. J.* 51.6. *Mp.* 1.4.6, *Sc.* 486.4.
-ho *KKc.* 3.12.10.
-(ā)na(m) -*Pkt.ism.* *BhK.* 69.11, *Jc.* 1.15.12,
Kp.J. 48.2*, *Mt.* 4, *Sn.* 17-570.

- Loc. -(ā)su *Hc.* 381. *Tr. Ld.* 3A.50, *Sk.* 22.59.
 (Sk. *asme* Instr. *asmābhiḥ*, Pa. Direct *amhe*,
 Instr. *amhehiṃ*, Pk. Direct *amhe*, Instr.
amhehī. Gen. *amha*, *amhāṇām*. Loc. *amhāsu*.
 In NIA: M. *āmhi*, Guz. *ame*, Bg. *āmi* 'I', Or. *āmhi*.
- amhāra* **asma-kāra* (*kārya*) = *asmadīya*.
 -u *Tr. Ld.* 3.3.23. -um *Kc.* 74. cf. *Hc.* 434.
 -ā *Hv.* 91.3.2, *Sh.* 22.65.
- ayaṇḍi* -*akāṇḍe* *Sc.* 651.3.
- ayāṇuya* = *ajña* (> **a-jānuka*)
 Nom. Pl. zero *Jdc.* 4.4
- arabinda* -*aravinda* Nom. Sg. -ē *DKK.* 6.
- aravinda-rāya* °*rājan* Gen. Sg. -ho *BhK.* 234.1.
- arari* *are re* *Sc.* 582.6.
- Arahanta* *Arhat BhK.* 1.9. Ins. Sg. -im *Sdd.* 4.
 Gen. Sg. -ho *Jc.* 1.1.1.
- ari(ri)* *are(re)* *Pd.* 92, *Sc.* 586.4, 591.6.
- ari (ts.)* Gen. Sg. -hu *MP.* 85.4.15, Ins. Pl. -hi *Sc.* 447.4.
- arisaya* *arśa-ka* *Sc.* 768.3.
- ariha,* *arhat Hv.* 85.4.13.
- arihanta* (Pkt.) *arhat BhK.* 329.7.
- Aruka* *Arhat BhK.* 321.4, *Hv.* 82.6.5.
 Nom. Sg. -u *MP.* 1.6.16.
 °*datta Arhadatta Hv.* 82.13.11.
 °*dāsa Arhaddāsa Hv.* 81.3.8.
- Aruhanta* *Arhat MP.* 1.1.10.
- arere (ts.)* *MK.* 17.8
- Alayāuri* *Alakāpuri* Loc. Sg. -hi *MP.* 90.2.17.
- alahantau* *a-labha-māna* *Sc.* 516.2.
- a-lahivi* *alabdhvā* (abs. in -ivi) *Kp.* S. 92.8.
- allaviya* *alāpita BhK.* 223.15.
- ali (ts.)* Nom. Pl. -a *DKK.* 2.

- ava-gaṇṇa* - *ava -√gaṇ*
Imp. 2 Sg. -i *Sdd.* 20.
- avattha* -*avasthā*
Fem. Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ Pd.* 170.
- avayara* -*ava√-tar*
Pres. 1 Pl. -*hum.* No. 6.5.9, but the Tippiṇa explains it as 'upakurmah'. Is it connected with *apa√kar* in the sense of *upa√kar*? PP. -*ia Nc.* 2.8.9.
- avara* *āpara*
Masc. Neut. Loc. Sg. -i *Jdc.* 6.3. Fem. Ins. Pl. (*ā*) -*hiṃ MP.* 87.13.3.
- avarupparu* *parasparam BhK.* 5.5, *Hc.* 4.409, *KC.* 55. *Kp.S.* 16.6, *Sn.* 30-231.
- avaroḥparu* *parasparam Hv.* 82.7.5, *JC.* 1.15.15.
- avarovatu* *parasparam Ld.* 3.3.54.
- ava-lova* *ava-loka-ya.*
Imp. 2 Pl. -*hu KKc.* 5.15.5. Is Sg. used for Pl. here?
- avaśa* *avaśyam Hc.* 4.427, *Hv.* 92.3.10, *Kc.* 71.
Also *avasi Sn.* 21.287, *avasim Jc.* 1.7.15.
avasū BhK. 121.7, *avassu Sc.* 529.9.
avasem BhK. 39.8, *Hv.* 85.2.12, *Kc.* 71, *MP.* 15.22.10.
avasaim Sdd. 99. *avasaya Jdc.* 31.4.
- ava-hara* *apa-√har*
Imp. 2 Pl. -*cha Sc.* 599.3.
Imp. 3 Pl. -*antu KKc.* 9.16.6.
- ava-hīla* *ava-√dhīr-aya.*
Imp. 2 Pl. -*ha Sc.* 648.3.
(cf. M. *avahelāne*).
- ava-hēra-i* *ava-dhīrayati.*
Pres. 2 Sg. -*hi Hv.* 92.12.4. PP. -*ia Nc.* 3.9.10.
The Tippiṇa explains it as 'vicāritam' (cf. M. *avherne*).
- avaheri* Noun from the above. *Hv.* 91.13.2. (cf. M. *avhēr*, H. *aver*).
- avāsa* *avasyam Ld.* 3.3.27, also *avāsem.*
- avāha* *abādha*
Fem. Ins. Sg. -*e Sc.* 452.1.

ahiyāsa-i

**adhyāsaya-ti* Sc. 778.4.
PPr. -*anta* Sc. 769.8, Abs. -*ivi* Sc.
781.2.

=*adhastāt* Pd. 94.

ahāsi

=*abhūt* Sc. 447.8.

aho(hu)(ts.)

BhK. 39.7, *aho'hu*=*aho ho BhK.* 289.8.

aho-gaīṇam

adho-gaāṇanam Jc. 2.2.3.

ā

āa

See *āya*=*idam* below.
Neut. direct Sg. -*u* Sh. 22.41. cf.
Hc. 4.365. direct Pl. -*im* Sh. 22.42.

ā-akkha

=*ā√khyā*. Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* Mt. 24. Pp. -*iu* Mt 24.

āiddha

āiddha=*grhīta*.
Neut. direct Sg. -*u* MP. 1.12.13.

āiria, oya

acārya Nc. 6.10.5, *Sdd.* 12.
Ins. Pl. -*ehim* MP. 1.14.11.

āū

āyus Hv. 81.13.7. Ys. 49.

āūccha-i

āprecha-ti PPr. fem. -*antī* BhK. 25.8.

āgaccha-

(ts.) Pres. 3 P. Sg. -*i* Sc. 531.6, Imp. 2 p. Sg. -*su* Sc. 515.2.
-*ha* Sc. 740.2, PPr. -*anta* Sc. 644.8. -*ira* Sc. 595.8.

āgama-

(ts.) DKK.2. Loc. Sg. -*ā* DKS. 81.

āgara

ākara Sc. 444.6.

-āḍova

āḍopa Sc. 582.7.

āḍha

āḍhya BhK. 86.7.

āḍhantao

=*ādaadhat* Mt. 22.

āṇa

ājñā Ins. Sg. -*im* KKC. 1. 5. 6. (Pa. *aññā*, *āñā* f. 'order'.
Pk. *āñā*, *aññā*, M.G. *āṇ*. -'oath' Sgh. *aṇa* 'order' Sdh.
āṇa 'submission'.)

āṇi (°ṇa)

ā-√nī-

Imp. 2 Sg. -*ehu* Jc. 1.8.4. PP. *ānī*=*ānītā* Pd. 99.
Abs. -*eppīṇu* Nc. 1.15.15, -*eviṇu* BhK. 188.5.
-*i:i* Sc. 729.8, Ger. -*ivvaṇu* BhK. 29.10.
(M. *āṇaṇē*, G. *āṇvū*, H. *ānanā*, Sdh. *āṇaṇū*).

āmilla= *√muñc.*Imp. 2 P. Sg. *-hu BhK.* 176.3.*āya*Masc. direct Sg. *-u KkC.* 1.11.7, *Hv.* 81.14.5.*Hv.* 83.22.14, Direct Plur. zero, *Hv.* 81.17.2, Neut. *-ā**Hv.* 90.15.8 *-ā Hv.* 81.11.6. Fem. *-u Hv.* 84.2.9.*āya*=*idam*Masc. Sing. Direct *-u BhK.* 292.6, 132.3.Neut *-u Bhk.* 274.10.Ins. *-em Bhk.* 39.8, *epa Bhk.* 6.4.58.6. *-epa Hc.* 4.365.Dat. Gen. *-ho Bhk.* 45.5. *Hc.* 4.365, *Hv.* 81.16.4.*Kc.* 29. *-ham Nc.* 2.10.6, Loc. *-him Hc.* 4.383.Neut Direct Plur. *-im, -ī Hc.* 4.365, *Kc.* 29,*-him Jc.* 1.17.15.Gen. *-ham Mp.* 2.10.19.Fem. Sing. Ins. *-e BhK.* 147.4., *-hī BhK.* 114.7 (?).*-hi BhK.* 114.9(?), Gen. *-he BhK.* 146.6. *-ho BhK.* 171.10.Plur. Ins. *-hī, -hi. BhK.* 114.7, 114.9 regarded asdoubtful by JACOBI (see *BhK. Glossar*), *-ehī BhK.* 117.9Gen. *-hā BhK.* 51.4, *-hī BhK.* 248.5.*āya**āpad* Loc. Sg. *-im Pd.* 6.*āyadda-*PP. of *√āyadda* = *vyāpriyate Hc.* 4.81, *Sc.* 662.2.*āyaṇṇa**ā-karṇay*Pres. 3 Sg. *-i Sc.* 553.2, Imp. 2. Sg. *-him Nc.* 1.3.1.PP. *-iya Sc.* 639.7.*āyamba**ātāmra KkC.* 3.11.4.*āyariyāi**ācāryaḥ Jdc.* 11.4.*āra**ākāra DKs.* 57.*ārāva**ārāma Hv.* 81.3.7.*āruha**ā-√ruh*Pres. 3 Sg. *-i Sc.* 536.2, Imp. 2 Sg. *-ha Sc.* 645.2.3 P. Sg. *-u KkC.* 9.7.5. Abs. *-evuṇu Sc.* 530.3.*ālatṭa***ālapita* = *ālapita BhK.* 203.7.*ālṭ**ālām DKs.* 35, 51.

- āva* $\sqrt{āp}$ but many times equated with $\tilde{a}-\sqrt{i}$ or
 $\tilde{a}\sqrt{gam-}$ or $\tilde{a}\sqrt{yā}$. Pres. 3 Sg. -i Hv. 81.9.9.
 -ei Hv. 82.16.8, 3P. Plur. -him, hē KKc. 2.13.6 Sc. 457.5.
 Imp. 2 Sg. -ahī Hv. 89.15.15, -ehi Hv. 84.11.14.
 -u Hv. 85.9.9 3P. Sg. -u Sdd. 58. Fut. 2 Sg. -esahi Hv.
 92.6.9, 3 Sg. -esai KKc. 2.5.5.
 PPr. -antu Hv. 90.4.14. Abs. -eppinu Hv. 81.4.11, -ēvi
 Hv. 82.10.6 -ēvi Hv. 82.6.10.
- āvai* āpad Sc. 681.8.
- āvartya* āvṛta Sc. 650.3.
- āsā* āsā DKK. 25, Nom. Sg. zero P. 19.
- āsi* Sktism for āsūt Hv. 92.13.1. JC. 2.8.5, JdC 5.1
 Kp. J. 91.1, S. 5, 1. Used in 1 P. Sg. in BhK. 327.5, and
 in 2P. Sg. BhK. 28.4.
- āhasantae* *ābhāśantake=ābhāśamāṇe Mt. 20.
- āhuṭṭha* ardha - *tūrtha 'Three and half' MP. 11.25.2.
 (cf. Pk. addhuṭṭha, M. aut, aūt G. ūṭhu ūth).
- i cit, apī, Mt. 21.
- iṣ =iti Pd. 52.
- iu etat Kp. S. 47.2 idam PPr. 2.155.
- ika eka Sdd. 161.
- ikka ikā Sdd. 43. Mas. Neut. Gen. Sg. -hu Sdd. 111.
- i(e)kkasi ekaśah Hc. 4.428, Kc. 71.
- iga ēka
 Masc. direct Sg. -u Sc. 666.7, Fem. direct Sg.
 zero Sc. 609.5.
 (cf. Pk. ekka, M.G.H. Nep. ek).
- icchā icchā Fem. Ins. Sg. -ē DKs. 81.
- iccha $\sqrt{iṣ}>icch-$
 Pres. 2P. Plu. -ha Hc. 1.381, -hu Hc. 1.384, Mt. 20. -ira
 showing habit. hv. 85.6.8. PPr.
 Fem. -antiyā. Ins. Sg. -ē KKc. 1.16.2.
- icchu ikṣu Sc. 586.2.
- iṁcha \sqrt{icch} Abs. -iya Sdd. 63.

- īpi* = *anena* or *enena* *Sdd.* 205.
- ittiya* *strī-kā BhK.* 50.8.
- ittiya* = *iyattika* Direct Plur. (Neut). -*im* *Sdd.* 107.
(Pk. *ettaa*, *ettia*, M. *itkā*, *itukā*, Panj. H. *itnā*,
Guj. *eṭṭo*, Sdh. *etiṛo*, Sinh. *eta-kin*).
- itthi, itthu** = *atra* *Jdc.* 36.1., *PPr.* 1.101, 2.211.
Sdd. 71, 172, 189.
- itthi-* *strī Sn.* 19-286.
- inti* = *yanti Sn.* 15-296.
- indi,* *īdi, indiya* = *indriya* -*DKS.* 69, 91. *Sdd.* 140.
- issa* = *idam Pu.* 17,59, *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.36.
Masc. Neut. direct Sg. -*u*. *Hc.* 361. *Kc.* 28,
Ld. 3.4.36, *MR.* 17.36, *Sh.* 22.41, *Tr.* 3.4.36.
-*o Sc.* 647.5, *Tr. Ld.* 3.4.36.
-*um Pu.* 17.57. Ins. Sg. -*em Tr. Ld.* 3.4.2, -*ena.*
MR. 17.36. Gen. Sg. -*ssa Kp.* S. 40.3, *MR.* 17.36.
-*ssu Sc.* 751.2 -*su Sc.* 653.5, Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ Tr. Ld.* 3.4.2.,
-*mmi Sc.* 628.7. Acc. Pl. *im ī Kp.* A. 8.3. Fem. Nom. Pl. -*āu*
Sc. 596.8.
- imerisa* = *etādṛśa Sc.* 751.3.
- iya* **ika* < *eka Sc.* 747.9.
- iya* *iti Jc.* 1.6.16.
- iyara* *itara*
Masc. Nom. Sg. -*o Sc.* 721.2, -*u Sc.* 574.1.
Gen. Sg. -*assu, Sc.* 676.1, -*hu MP.* 2.16.5. Masc. Nom.
Pl. -*ī* (Skt. sm. ?) *Sc.* 461.4, Gen. Pl. -*esi, Sc.* 586.9.
Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *Sc.* 485.6.
- iha* = *etad.*
Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u Kp.* S. 66.8, *Sc.* 548.9 -zero *Kp.* J. 11.3.
Acc. Sg. -*u Kp.* S. 39.8, *PPr.* 2.142. Neut. direct Sg. -*u*
KKc. 5.1.1., *Kp.*, J. 63, *Sc.* 707.5, *Sdd.* 88. Loc. Sg. -*i Sc.*
707.9. Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *Sc.* 573.9. Acc. Sg. -*u PPr.*
2.182.
- ihu* *iha BhK.* 3.1., *Jc.* 3.37.17.

ṭ

- ṭria** <āṭria=ācārya
Ins. Pl. -ehim MP. 1.14.11.
- ṭri** ṭṣat BhK. 33.3, Sc. 485.3.
ṭrim (pi) ṭṣat Sc. 675.9.
- ṭrisi** ṭṣat Hv. 82.7.10.
- u
- uatti** utpatti. Nom. Sg. zero DKK. 8.
- uesa** upadeśa Nom. Sg. -ē DKK 24.
- ukkhala** *utkhala=udūkhala Hv. 85.12.3.
(cf. M. Guj. ukhal, H. ūkhalī, ūkhal, Sdh. ukhiri Dn. ukkhalī piṭharam. 1.88.
- ukkhambhiya** *ut-skambhita BhK. 203.1 but uttabhita according to JACOBI BhK. P. 132.
- ukkhina** ut-√khan or ut-√kṣiṇ
Pres. 1 Sg. -mi BhK. 246.7, Imp. 2 Sg. -hu BhK. 229.9.
Abs. -ivi BhK. 228.6.
- uggaya** udgata Neut. Nom. Pl. -zero KKc. 1.3.6.
- uccalla** *ut-calya- 'to shake about, to swing.'
Imp. 2 Sg. -hu BhK. 54.10.
- uccāiu** also uccāyia <ud-cāyita, caus. PP. of √ci BhK. 234.5, KKc. 2.1.7.
- ucchalā** =utkṣipta Nc. 2.9.7.
(cf. M. ucchalana 'coming up suddenly'=usṭi).
- ucchu** ikṣu BhK. 5.10, Hv. 90.10.1.
(cf. Pk. ucchu, ikkhu, M. Guj. ūs, H. ūkh, ikh, Beng. aku, Or. ākhu).
- Ujjanta,** Ujjayanta Ūrjayanta Hv. 89.17.13, 92.7.8.
- ujjavaṇa** udyamana BhK. 97.3.
- ujjāḍiya** =uccāṭita BhK. 163.3.
(cf. M. ujāḍ 'razed, desolate').
- Ūjjēni .** Ujjayinī Hv. 89.9.7.
Loc. Sg. -him. Hc. 4.442.1. Jc. 2.30.10.
- Ujjenta** Urjayanta Hv. 92.21.2.

- uḡḡa* *uḡyota*. Acc. Sg. zero *DKs*. 99.
- Uḡḡha* *Ayodhyā Hv*. 90.11.4.
- uḡḡhā-* *upādhyāya- BhK*. 17.14.
- uḡḡhiyā* *utsthitā*. Ins. Sg. *-āe KĀc*. 18.7.
- uḡḡhuḡḡhu* = *uttiḡḡho-ttiḡḡha Jc*. 4.4.9.
- uḡḡu* (*ts.*) Nom. Sg. zero *PPr*. 1.38.
- uḡḡḡa-* *ut-√ḡḡ*
Abs. *-ī DKs*. 72. *-evī BhK*. 61.3.
- uḡḡḡvanti* Fem. Pres. Part. of the Caus. of *√uḡḡḡa Ins*. Sg. *-(a)e Hc*. 352.
- uḡḡḡviya* Caus. PP. of *√uḡḡḡa MP*. 2.13.2, *Nc*. 3.9.14.
- uḡḡa* *puḡḡaḡ MK*. 17.10.
- uḡḡḡmīa* *unnāmīa Mt*. 15.
- utuḡḡga* *utuḡḡga DKK*. 25.
- uttara* *ut-√tar Imp*. 2P. Sg. *-ehu KĀc*. 1.13.3.
- Uttarakuru* (*ts.*) Loc. Sg. *-hi MP*. 90.15.20.
- Uttarāsāḡḡha* *°sāḡḡhā*
Loc. Sg. *-i. MP*. 87.13.7.
- uttāra-* *uttāraya Imp*. 2Sg. *-hi Mt*. 33.
Fem. Pres. Part. *-antī Sdd*. 86.
- uttiya* *ukta Neut*. Nom. Pl. *-ā Ys*. 35.
- utthalla* = *ucchal -Hc*. 4.174.
Pres. 3 Sg. *-i BhK*. 108.5. Abs. *-i BhK*. 230-6.
PP. *-iya BhK*. 111.6.
- uddālia* = *āchinna Nc*. 6.11.8 cf *Hc*. 4.124.
(Traceable to OIA *udal*? In Old M. *√udāl* *nē* connotes a cognate semantic significance, e.g. in the *Jñāneśvarī* 15.498 we have 'jaisī khaḡālāliciyā udakā sarasī udāle candrikā.
- uddehiya* *udrehikā* 'cankering worm, insect.'
See *PPr*. P. 277. Hindi Translation of verse 2.133.
Fem. Ins Sg. *-e PPr*. 2.133.
- uddhara* *uddhura BhK*. 35.7.

- upalāṇa* -him *upalāṇi* (?) or *utpalyāṇa*- (?) *Pd.* 42. In his notes on this verse H. L. JAIN the editor, prefers the latter. *Pd.* P. 109-10.
- upāṭṭiā* *utpātya* 'plucked out' *DRs.* 6.
- uppahim* *ātmanā* See *Pd.* 84 translation and glossary P. 75.
- upajja* *utpad-ya*
Pres. 3 Pl. -im *Sdd.* 22. (Pa. *uppajjati*) (Pk. *uppajjai*, M. *upajñē*, G. *upajvū*, Sdh. *upajaṇu*, H. *upajñā* 'to grow big.')
- uppanṇa* -utpanna, Neut. Nom. Sg. -u *KKc.* 1.11.2.
- uppari* *upari* *Hv.* 83.3.12.
- upparē* *upareṇa* *Mt.* 15 (H. *upar*, M. *uppar*).
- uppariyaṇa* *uparilana* *Hv.* 85.2.6. (cf. M. *upparñē*).
- upiya* *upeta* Masc. Nom. Sg. -o *BhK.* 343.2.
- upphāla* *ut-pāṭay* or *uphal* (?)
Abs. -ivi *Jc.* 1.6.5. (Sk. *uphāla* 'jump'. M. *uphāṇē*. See BLOCH-FLM vocabulary).
- ubbhaṃ* *ūrdhvam* *BhK.* 171.12.
(Pa. *ubbhaṃ*, Pk. *ubbha*, M. *ubhā*, G. *ubhā*, G. *ubhā*, Sdh. *ubho* Nep. *ūbho*).
- ubbha* *ūrdhvī-kṛ* Abs. -evi *BhK.* 119.10.
- ubbhavia* **udbhavita*- =*udbhūta* *Jdc.* 8.1.
- ummaṇa* *un-manas*. Loc. Sg. -i *Pd.* 104.
- ummattia* *unmattikā* Ins. Pl. -hī *Mt.* 14.
- ummilla* *unmūlita* *BhK.* 73.2 (M. *umalñē*, Guj. *umalvā*).
- ummūla* *un-mūlaya*- Abs. -ivi *Pd.* 21.
- ura* *uras* Loc. Sg. -i *Mt.* 17.
- ullala* *ut-lā* 'catch hold of.' Abs. -evi *KKc.* 1.13.7.
- ullasiā* * *ullasita* *Mt.* 16.
- ullūriya* *ut+lū+ra* (pleonastic). Equated with *truṭ* in *Hc.* 4.116. Here PP. is used as the root Pres. 2 Sg. -hi *Pd.* 112.
- ulūkhana* *ulūkhala* or *udūkhala* *Hv.* 85.12.1.
- ulla* *ud-ja*=*ūrdra* Masc. Neut. Loc. Sg. -e *Mt.* 17,

<i>uHova</i>	<i>ulloca Hv.</i> 87.14.3
<i>uHāviya</i>	= <i>ārdrīta Sdd.</i> 39, (cf. <i>ulla</i> above).
<i>uparilla</i>	<i>upara</i> (-illa pleonastic) <i>uparītana Hv.</i> 82.12.8.
<i>upavāsa</i>	<i>upavāsa Loc. Ins. Pl. -him Sdd.</i> 109.
<i>upalagga</i>	<i>upalagna BhK.</i> 105.10.
<i>udahi</i>	<i>udadhi BhK.</i> 78.12.
<i>udali</i>	= <i>udvartana</i> (?) <i>Pd.</i> 98.
<i>Uvāśi</i>	<i>ūrvaśi Sc.</i> 451.3. Gen. Sg. - <i>e Sc.</i> 491.1.
<i>uvasa</i>	<i>udvasa Masc. Nom. Sg. -u PPr.</i> 1.44.
<i>uvasia</i>	<i>udvasita Sc.</i> 671. 5.
<i>uvāra</i>	* <i>udvāra</i> (<i>pa</i>) 'Protection, lifting up.' <i>MP.</i> 16.21.11.
<i>uvigga</i>	<i>udvigna Sc.</i> 692.8.
<i>uvveya</i>	<i>udvega Sc.</i> 758.3.
<i>uvellia</i>	<i>udvellita Mt.</i> 32.
<i>uvellira</i>	<i>udvella +ira Mt.</i> 33.
<i>uvōva</i>	<i>udvega Nom. Sg. -u BhK.</i> 147.4, Loc. Sg. - <i>i BhK.</i> 159.3 - <i>ira</i> 'tācchilya' <i>Jc.</i> P. 109 glossary.
<i>ussisā</i>	Skt.ism. <i>ucchīrsāt Mt.</i> 3.
<i>uhu</i>	Interjection <i>aho</i> 'oh' <i>Hv.</i> 89.15.10.
	ū
<i>ūala</i>	<i>utpala DKs.</i> 66.
<i>ūāra</i>	<i>upakāra DKs.</i> 109.
<i>ūsava</i>	<i>utsava Kp.</i> S. 9.1.
<i>ūsara</i>	<i>ut-√sar Imp.</i> 2 Sg. - <i>u BhK.</i> 23.7.
<i>ūsāra</i>	* <i>utsāra BhK.</i> 223.11.
√ <i>e</i>	<i>ā-√i Fut.</i> 3 P. Sg. - <i>sai BhK.</i> 37.3.
<i>e</i>	= <i>idam DKs.</i> 4.62.
<i>sa cya</i>	<i>etad</i> (sometimes used or <i>idam</i>). Direct Sg. Masc. <i>ēu</i> , <i>eu BhK.</i> 93.8, 44.1. <i>BhK.</i> 81.1, <i>Sc.</i> 511.1. Neut. <i>eu</i> , <i>eu</i> , <i>BhK.</i> 21.2, 21.7, 58.8, <i>Hc.</i> 4.4.38. <i>Jc.</i> 3.24.8, <i>Kp.</i> J. 9.5., <i>Pd.</i> 39, <i>Sdd.</i>

92, *eum* *Sn.* 14-441. Masc. *esa* *DKs.* 92. *eso* *KP.J.* 50.1*
Sc. 485.2 Neut. *eso* *DKK.* 29. Masc. *ehu* *BhK.* 15.5,
DKK. 15.16. *Jc.* 1.25.15. *KKc.* 5.3.7., *Kp.* J. 50, 9. *Mt.*
 15.22. *PPr.* 1.60, *Pu.* 17.61, *Sc.* 484.4, 486.9, *Sdd.* 24,
Sn. 17-570. Neut. *ehu* *BhK.* 36.2, *DKK.* 8, 26. *Dks.* 33,
 67.28. *Hc.* 4.362, *Kc.* 28, *KP.* J. 14.1, *KP.S.* 68, *Ld.*
 3.4.32, *MK.* 17.39. *Sc.* 465.7, 456.8. *Sh.* 22.43. Masc.
chau *Jc.* 2.31.11. *Pd.* 26. *PPr.* 1.100. Neut. *chau.* *Jc.* 3.9.
 14, 3.25.5, *KKc.* 1.11.3, *Nc.* 1.15.15, *Pd.* 79, *chaum* *PPr.*
 1.80 Masc. *cho* *DKK.* 27. *Hc.* 4.391, *Kc.* 28. *Ld.* 3.43.3,
MK. 17.39, *Pu.* 17.61, *Sh.* 22.43. Neut. *cho* *DKK.* 27.
 Neut. *eyam* *Sc.* 464.1. Masc. *cha* *MK.* 17.38. *Pu.* 17.60.
 Neut. *cha* *KKc.* 1.11.3 *MK.* 17.38. *Ld.* 3.4.33. *chañ* *KKc.*
 6.4.6. Ins. Sg. *ana* *DKK.* 29. *Jc.* 25.14. *eena* *Kp.* J. 58.3.
ana *Sc.* 733.6. ē, *em* *KKc.* 10.4.3., *Mt.* 25. *enem* *KKc.*
 10.4.7. *ēnae* *Mt.* 31. *edena* *Ld.* 3.4.34. Dat. gen. Abl. Sg.
eya-ho *BhK.* 79.6, *Jc.* 2.32.2. *KKc.* 6.15.6. *edem* *Ld.* 3.4.34.
eyaha *Kp.* J. S. *Sc.* 758.1. *chu* *DKK.* 8. *cho* *KKc.* 10.17.10.
eyahñ *MP.* 2.16.7. *eyassu* *Kp.* S. 35.4. *ēyasu* *Sc.* 575.7.
 Loc. Sg.

Plural Direct Masc. *e* *MP.* 2.8.3., *PPr.* 2.136, *Sdd.* 18.
 Neut *e* *PPr.* 2.24. *Pu.* 17.62, *Pu.* 11. *eya* *BhK.* 253.9, 25.6.3.
ei *Hc.* 4.330, *Kc.* 29. *Ld.* 3.1.34, *Sc.* 752.6. *Sh.* 22.44.
 Neut *Sc.* 554.3. *ei* Neut *eyam* *eyā* *Kp.* J. 25.4 *PPr.*
 226. *eyāim*, *oi* *Kp.* S. 36.4. *Kp.* J. 40.1.* *Pd.* 144, *Sn.*
 32-231. *eyāni* *Kp.* J. 42.2.*

eim *Ld.* 3.4.32, *edāim* *Ld.* 3.4.32. *chaum* *Hc.* 4.362. Ins.
BhK. 44.13, *Jc.* 1.17.16, *KKc.* 2.8.2. *PPr.* 2.88. *eehim*
KKc. 7.5.8. *Kp.* J. 39.2*

edahim *Ld.* 3.4.34. Gen. *eyahā* *BhK.* 152.7. *Kp.* J. 29.6.
PPr. 2. 52. *Sc.* 484.3 (?).

ēyāna *Kp.* J. 42.1* Fem. Direct Sing. *ēha* *BhK.* 26.4.
 135.6, 4.9., *KKc.* 1.6.5., 1.15.5., *Kp.* J. 23.2., *MK.* 17.38.
Nc. 1.15.4. *Sc.* 605.5, 625.6, 574.7, *Sdd.* 179, *Sh.* 22.43.
chā *Hc.* 4.445?, *chī* *Nc.* 1.15.4. *Pd.* 95. *ehu* *DKK.* 8, *PPr.*
 21.28 *cho* *Ld.* 3.4.30. *eya* *BhK.* 278.5. Fem. Acc. Sg.
eyāim *Pd.* 203. Ins. Sg. *ere* *Sc.* 669.3, *edāna* *Ld.* 3.4.30.
 Gen. Sg. *eyake* °*hi* *BhK.* 99.5. *KP.S.* 79.2., *ēie* *Sc.* 492.7.
 Direct Plur. *eyao* *BhK.* 267.10. *ēyāu* *Sc.* 659.1. *ei* *Ld.* 3.4.
 Gen. Plur. *eyahā* *Sc.* 484.3.

- esa* **adṛṣa* = *īdṛṣa*.
- eiṁ* Loc. Ins. and Acc. Sg. of *yusmad* *Ld.* 3.4.40.
- eu* *ettha* *Nc.* 1.15.15.
- ēū, eum* *evam* *BhK.* 275.8, *Hv.* 92.13.5, *PPr.* 2.73.
- ekka* *eka* *DKs.* 19.43, *Kp.* J. 5.6, *Mt.* 15 Fem. *Mt.* 12. Masc. Nom. Sg. zero *DKs.* 40, -*u* *DKK.* 1, *Kp.* E. 29 b. Loc. Sg. -*hiṁ* *KKc.* 1.6.1. *hi* *Jc.* 2.31.9 (*M. Guj. H. Nep. ek*).
- ekkaī* *ekākinī* *BhK.* 304.9.
- ekkamekka* *ekaika* *BhK.* 41.1 cf. *Hc.* 8.3.1., *Hv.* 83.23.5, 88.8.2.
- ekkalla* *eka* (+*alla* Pleonastic) cf. *Hc.* 2.165. Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Kp.* A. 5.1, -*o* *BhK.* 38.7. Fem. -*i*. *Hv.* 85.4.13.
- ekkekka* *ekaina* *BhK.* 182.5, *Kp.* J. 25.2.
- ekkekkaṃ* **ekaikama* *Mt.* 27.
- egasi* *ekasāḥ* *Ld.* 3.3.28.
- eta* *etāvat* *DKs.* 39, 63.
- ettaḍa* (-*ya*) = *iyat*, *etāvat* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *BhK.* 153.7, Nom. Pl. -*im* *Sdd.* 53.
- ettahe* *itas*, *atra*- *Hc.* 4.420, *Hv.* 82.5.9. *Kc.* 75, *Ld.* 3.3.48.
- ettua*, °*ya* *iyat* *BhK.* 58.4. *Kp.* J. 64.6, cf. *Hc.* 2.157. Neut. direct Sg. -*u* *Jc.* 2.12.20.
- ettula* *etāvat*, *iyat* *Hc.* 4.408, *Kc.* 75, *Ld.* 3.3.12, *Sh.* 62.
- ett hau* = *atra* *Hv.* 81.17.9, *Jc.* 1.11.7, *uttha* *KKc.* 1.7. 3, *Ld.* 3.3.15, *Mt.* 24.
- etthu* = *atra* *Jc.* 1.25.1.
- enta* **āyānta* Pres. Part of *ā-√yā*. Loc. Sg. Masc. and Neut. -*i*. *Mt.* 18.
- ema* *evam* *BhK.* 11.6, *Hc.* 4.418, *Hv.* 83.12.11, *Jc.* 1.7.11, *Ld.* 3.3.36, *Pd.* 4.
- emaī* *evam* (*eva*) *Jc.* 3.26.5, *Ld.* 3.3.39.
- emahī* = *idānīm* *BhK.* 114.6.

- emu* *evam* *Ld.* 3.3.36, *PPr.* 1.65, *Pu.* 17.58.
- em̐va* *evameva* *Hv.* 81.2.7.
- em̐va, eṽa* *evam̐ BhK.* 76.6. *Hc.* 4.418.
- em̐vaṭ* *evam̐ Kc.* 65.
- em̐vaṭi* *evam̐ BhK.* 182.9, *Hc.* 4.420.
- eyāraha* *ekādaśan Sdd.* 9.
°ma ekādaśama MP. 2.12. *Sdd.* 16.
 (Pa. *ekādaśa*, Pk. *ekkāraśa*, *eggāraha*, M. *akrā*.
Guj. agyār. H. egāraha, Nep. *eghāra*).
- eyārisa* *etādr̥śa Jc.* p. 109.
- erisa* *īdr̥śa Kp. J.* 6.5. *Sdd.* 175.
- evaḍa,* *iyat Sh.* 22.62. -u *Hc.* 4.407, *Jc.* 4.1.7. *Ld.* 3.3.12.
- ēvaḍḍa* **ayavadra* = *iyat, etāvat BhK.* 321.1. *Sdd.* 179.
 Direct Sg. -u *BhK.* 165.10, *Hc.* 4.408, Gen. Sg. -ho
Jc. 3.37.11. Sg. -u
- evahim̐ °hi-* = *idānīm, BhK.* 21.5. *HC.* 4.420, *Hv.* 81.6.9. = *evam̐ Jc.*
 3.41.5., *Sdd.* 154.
 = *adhunā KKc.* 1.10.10.
- evah̐i* = *idānīm BhK.* 4. 4. °*hi Ld.* 3.3.34.
- evi* *evam̐ Jc.* 2.6.8.
- eha, °ya* = *īdr̥śa*.
 Masc. Neut. direct Sg. -u *BhK.* 21.2, 24.3.
Hv. 84.1.13, *Sh.* 22.60, cf. *Hc.* 4.402.
 Neut. -ū *Hv.* 82.8.7, Loc. Sg. -i *BhK.* 60.11.
 Fem. Direct Sg. *eh̐ BhK.* 24.10 *Hv.* 83.23.8, *PPr.* 2.157.
- o
- oi* = *amūn* (cf. II. **ave*, PISCHEL *Gram.* p. 307, BLOCH-L'indo-
 aryen, p. 149) *Hc.* 4.364. *Kc.* 29., *Ld.* 3.4.35.
- onaviya* *ava-namita Hv.* 86.8.7 (M. *ōṇavā*)
- otihara-i* **ava-starati Mt.* 32. PP. -iya *Hv.* 8.8.11.2. cf. *Dn.* 1.169.
- otthāḍiya* = *avastṛta BhK.* 298.3.
- osara-* *apa-√sar Abs. -ivi Nc.* 8.15.10, 4.-12-13.

√*ohaṭṭa**apa-hṛta* (?) *MP.* 2.8.5.(M. *ohaṭṭe*, Noun. *ohaṭṭi*, Guj. *ōṭ*).√*ohāma*=√*tul-* PP. -*iya* *Hv.* 83.15.6., *Nc.* 1.14.7,=ava- or -o-√*hamma* as in *ohāmiya*=avaghāṭita *MP.* 2.7.3. cf. 4.25.

k

ka

Interrogative Pronoun.

Masc. direct Sg. *kā*, *ko* *BhK.* 6.1, 21.8, 177.7,*DKK.* 15, *DKS.* 10, 18, 69. *Hc.* 4.370, 384, 415,*KKc.* 9.9.1, *Kp.* S. 73.1, *Kp.* J. 53.3 *MK.* 17.30,*Mt.* 21, 35. *Pd.* 40.27. *PPr.* 2.9, *Sc.* 530.7,*Sdd.* 6. *ku* *BhK.* 118.11, *Jc.* 2.26. *Jdc.* 2.4,*KKc.* 9.7.10. *Kp.* E. 15, *Kp.* J. 10.1, *Pd.* 159,*PPr.* , *Sc.* 512.8, 629.8. Neut. Direct Sg. *kim*,*BhK.* 2.3, 2.6. *DKK.* 16, 20, 28, *DKS.* 95, 55, *Hc.* 4.418,*KP.S.* 48.7, 72.8, *Mt.* 18.25, *PPr.* 2.5. *Sc.* 606.2,*kī* *Sc.* 579.9. *ki* *DKK.* 16, 28. *DKS.* 21.35, *Hc.*4.340 (used adverbially) *Pd.* 70. *PPr.* 2.185,*Sdd.* 6, *kāi* *BhK.* 19.6, *Hc.* 4.349, *Kc.* 30. *Ld.* p.275(3.3.53), *Mk.* 17, 56, *Pd.* 22, *PPr.* 1.27 *Sdd.* 62.172.*kaī* *Hc.* 4.426 *Ld.* p. 275, *Mt.* 25, *kaī* *Pu.* 17.25,*kau* *BhK.* 118.5. *kinna* *BhK.* 148.6, *kuccho* *DKK.* 10.(kim na) *Pd.* 19. *kimpīdi*, °*du*, *kimpīnu*, *kīna* *Pu.* 17.25.Ins. Sg. *keṇa* *BhK.* 23.10, 11.1, *DKS.* 24, 80,*KKc.* 9.6.3, *Pd.* 139, *Sc.* 607.1, *kīṇa* *Sc.* 586.8.*ki* *PPr.* 1.98. *kem* *KKc.* 10.1-1.Gen. Sg. *kāsu* *BhK.* 25.5, 140.4 *DKS.* 60.75,*Hc.* 4.358, *Hv.* 85.7.8. *Kc.* 31.71, *KKc.* 1.6.8,*Ld.* 3.4.29, *Pd.* 139, *Sdd.* 178, *Sh.* 22.37. *Sn.*33-624. *hasu* *Hc.* *Kc.* 17, *Ld.* 3.4.29. *Sc.* 539.1.*kassa* *DKS.* 96. *kāsa* *Sh.* 22.37, *kassu* *Hc.* 4.442.7.*Ld.* 3.4.29. *kīsa* (Abl.) *KKc.* 10.1.3, *Ld.* 22.8.*kaho* *BhK.* 26.1, 223.4, *Ld.* 3.1.29.*kahu* *BhK.* 94.8. 274.2, *BhK.* 120.3 (Abl.)Loc. Sg. *kahū* °*hī* *BhK.* 10.7, 59.4,*KKc.* 1.11.5 (adverbially), *Mt.* 17, *Sdd.* 194, 215(adverbial). *kahu* *BhK.* 327.5, *DKS.* 93, 84. *kāhī* (alsoAbl.) *DKK.* 29, 30.Direct Plur No. Masc. *ke* *BhK.* 85.4, *Hc.* 4.376, 387.*KKc.* 9.17, *Kp.* J. 5.4, *PPr.* 1.50, *Sc.* 642.8.*kī(vi)*. *BhK.* 163-10, *PPr.* 1.50, *Sn.* 16-570.

- Neut. *kāi* *Sc.* 735.8.
 Ins. Loc.Pl. *kehim*. *KKc.* 9.1.8 and Intro. to *Hv.* page 167
 article No. 51.
 Fem. direct Sg. *kā* *BhK.* 10.9, *KKc.* 9.2.3, *Kp.* E. 26.
Sc. 735.8, 736.1.
 Ins. Sg. *kāim* *KKc.* 7.9.10.
 Gen. Sg. *kahi vi BhK.* 11.2, *kāhi MP.* 2.1-14.
kahe Hc. 4.359, *Kc.* 27. *Sh.* 22.39, *kūi (vi) Kp.* E. 25.
 Direct Pl. *kāu Sc.* 596.8.
 Ins. Pl. *kāhim Jc.* 2.26.
- kaa* *kṛta Mt.* 32.
- kai* *kavi* Nom. Sg. zero *Nc.* 3.4.17.
- kāisu* = *kīdrsa Ld.* 3.3.10.
- kāiyahā m* *kadāpi BhK.* 93.7, *Hc.* 1.422.1.
- kaiyā* *kadā kṛp. J.* 46.1.
- kau* *kutah BhK.* 10.7, *Hc.* 4.416, *hc.* 61, *Ld.* 3.3.46.
Mt. 4, *Sdd.* 68.
- kausiya* *kauśikā MP.* 84.1.2.
- kakkhaḍḍa* *karkaśa=niṣṭhura MP.* 11.13.10 but = *pīna* in *BhK.* 176.1.
- kaṃgu* fem. *kaṃgu* 'N. of a plant'
 Gen Sg. -*hc Hc.* 4.367.
- kacca* 'raw' *Sdd.* 13 (M. H. *kaccā*) Loc. Sg. in -*ham*
 as in *kaccōsaṇa-ham* ?
- kacca* *kāca* 'glass' *PPr.* 2.78.
 Masc. Ins. Sg. -*eṇa Sdd.* 2.
- kaccha* *kaṣā Hv.* 87.11.1.
 (M *kās*, *kās* 'udders', H. Punj. Sdh. *kaccha*)
- kajja* *kārya* Ins. Sg. -*e DKs.* 2.
 (Pa. Pk. *kajja* M. Guj. Nep. *kāj*.)
- Kaṃcāṇi* *kātyāyaṇi Jc.* 3.8.14.
- kaṃculiya* *kañculikā* Nom. Sg. zero *Pd.* 15.
- kaṃjia* **kaṃjī* or **jikā* 'gruel,' Ins. Sg. -*eṇa Jc.* 3.31.1.
 (cf. M. *kāmjī*).

- ✓*kāṭṭa* ✓*kṛt*->*kart*- 'to cut.'
 Imp. 2p. Sg. -*hi BhK* 231. -4, *PP*. -*ya BhK*. 207.16.
 Abs. -*ivi BhK*. 129.3 (See *kattariya* below).
- kāṭṭha-ḍa* *kaṣṭa*.
 Masc. Nom. Pl. -*ā Sdd*. 114.
- kaḍakkha* *kaṭākṣa Sn*. 24.212.
 **ccha*<*kaṭākṣā* (Fc.n.) *Mt*. 12.
- kaḍayaḍiṇya* =*parāvartitu* Onomatopoeic *Sn*. 76-176.
- kaḍilla* *kaṭi-illa* or -*lla* (Possessive Term.)
 =*kati-sūtra MP*. 4.4 5, but = 'a dhoti' *kaṭi-varṣtra* in *BhK*.
 167.2, *Hv*. 86.10.6. cf. *Dn*. 2.52.
- ✓*kaḍha* ✓*kvath- Jc*. 3.5.11.
 (Pa. *kaṭhita*, M. *kaḍhṇē*, Guj. *kaḍhvū*, Sdh. *kaṭhaṇu*)
- ✓*kaḍhakaḍha* Reduplication of ✓*kaḍha*-, Onomatopoeic also.
 Pres. Part. -*antu Hv*. 88.8.3.
- ✓*kaḍḍha-* IE **gal-dhe*>OIA **kardh*-
 Pres. 1 Sg. -*um Kc*. 41.
 Masc. Pres. Part. Gen. Sg. -*anta-ham Sdd*. 99. Neut.
 Abs. -*ivi Jc*. 3.12.12, *KKc*. 10.13.7.
 (Pa. *kaḍḍhati*, Pk. *kaḍḍhai*, M. *kaḍhṇē*, Guj. *kaḍhvū*,
 Panj. *kaḍḍā*, H. *kāṛhnā*. BLOCH connects it to OIA *kṛṣṭa*
FLM §112 and the Index to Vocables. Louis. H.
 GRAY, derives Pa. Pk. *kaḍḍha*< OIA **kardh*-<IE
 **qaldhe JAOs* 60.361-2. This gets over the difficulty
 of positing the unusual change -*tth*->-*ḍḍh*-)
- kaṇa* (ts.) Ins. Pl. -(a)*hiṇ Pd*. 84.
- kaṇṇa(ya)* *kanyā*.
 Acc. Sg. zero *KKc*. 2.12.9. Direct Pl. -*u Sc*. 659.2.
 Gen. Plur. -*hā. Sc*. 660.6, -(yā)*hā Sc*. 708.3. -*āṇa* (Pkt.).
KKc. 8.10.1
- kaṇṇ(n)ullaḍa* *kaṇa*+(-*ulla-ḍa* Pleonastic). *Kc*. 73.
 (Pa. Pk. *kaṇṇa*, M. Guj. H. Nep. *kān*).
- ✓*kaṇḍa-* 'to thrash grain.' Imp. 2P. Sg. -*i Pd*. 13 (cf. M. *kāṇḍṇē*).
- ✓*kattariya-* *kartarikā*<✓*kṛt*.
 Imp. 2P. Sg. -*hi MP*. 2.7.10.
 (Pa. Pk. *kattari*, Deśi *kaṭṭari*. cf. M. *kātar*, *kātrī*, Guj.

- kālar*, Sdh. *katari*, Panj. *kattara*, Beng. *kāṭari*).
- kattiya* *kārtika* Hv. 87.13.6.
- kattī* = *kartari* Sn. 78-176.
- kadhida* *kathita* Kc. 46. cf. Hc. 4.396.
- kanta* 1) *kānta*
Masc. Acc. Sg. -u Mt. 10, Gen. Sg. -ha Ds. 4.32. -hu
Hc. 8.4.395.
2) *kāntā* Ins. Sg. -e BhK. 291.4.
3) *krānta* Masc. Nom. Sg. -o Mt. 22.
- kantilla* *kānti-mat*, Mp. 1.2.4.
- kattha* = *katra* Kp. S. 95.3, *katthai* Jc. 2.6.6. *kattha-vi* = *katrāpi*
Jc. 3.23.8, Ss. 19-442.
- ✓ *kappara* 'to cut,' ✓ *kṛp*. (-ara pleonastic in MIA.)
PP. -iya BhK. 243.11. Abs. -evī Hv. 88.12.10.
(Pa. *kappeti* 'trims,' *kappei* 'cuts,' M. *kāpāṇē*, Guj. *kāp-ā*, Sdh.
kapaṇu, Sgh. *kapanu*).
- kappa-arū* *kalpa-taru*
Nom. Sg. zero Mt. 23
- kabbe* **kadvā* = *kadā* DKs. 62.
- Kambhūru* *kāśmīra* Ld. 3.3.2.
- kaṃala* (ts.) Sc. 454.5, Acc. Sg. -u Jdc. 1.2.
Abl. Sg. -ho Nc. 2.12.2.
= °lā Fem. Ins. sg. -ē BhK. 27.9.
- ‘*amala māla* (ts.) Acc. Sg. zero Sc. 488.2.
- saṃala-siri* °-śrī Fem. Gen. Sg. -he BhK. 17.4.
- kamma* *kārman*
Ins. Sg. -(a)ī PPr. 1.63.76. Nom. Pl. -e DKK 29.
Gen. Pl. -haṃ Pd. 24.36. -āṇa (Pkt.) KKc. 9.12.1.
(Pa. Pk. *kamma*, M. Guj. H. Nep. *kām*).
- kammuya* *kārmuka* 'a bow.'
Gen. Pl. -āhaṃ MP. 2.9.18.
- kaya* *kṛta* Sdd. 17, Loc. Sg. -im Jdc. 34.1.
- kaya-uṇṇa* *kṛta-punya* Masc. Nom. Sg. -ū BhK. 70.4.

*kayā**kadā* as in *kaya* *i=kadācut* *Kp.* S. 5.1, °*vi=api* *Kp.* J. 5.1.*kara*(ts.) Masc. Ins. Pl. *-hum* *Hc.* 8.4.349.√*kara*√*kr-*

Pres. 1st Sg. *-(a)um*, *-(a)ā* *BhK.* 79.6, *Jc.* 2.1.6. *Kp.* J. 8.8, *Pd.* 139. *Sdt.* 88. *(a)mi* *BhK.* 21.5. *KKc.* 2.6.3, *Pd.* 174. *-im* *Jdc.* 1.3, *Kp.S.* 72.8, 2 P. Sg. *-hi* *BhK.* 44.2. *Kc.* 40, *Kp.* J. 8.3, *-si* *Kc.* 40. 3 P. Sg. *-i* *Kp.* J. 15.3. *Mk.* 17.69, *Pd.* 7, 42. *-ei* *DKS.* 99, *Kp.* J. 21.3, *Pd.* 15, 16. 1 P. Pl. *-hum*, *-hū*, *KKc.* 2.11.8, 5.9.5, *Kp.* J. 46.4, 2 P. Pl. *-ha* *Mp.* 91.3.3, *hu* *BhK.* 128.7 3 P. Pl. *-antu* *BhK.* 187.12, *Kp.* E.4, *Pd.* 80. *-lum*, *-hū*, *BhK.* 339.5. *Kc.* 40, *Kp.* J. 7.2, *Pd.* 217 *Sdd.* 55, 75, 117. Imp. 2. Sg. *-i* *BhK.* 29.9. *KP.* S. 59.3. *Nc.* 1.3.10, *Pd.* 2, 18. *PPr.* 1.26. *Sdd.* 22, *-u* *DKS.* 27, 59. *-e* *Kc.* 42, *Nc.* 9.17.25. *-cyyasu* *Nc.* 5.13.9. *-(a)hi* *BhK.* 24.9. *DKS.* 77, *Kp.* S. 49.9. *Pd.* 13.92, *Sdt.* 1.60. *-(e)hi* *BhK.* 38.2 3 Sg. *-u* *BhK.* 2.10. 2P. Pl. *-(a)hi*. *BhK.* 90.3, *DKS.* 51, *Kp.* J. 64.5, *-ha* *DKS.* 106. 3 P. Pl. *-antu* *ts.* *BhK.* 2.8. Fut. 1 Sg. *-isu* *Sc.* 690.7.

2 P. Sg. *-ihusi* *MK.* 17.59, *Mt.* 22, *-si* *PPr.* 2.125, *-husi* (*kāhisi*), *Kp.* S. 84.2.

3P. Sg. *-isai* *Kp.* S. 44.3, *-iha* *Kp.* E. 28, *Sc.* 769. 5, *-esai*, *BhK.* 19. 5, *PPr.* 2.188.

1P. Plur. *-isahū*, *Sc.* 318.7, 3 P. Plur. *-ihintu* *Nc.* 4.5.5.

Pres. Part. *-anta* *Kp.S.* 47.7, Masc. Nom. Sg. *-o* *BhK.* 20.7.

Fem. *-ī* *BhK.* 77.7, 213.11, *-antiya* *BhK.* 131.12, Abs. *-avi* *Kc.* 76, *Ld.* 3.3.18, *Sn.* 334-127. *-āvi* (caus. Abs. *Jdc.* 18.3. *-i* *Kp.* J. 16.8, *Ld.* 33.18, *Pd.* 102.

-iu *Kc.* 76, *Ld.* 3.3.18. *-ivi* *BhK.* 21.6, *Hc.* 4.4.39, *Kc.* 76, *Kp.* J. 9.1. *Sn.* 306-169. *-e* *Ld.* 3.3.18, *-epi*, *-epiṇu* *Ld.* 3.3.19, *-eppi*, *-eppiṇu* *BhK.* 47.7. *Hc.* 4.440, *Kc.* 77, *Ld.* 3.3.19, *-evi* *BhK.* 11.7, *Hc.* 4.440, *Kc.* 77. *-eviṇu* *BhK.* 27.8, *Hc.* 440, *Kc.* 77, *KKc.* 1.10.8, *Kp.* S. 53.1, *PPr.* 1.8. Inf. *aum* *Ld.* 3.4.25. *-apa* *Jdc.* 2.4, *Sn.* 15-286, *-āi* *BhK.* 328.5.?

-aṇahā *BhK.* 337.5, *Jc.* 1.8.2.

-eppi, *eppiṇu* *Kc.* 79, *-evi* *Kc.* 79.

-eviṇu *Kc.* 78. Pot. Part. *-ivvāi* *Kc.* 76.

-evvāi, °*um* *Kc.* 76, *KKc.* 2.13.2, *-evē* *Kc.* 76.

*karaḥi**karaḥin* Ins. Pl. *-hi* *Sn.* 76-176. *-hiṇi* *Sn.* 76-176.

- karaṇābhāsa** (ts.) Abl. -*hu* Kc. 17.
- karaṇḍa** (ts.) Gen. Sg. -*ho* DKK. 21.
- karaḥa** *karabha* Neut. Acc. Sg -*ō* DKS 45.
- kari** *karin* 'an elephant'.
Direct Sg. zero KKC. 8.18.8, Gen. Sg. -*ha*
DKS. Nom. Pl. zero *Mp.* 87.9.3
Ins. Pl. -*hiṁ* KKC.8.18.8.
- kari-kara-samoru** (ts) Fem. Ins. Pl. *ḥc.* 1.17.9.
- karinī** °*nē* 'a female elephant'.
Loc. Sg. -*hiṁ* Sdd. 123.
- karuṇā** °*nā* Acc. Sg. zero DKS. 16.
Ins. Sg. -(a)*iṁ* KKC. 2.4.10.
- kala** *kalā* DKS. 55.
- √kala** √*kalay* 'to know'
Abs. -*wi* KKC. 1.11.6.
- kalāpa** (ts.) Loc. Sg. -*e* Mt. 3.
- kali** (ts.) Loc. Sg. -*hi* Hc. 4.341.
- kaloyahi** *Kalodadhi* Loc. sg. -*hi* Sc. 471.4.
- kavaṇa** **ka-pana*=*kim* Sdd. 40.
Masc. Neut. direct Sg. -*u* BhK. 38.6, Hc. 4.395.6, Kc.
30, KKC. 6.6.2, Tr. Ld. 3.3.53. (Ld. p. 275). PPr. 2.171,
Sn. 78-332. 'kiyan' according to the Sk. *chāyā*. -*o* (Masc.)
Ld. 3.3.53. -*eṇa* Hc. 367, Sc 530.7 -*eṁ* BhK. 261.3, Fem.
direct Sg. zero. Hc. 4.350,367, BhK. 38.6, 99.5. Gen.Sg.
-*he* Hc. 4.425. (OM. *kavaṇa*, M.Guj. *koṇ*, H. *kaun*, Braj.
kawan, Nep. *kun*, all traceable to Sk. * *ka-pana* > Pa.
koṇana, *kim-pana*.)
- kaḍala** *kamala* Neut. direct Sg. -*u* Hc. 4.397.
- kavaḍḍiya** *kaṇḍikā*,
Ins. Sg. -*iṣ* Kp. S. 56.4. (Pk. *kavaḍḍa*, °*ḍḍiya*, M. *kavḍi* fem.
Guj. *kavaḍḍ* (Masc.), H. °*oḍḍi* Sdh, *koḍu*)
- kavvaḍḍiya** 'a porter'. Kp. E. 31 b.
(Guj. *kāvaḍḍiyo*, H. *kāvaḍḍiyā* 'porter').
- kaṣaṇa** *kṛṣṇa* Mt. 32.

- kaśāya* *kaśāya* Loc. pl. *-hi* *ō PPr.* 1.123.
- kaṁsa* (*ts.*) Gen. Sg. *-ho* *ḥc.* 3.29.7.
- ✓*kaha* ✓*kath-*
 Press. 1.Sg. *-um Nc.* 1.5.4, *-evi* (°*vi* *ō*). *PPr.* 1.11, Imp. 2 Sg. *-su Hv.* *Grammatik* §56, *-i* *ḥdc.* 43.4, 2 Pl. *-hu Mt.* 20, *PPr.* 1.10. Fut. 3 Sg. *-esaṁ BhK.* 118.8. *PPr.* *-anta DKK* 16. *PP.* *-ia DKK* 10.26, (Masc. direct Sg. *-ā Kc.* 14. *-iya DKS.* 27. Masc. Nom. Sg. *-e DKs.* 60. Neut. direct Sg. *-e DKs.* 60. Fem. Ins. sg. *-(ā)i* *ḥc.* 1.1.6.)
 Abs. *-ivi KKc.* 5.12.6. Inf. *ivi Sdd.* 201. *-aṇa DAs.* 54.
- kaha* *kathā*
 Loc. Sg. *-āe BhK.* colophones, *ḥc.* 1.1.5. Ins. Loc. Pl. *-hī Sc.* 457.2. Loc. Pl. *-āsa* (Pkt.sm.) *Sc.* 470.7.
- kaha* *katham BhK.* 2.5, *ḥc.* 3.23.3.
 °*va* (*kathamapi*) *BhK.* 12.7 also *kahāmi BhK.* 44.2 °*vi* (*api*) *Sn.* 306-169.
- kahi* =*kutra*, *kva* (original Loc. Sg. of *ka-*)
- kahī*, *-hiṁ* *kasmin*=*kutra BhK.* 57.11, *ḥc.* 3.11.2.
PPr. 1.90, *Sdd.* 86. *kahī* . . . *kahī* =*kva* . . . *kva Kp.* J. 6.7.
- kahu* *kutah Ld.* 3.3.46.
- kāṇha* *Kṛṣṇa* Direct Sg. zero *DKK* 15.22.
- kāyau* *kā'pi Sdd.* 99, 189. *kumapi Sd.* 189.
- kāya* (*ts.*) Nom. Pl. *-ā DKs.* 9. Ins. Sg. *-iṁ Sdd.* 108. Ins. Pl. *-hiṁ Sdd.* 11.
- kāya-bāk-mana* =*kāya-vāṇmanā nṁs* *DKs.* 85.
- kāya-maṇi* *kāca-maṇi*
 Acc. Sg. zero *Sn.* 31.-231.
- kāyavva* *kartavya* Acc. Pl. *-āi Sc.* 459.4.
- kāraṇa* (*ts.*) Ins. Sg. *-iṁ Sdd.* 30.
- kārīma* **kār-ima*=*kṛtrima Hv.* 84.3.4. *PPr.* 2.123.128, 129.
- kārīma* *karman* Nom. Sg. *-u Pd.* 9.
- kāla* (*ts.*) 'Time' Masc. direct Sg. *-u PPr.* 1.85.
 (In *Cd.* as noted by UPADHYE, Intro. to *PPr.* p. 65 footnote 7), Instr. Sg. *-ī ḥc.* 2.25.14. 'black, dark' Masc. Nom.

Pl. -ā *Sdd.* 65. Neut. direct Pl. -ā *Sdd.* 29.
(Pa. *kālo* 'black', *kālo*, Pkt. *kālaa*, M. *kālā*, Guj. *kālo*, Sgh.
kaḷu, H. Panj. *kālā*, Nep. *kālo*. Bloch supposes these
forms to be of Dravidian origin *BSOS* 5.1).

kālattaya °traya- Gen. sg. -ham *Sdd.* 5.

kālāgni (ts.) Nom. sg. zero *DKK.* 14.

kālimga *Kaliṅga Hv.* 81.14.3.

kia *kyta DKK.* 4,25, *DKs.* 107. Neut. direct Sg. -u
PPr. 2.133, 147.

kiurṁ *kalham KKc.* 1.10.2.

kimkara (ts.) Ins. Pl. -ehim *Mp.* 81.19.5.

✓*kijja*- -ijja Pass. of ✓*kar*-, sometimes used actively.
Pres. 1 Sg. -mi *Mt.* 18, -uḥ (actively) *PPr.* 2.139. 160, 3 Sg.
-i *Kp.S.* 42.6. Imp. 3 Sg. -u *Sc.* 760.8.
Pres. Part. -avta *Kp.S.* 45.3

kittana *kirtana* Acc. Sg. -u *KKc.* 1.5.3.

kitti *kīrti KKc.* 2.3.6.
Fem. Ins. Sg. eṁ *KKc.* 1.5.2 Gen. Sg. hi)*Pr.* 2.92.
Neut. Loc. Sg. hi (as the 2nd member of the comp.) *Sc.*
443.1.

kuttiu *kiyat Sdā.* 183.

kūtthu =*kutra PPr.* 2.47

kima =*katham BhK.* 23.3, *Hc.* 4.101, *Ld.* 3.3.8.

kimpradi, °du=kiṁ *Pz.* 17.25.

kimpru *kiṁ Pu.* 17.25.

kiya *kyta Sdd.* 155. also *kīya* in *KKc.* 1.2.7.
Neut. direct Pl. -āiḥ *PPr.* 1.27.

kira *kila Jdc.* 9.1, *Kp. J.* 21.1, *Ld.* 3.3.41, *Mp.* 1.3.8.

kiraṇa (ts.) Neut. Acc. Pl. -aiṁ *Sdd.* 29.

kiraṇāvali (ts.) Ins. sg. -e *Sdd.* 191.

kiri *kila Kp. J.* 82.4.

kiriyā *kriyā* Nom. Sg. zero *Pd.* 19.

✓*kilikila-*

'to exult, to shout with joy.'

Pres. 3 Pl. -(a)nti Hv. 84.5.9.

(cf H. *kilkulāna* 'to be fretful'? M. *kilkilnā*).*kiva*

=katham Jd 1. 7.2.

kiṣa, kimva

=katham Bhk. 180.8.

kisiya

*kṛṣita Bhk. 305.5.

kiha

=katham Jc. 3.11.13, Sn. 78-176.

kiht

=kṛte Kp. E. 20. cf. Hc. 4.425.

kira

kim Pu. 17.25.

✓*kila-*

✓kṛīḍ.

Pres. 3 Sg. -i Mt. 27. Fut. 1 Sg. -ihimi

Jc. 3.15.11. Fem. Pres. Part. direct Sg. -anti + zero

Mt. 26, Fem. habit showing -irī Hv. 86.10.5.

kui

kutra Dks. 34.

kukai

kui avī Gen. Sg. -hi MP. 87.1.10.

kumkuva

kumkuma Bhk. 199.6.

kurchi

kukṣi K & C. 7.2.4. of. M. kūs.

kuṭṭiṇi

°nī Fem. Dat. Sg. -he K & C. 8.5.7.

(M. *kumtaṇ*, Guj. *kuṭṭi*, H. *kuṭṭi*, Or. *kuṭṭi*).*kuṭṭi*

kuṭṭi Nom. Sg. zero Pd. 52.

kuṭṭiṇiya

kuṭṭi- Kc. 72 Hc. 4.429. Loc. Sg. -i PPr. 2.9ḍ, -im Sdd. 112.

(M. *kuṭṭi*)*kuṭumba*

kuṭumba Gen. Sg. -ha Sdd. 48.

kuṇḍa

(ts.) Nom. Sg. -ha Sn. 78.332.

kuṇḍiya

kuṇḍikā Ins. Pl. -hiḍ PPr. 2.89.

✓*kuṇ-*

✓kṛ- Imp. 2 Pl. -ham Jc. 4.8.5-15.

Pres. Part. -anta Nc. 9.17.17.

kupatta

kupātra Dat.Gen. Pl. -ham Sdd. 86.

kumbhi

kumbhin Gen. Sg. -he K & C. 1.16.7.

kumārī

kumārī Ins. Sg. -e Jc. 1.18.16.

kumma

kūrma Gen. Sg. -ha Sn. 76.-176.

- kumāra* (ts.) Masc. direct pl. -(a) iṁ Jc. 3.41.4.
- kula* (ts.) Loc. pl. -ehiṁ Jc. 1.27.18.
- kuṭāra*, *kuṣiṇvara kumāra BhK.* 203.8.
- kusuma* (ts.) Ins. Pl. -hiṁ °dt. 186.
- kusuma-ura* °pura Abl. Sg. -ho KKc. 1.6.1.
- kusumatta* °-dattā Ins. sg. -iṁ KKc. 1.6.10.
- kuhiya* *kṣubhita* 'diseased' Jc. 3.14.10.
- kūra* =iṣat Hv. 85.19.9. of. Hc. 2.129.
- kṛvāṇu* *kṛpāṇaḥ Mk.* 18.4.
- keumai* *ketumatī* Ins. Sg. -e ṁ KKc. 6.12.1.
- kettiya* *kiyat BhK.* 113.1, *PPr.* 2.141. *Hc.* 2.157.
- kettula* °lu =kiyat Hc. 4.435, Kc. 75, Ld. 3.3.12, Sh. 22.62.
- ketthu* =kulra BhK. 208.3, Hv. 91.4.3. KKc. 2.1. 10. Ld. 3.3.1, PPr. 2.47, of. Hc. 4.405.
- kema* =katham BhK. 10.5, Ld. 3.3.8, PPr. 1.121, Sdd. 138 cf. Hc. 4.101. *kemaṁ (kathamapi) Jdu.* 72.4, 4.401. *kemaṁ (kathamapi) Jdu.* 72.4.
- kera* 'an order' Mṭ. 16.6.9.
- kera*, °a, °ya Gen. postposition showing relation. Hc. 2.146, Nc. 1.3.14, Pd. 36. Masc. Nom. Sg. Hv. 85.7.10. Pd. 36, PPr. 2.29. Loc. Sg. -e Hv. 81.2.7. *keraṁ PPr.* 1.99. *kerō Hv.* 88.10.1, *PPr.* 1.73.
- keli* (ts.) Acc. Sg. zero BhK. 20.7, DKK 28.
- kevaḍa* °ḍu *kiyat Ld.* 3.3.12, *Sh.* 22.62.
- keṭṭa* =katham Hv. 83.3.11, 89.16.8-9. Kp.S. 46.8, cf. Hc. 4.401.
- kesa* *keṣa* Acc. Pl. -ḥ, DKs. 6, Loc. Pl. -hiṁ Hc. 4.370.
- kesari* (ts.) Nom. Sg. zero Hr. 4.335.
- keha* °u, °va =kīḍṛṣa Hv. 83.8.2, 88.17.10, Ld. 3.3.9. °o Sh. 22.60.
- kehiṁ* =artha 'for the sake of' cf. Hc. 4.425. Kc. 70.

- kokka* = *āhve-* 'to call' (onomatopoeic).
PP. -*iya* MP. 5.17.15, Nc. 3.13.7.
- koṭi* *koṭi* Gen. Sg. -*ha* DKK 1.
= *kutūhala* Pd. 117. cf. *kuḍḍa* Hc. 2.174. *koḍḍa* Hc. 4.422.
- konti* *Ḍunti* Mp. 87.7.6.
- Ḍosambh* *Kausāmbh* Loc. Sg. -*hi* MP. 90.16.4.
- koha-gaṇa* *krodha-gaṇa* Ins. Pl. -*ehi* DKK 18.
kh
- khaga-vai* °*pati*. Dat. Gen. Sg. -*he* KKc. 6.16.9.
- khamaṇa* = *karṣaṇa* Nc. 5.4.12 (M. *khēcaṇē*).
- khadīllau* = *khālāṭam* PPr. 2.139 (Metathesis of Pkt. *khallīṇa*).
- khadḍa* = *gartā* 'a pit' Loc. Sg. -*ha* (-i?) Jdu. 14.3.
- khapa* *kṣaṇa* DKK. 30, Direct Sg. -*u* Hc. 4.446,
Ins. Sg. -*ena* Hc. 4.371, -*em* Hc. 4.419.
Loc. Sg. -*e* (Skt.ism?) DŚ. 4.5.2, -*i* DKs. 93.
Ins. Loc. Pl. -*ehi* DKK 18.
- khapaddha* = *kṣanārdha* KKc. 1.10.6.
- khaddha* = *khādita* Ins. Sg. -*im* Sdd. 36.
- khandhāra* *skandhāvāra* Neut. direct Sg. -*u* Sdd. 51.
- khappara* **skarparaka* Mt. 15.
- khapaṇa* *kṣapaṇaka* Ins. Sg. -*ehi* DKs. 6.
Gen. Pl. -*āṇa* (Pkt.ism) DKs. 8.
- ✓*khama* ✓*kṣam* Imp. 2 Pl. -*hu* DKs. 75.
Caus. Pres. 1.Pl. -*āva-* *hā* BhK. 210.8.
**kṣamaka* = *kṣapaṇaka* Kp. S.88.1
- khayara* *khadira* Pd. 149.
- khala* (ts.) Acc. Pl. -*im* Hc. 4.334,
Gen. Pl. -*(ā)ham* 3.37.8.
- ✓*khalkhala* Onomatopoeic cf. M. *khālālīṇē*
Pres. Part. -*(a)nta* Hv. 88.11.9.
- ✓*khalahala* The same as above.
Pres. Part. -*antu* Jc. 4.7.4.

- ✓*khava* ✓*kṣap-aya* Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* *KKc.* 1.11.3.
- khāvaṇa* *Kṣapaṇaka* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *PPr.* 1.82.
- ✓*khā* ✓*khād*
Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* *Jc.* 2.9.7 -*hu* *DKs.* 57.
Fut. 3 Pl. -*hīmāli* *Jc.* 2.29.5, Pres. Part. -*anta*.
KKc. 1.3.8, *Pd.* 63, -*antē* *DKs.* 26. *PP.* -*ya* *BhK.* 118.9.
- khāim* an expletive *Hc.* 4.424.
- khāra* *kṣāra* *Pd.* 195, *Sdd.* 81.
- khāla* =*khalla* *Kp.* *S.* 95.9 (cf. *Guj. khāl* 'drain-gutter, urinal.')
- khitti* *kṣiti* *DKK.* 9.
- khitta* *kṣetra* *Sc.* 444.9.
- khittaa* *kṣiptaka* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Mt.* 15.
- ✓*khilla* =*krīḍ* cf. *Hc.* 4.168, also 4.382.
Pres. 3 Pl. -*hī* *Kp.* *J.* 25.6 (*M. kheṇē*, *Guj.*, *H.*,
Panj. Beng. ✓*khel*-).
- khilliya* *kālikā*, Masc. Nom. Sg. -(a)*m* *Sdd.* 106.
(*M. khilā*, *Guj. khulo*, *H. khilā* *vīla*)
- khīṇa* *kṣīṇa* *KKc.* 7.1.6.
- khīra* *kṣīra* Ins. Sg. -*m* *Jc.* 2.3.1. (*M. Guj.*
Panj. H. khīr).
- khārāla* *kṣīravat* *Hv.* 87.12.8.
- khūliya* *kūlita* *Hv.* 91.2.15 (*Pa. Pk. khūla*).
- khūḍiya* =*truḍita* *Hv.* 84.4.3, *Nc.* 7.14.13, cf. *Hc.* 4.116, (cf. *Sk. khunḍ*,
Pk. khutṭa-, *M. khunḍē*, *Guj. H. khunṭ*).
- ✓*khunda* ✓*kṣud*- Abs. -*m* *Jc.* 1.5.12.
- ✓*khuppa* =✓*kṣip* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* *MP.* 25.9.9.
PP. *khutta* *MP.* 31.23.6.
- khuruppa* *kṣurapra* ? *MP.* 11.1.9.
Ins. Sg. -*m* *Jc.* 3.7.11 (*M. khurapḥē*)
- khuhia*, °*ya* *kṣubhita* *BhK.* 43.5, *Mt.* 31.
- khū* *kṣemam* (acc. Sg.) *Hv.* 91.22.10. but *kheum* 'an embrace' *MP.*
29.19.2.

- khetta* *kṣetra* *KKc.* 1.3.8.
- khetṭi* *kṣetritā* *Sdd.* 55 (M. *seti* *Sdh.* *khetṭi*, H. Beng. Panj. *khet(a).*)
- ✓*khella-* ✓*krīḍ-* Abs. -*evi* *Hv.* 91.20.11, -*vi* *Nc.* 3.12.10.
- kheviya* *khedita* *BhK.* 260.9.
- khoi* = *kṣapayitvā* *Pd.* 194. (*kṣapay-* > *khavatya-* > *khoya* > *khoa* + Abs. -i)
- khaja* 'soda?' = *anveṣaṇa* *Sda.* 84. (H. *khaj-*).
- gaṇṇa* *gagana* *Mt.* 33. Nom. Sg. -u *Mt.* 16.
- gai* *gati* Nom. Sg. zero *Mt.* 25,33. Acc. Sg. = *Mt.* 24, Dat. Sg. -he *Mp.* 2.3.35.
- gaiya* *gatā* *Pd.* 52.
- gaṃga* *Gaṅgā* Loc. Sg. -i *Pd.* 137, -*him* *KKc.* 10.13.2.
- Gaṃgā-ṇāi-Sindhu-hu* = *Gaṅgā-nadī-Shindhu-bhiḥ* *KKc.* 1.3.3.
- gagana* (ts.) Direct Pl. zero *DKK.* 9.
- gaggira* *gadgada* *BhK.* 81.10.
- ✓*gaccha* see under ✓*garra* below
- gamjolliya* = 1) *romāñcita* *Hv.* 83.9.1, *MP.* 14.12.12.
2) *kṣubdha* *Jc.* 3.36.5.
(Sk. *gañjana* 'disregard, insult,' M. *gāmajñe* 'to trouble, to harass,' Guj. *gāmjvā*, H. *gāmjñā* 'to move,' Beng. *gamja* 'insult').
- ✓*gaḍḍayaḍa* 'to thunder' (onomatopoeic) cf. *Sc.* 537.4. *Kp.* P. 7.1.
(M. *gaḍgaḍṇe* 'to thunder'.)
- gaḍḍāyara-u* = *phalaka* or *gartaka* *Sdd.* 58.
- ✓*gaṇa-* ✓*gaṇay-*
F. Pres. Part. -*anti* *BhK.* 147.9. Ins. Sg. for Gen. Sg. -e
Hc. 4.333. PP. -*iu* *KKc.* 1.11.3.
(M. *gaṇaṇṇe*, Guj. *gaṇvū*, H. *ginnā*, Panj. *giṇaṇā*)
- gatta* -*gōtrā* Ins. Sg. -e *Bhk.* 293.3.
- gattia* *gātrikā*. Nom. Pl. -o *BhK.* 10.15.
Ins. pl. -*hi* *Mt.* 14.
- gantha* *grantha* Abl. Sg. -*haṇ* *PPr.* 2.49.

- gabba** garva Masc. Acc. Sg. zero *DRK*. 1.
- √gama** √gam (gaccha- forms are included here) Imp. 2 Sg. (gaccha-) -su *Jc.* 2.3.5. Fut. 2 Sg. -īsi *PPr.* 2.141. Pres. Part. -anta *Kp.* S. 94.4 *PP.* gadu *Ld.* 3.3.46, Abs. (gacch) -ivi *Kp.* S. 40.6 80, *Ld.* 3.3.31 *gamppīṇu Kc.* 80, *Ld.* 3.3.21. -eppi, -eppiṇu *Kc.* 80, *Ld.* 3.3.21.
- gama** gama(na) Direct Sg. -u *KKc.* 1.6.1.
- gammagammai** Freq. Pres. 3 Sg. of √gam *Pd.* 83.
- gaya** =gaja Masc. Nem. Pl. zero 87.9.2.
=gata Neut. direct Pl. zero *Sdd.* 206.
- garuva** *garukā=gur-ī Loc. Sg. -i *Pd.* 137.
- galacchiya** } kadanthita *Jc.* 4.2.22, *MP.* 31.27.9.
galatthiya } kṣipta *BhK.* 134.4, *JHc.* 4.143, *Hj.* 88.6.5.
Masc. Gen. Pl. -ham *Sn.* 25-212.
- galia** galita Neut. Ins. Sg. -em *Jc.* 2.3.1.
- gahana** °na Ins. Sg. -e *DKs.* 8.
- gahia** =grhītvā *DKs.* 103.
- gahirajjhūṇī** gabhira-dhuvani 'deep-voiced.'
Ins. Sg. -na *Sc.* 457.4.
- gahṇa** *grbhṇa=√grah (grhṇāti)
Pres. 3 Sg. -i, -di *Ld.* 3.4.62.
- gāi** gāvī Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 92.
- gā-iupa** Abs. cf gā < √gai 'to sing' *KKc.* 1.12.2-3.
- gāma** grāma *DKs.* 69. Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *PPr.* 1.44, Nom. Pl. -aī *BhK.* 5.6.
- gava** garva *Mp.* 1.8.1.
- gāhīṇī** -grāhīṇī Fem. Ins. Pl. -hī *BhK.* 17.6.
- √gīṇha-** grh-ṇa Pres. Part. 1 Sg. -sū *Kp.* S. 49.9.
3 Sg. -i *Kp.* S. 73.9, *Sdd.* 162, 3. Pl. -ahī.
Kp. S. 53.2. Imp. 2 Sg. -asu *KP.S.* 49.8.
- giddhālu** =grddha-ālu Neut. direct Sg. zero *Sn.* 16.570.
- giddhī** -grddhi 'craving for meal' *PPr.* 1.111.3*

- gira** *gīr*, *girā* *Sdd.* 178. Ins. Plur. *hī Śc.* 455.1.
Loc. Sg. *hī Śc.* 597.6.
- giri** (*ts.*) Masc. Nom. Sg. zero *MP.* 87.2.2, *-giri* *Dks.* 102. Dat. Gen. Sg. *-hi Jc.* 2.12.5,
Abl. Sg. *-he Hc.* 4.341. *-hē Kc.* 19. *-hi Kc.* 20.
-him Jdu. 6.1 Abl. Pl. *hū Kc.* 19.
Abl. Pl. **singa-hu Hc.* 4.337.
- guḍaro** = *guḍero Mt.* 17.
(*ts.*) Ins. Pl. *-(a)him Hc.* 4.335. *-(ē)hī.*
BhK. 18.9. Loc. Sg. *-ehī BhK.* 21.3.
- gupaṇṇaya** **vratā* Neut. direc. Pl. zero *Sdd.* 11.
- gutti** *gupti* Fem. Gen. Loc. Sg. *-hi BhK.* 293.4.
- guru** (*ts.*) Masc. Nom. Sg. zero *Pd.* 1, *PPr.* 2.1. Acc. Sg.
zero *BhK.* 299.1. Gen. Sg. *-ha Dks.* 97.
-hu Ts. 41, *-hum Pd.* 81, Acc. Pl. zero *Sdd.* 1.
- guru-kkī** = *gurvi PPr.* 1.32.
- guruva** *guru* Gen. Sg. *-hi Pd.* 174.
- guhila** = *gahvara Hv.* 82.8. 9.
- √grhṇa** = *grh Pu.* 17.86. Pres. 3. Sg. *-di Sh.* 22.67.
- geṇha** *grhāṇa.* Imp. 2 Sg. of *√grh-* *Mt.* 5.
(cf. *M. ghenē*, *Sdh. giṇhaṇv*).
- geruya** *gairika Hv.* 85.2.7. (*Pk. geria*, *geruya* : *M. H. Guj. Panj. gerā* Beng. *gerī*).
- gomcha**, *gumcha* = *guccha MP.* 1.3.7, *Nc.* 1.6.12. cf. *M. ghōs.*
- gotta** *gotra* Gen. Sg. *-hu Sdd.* 46.
- goraḍī** **gaura-ḥī* = *gaurī Mt.* 12.
- gori**, *gaurī.* Gen. Sg. *-he Hc.* 4.395.
- goria** *gaurī-kā* Gen. Sg. *-he Hc.* 4.414.
- Govai** *Gomai Hv.* 90.18.10.
- gosa** 'dawn' *MP.* 1.16.9 (still coll. in *Koṇkan.*)

gh

ghaiṁ An expletive *Hc.* 4.424, *Rc.* 69 *Ld.* 3.3.58.

ghaggharoli *ghagghārā*, +*ānal* = *kinkinā-panktiḥ*
Fem. Ins. Pl. -*him* *Jc.* 1.16.5 (cf. *M. ghāgaryā*)

✓*ghaḍa* ✓*ghaṭ-* Imp. 3. Pl. -*antu* *KKc.* 9.16.8.
(*Pk. ghaḍai*, *M. Guj. H. Sdh. Panj.* ✓*ghāḍ(a)-*)

ghapaṁ = *prabhūlam* *Jdc.* 9.4.

ghaṇṭa *ghaṇṭā* Fem. Nom. Pl. zero *Sdd.* 199.

ghaṇḍā *ghaṇṭā* Acc. Sg. zero *DKs.* 4.
(cf. *Sdh. ghaṇḍo*, *Panj. ghaṇḍā*, *Ncp: gh ro*)

✓*ghatta* = ✓*kṣip-* *Hc.* 4.143.
Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* *Hv.* 82.17.10, PP. *iya BhK.* 9.2. Abs. -*epi*
Hv. 92.10.4.

ghara IE **g^horo*. Wrongly but usually traced to *Sk. grha*.
Direct sg. -*u* *Pd.* 13.
Loc. Sg. -*e*, -*r* *DKK* 13, 28, *Dks.* 80. -*ē* *DKs.* 82. -(*a*)*hi* *DKs.*
14, 21. -(*a*)*him* *Hc.* 4.422.15.^o
Direct Pl. zero *BhK.* 65.5.
(*Pa. Pk. ghara. M. G. Nep. ghar*).

gharṇi = *grhiṇi*.
Nom. Sg. zero *DKK* 24, 28. Acc. Sg. zero.
DKK. 31, *Hc.* 4.370. Ins. Sg. -*em* *KKc.* 1.6.9,
10-10.6, -*chi* *DKs.* 86. Gen. Sg. -*hē*
BhK. 19.4. Loc. Sg. -*hi* *Jc.* 2.1.2.

✓*ghalla* = ✓*kṣip* *Hc.* 4.334.
Pres. 1 Sg. -*mi* *Hv.* 91.7.4. 2 P. Sg. -*hi*
Hv. 88.21.6, -*i* *Hv.* 83.22.8. 1 Pl. -*hā*
BhK. 10.7.6. Pres. Part. -*aitu* *Hv.* 84.7.8.
PP. -*iya* *Hv.* 82.4.12. Abs. -*ivi* *BhK.* 177.11.
-*eppinu* *Pd.* 171. -*evnu* *BhK.* 181.4.
(*M. ghālṇē. Guj. ghālṇū*).

ghāra = *grāra* *PPr.* 1.111. *4

ghinā *ghinā* *PPr.* 2.151.

ghitta PP. of ✓*ghiva* or ✓*ghippa* *Jc.* 3.16.9. Many times equated
with *kṣipta*

- ✓ *ghippa* = ✓ *kṣip-* Pres. 3 Sg. -i *Sn* 168-115. 3 Pl. -*anti Pd.* 151.
 ✓ *gñiva* = *kṣip-* *MP.* 2.18.6, *Nc.* 3.3.1, 8.1.7. ✓
 ✓ *ghuṇṭa* 'to drink' Abs. -*ivi Kp.S.* 110.4.
 (cf. *Dn.* 2.109c. *Hc.* 4.10. *M.* *ghoṭanē*, *H.* *ghumtā*
ghōṭnā, *Sdh.* *ghuṭokaṇu*, *Or.* *phuṭanā*).
 ✓ *ghula* = ✓ *ghūrṇ-* of. *Hc.* 4 117 but *gholayati* in *Sk.*
lex. PP. -*iya-u Jc.* 3.14.5.
 Abs. -*ivi BhK.* 269.9.
 (M. *ghoṭaṇ*, *Guj.* *ghoṭvū* 'agitates' *H.* *gholnā*, *Nep.* *gholna*).
 ✓ *ghe* = ✓ *grah-* Pres. 3 Sg. -i *Ld.* 3.4.62.
 ✓ *gheppa* = ✓ *grah-* Traceable to **ghṛpyate* = *grhyate* ?
 Pres. 3. Sg. -i *Mt.* 20.
 (cf. *M.* *gheppē*, *ghenē*).
 ✓ *ghoṭṭa* 'to drink' cf. *Hc.* 4.10.
 Pres. 3 Sg. -i *Ilv.* 85.10.4, 3 Pl. -*anti Nc.* 5.5.5. (For
 cognates see ✓ *ghuṇṭa* above).
ghopasa *gonasa Jc.* 1.9.6.
 C
caū- *catur-* *DKK.* 5. Direct Pl. zero *Sdd.* 121.
caūkka *catuṣka Kp. S.* 17.7, *Nc.* 9.21.2.
 (Pa. *catukkam*, Pk. *caukka* n., M. *cauk*
Guj. *cok* Masc., H. Panj. *cauk*, *Nep.* *cok*.)
caūṭṭha *catuṣṭaya DKK.* 5.
caūṭisā *catustrimśat MP.* 1.18.7 (M. *cautīs*)
caū-disa-him = *catur-dikṣu MP.* 87.4.6 (Ins. Loc. Pl. -*hi* ~~hi~~)
caūppaha *cauṣpatha Loc. Sg.* -i *Mt.* 12.
caūbbeu *caturvedāḥ DKs.* 1.
caūramsa *caturasra BhK.* 34.5.
caūrāsī *caturāsī Pd.* 23.
 (Pk. *caūrāsī*, M. *cauryāsī* *H.* *caurāsī*,
Guj. *corāsī*, *Nep.* *caurāsī*).
caūriya *camarī KKC.* 7.7.10.
caūka-ta *cakra-* 'round, extensive' *BhK.* 12.2.
°tta = *°tva KKC.* 5.1.9.

- cakkā** *cakra*-(*vāk*) Neut. Nom. Sg. zero *Mt.* 26.
- cakki** *cakrin*=*cakravartin*
Ins. Pl. -*him* *Sdd.* 177.
- ✓**cakkha** 'to eat, to taste, to relish'.
Pres. 3 Sg. -*i Hv.* 85.10.6. *Jc.* 3.23.6.
(cf. Sk. *caṣ-* 'to eat' quoted by BLOCH in FLM Gloss. *Pk.*
cakkhai, M. Guj. Sdh. H. Beng. ✓*cākh-*, Panj. ✓*cakkh-*)
- caṅga** Sk. lex. *caṅga* 'handsome'. *Bhk.* 28.3.
Neut. Nom. Sg. -*i DKs.* 39, Loc. Sg. -*i BhK.* 10.6. (OM.
cāṅg 'good', Nep. *camgā*).
- caṅcū** (*ts.*) Acc. and Ins. Sg. zero *Jc.* 1.12.8.
(M.H. *cōc*, Sdh. *cūji*, Deśi *cumculi*)
- caṭṭa** 1) 'a disciple' *Hv.* 82.12.2, *MP.* 1.16.1.
2) 'a mat?' acc. to UPADHYE *PPr.* 2.89.
(Traceable to ✓**crt-* See S.M. KATRE, 'Pk. uccidima in
Festschrift Prof. P.V. Kane. PP. 258-59.
- caṭṭuya** =*utpūta Jc.* 3.5.14. 'scoop, drainer'. *Hv.* 83.3.4 cf. *Dn.* 3.1
caṭṭū dārūhastāḥ. For cognates see BLOCH, *FLM Glossary*,
under *cāṭū*.
- ✓**caḍa-** 'to ascend, to climb' cf. *Hc.* 4.206. Fut. 3 Pl. -*cahim Kkc.*
2.8.3, PP. -*iya Pd.* 173.
Abs. -*evīnu Pd.* 111, -*evi Kkc.* 1.10.9.
- ✓**caḍāva** Pres. 1 Sg. -*um Pd.* 49, Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi*
Nc. 1.4.1, PP. -*iya Jc.* 3.26.6.
- ✓**caḍha** =*ā-ruh* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i Sdd.* 105.
(M. *caḥṇē*, Guj. *caḥvū*, Sdh. *caḥaṇu* H. Panj. *caḥṇa* < *Pk.*
caḍha, *caḍa*. Louis GRAY traces it to IE **qelde* < **qele-* 'be
high lift high.' *JAOS* 60.362 ff. Its -*dhe-* extension gives
modern M. Guj. H. forms).
- caduvvūghaka** =*caturmukha Sh.* 22.3.
- candima** 'Moonlight' Ins. Sg. -*e Hc.* 4.349.
- candru** *candrah Mk.* 17.4.
- campa** *campā* Loc. Sg. -*hiṇ Kkc.* 10.9.12.
- ✓**caya** ✓*tyaj-* Imp. 2 Pl. -*aha Kp.* J. 100.1*,
Abs. -*ēvi Kp.* J. 59.1. *PP. catta Kp.* S. 2.2 *Sdd.* 15.

- cayārī* *catvāri* > *callāri* > **catari* Sdd. 11.
(M. *cāri*, *cyār*, Guj. H. Panj. Nep. *cār*)
- carāṇa* (ts.) Acc. Sg. -u KĀc. 1.1.2, Direct Pl. zero KĀc. 1.1.12.
- calaṇa* *carāṇa* Loc. Pl. -*haṁ* Sdd. 173.
- callu* *calitam* Mt. 14.
- √*cava* 'to tell, to speak' cf. *Hc.* 4.2
Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* Hv. 91.18.11. 'to abandon'
Abs. *evi* Pd. 66 also Hv. 90.6.12.
- cā* *tyāga* Ins. Sg. -*ṇa* Jc. 1.5.1.
- cāṭṭha* *caturtha* Nc. 9.20.3.
(M. *cauthā*, Guj. *cotho*, H. Nep. Panj. *cauthā*)
- cāuddisi* = *caturdikṣu* Sn. 18.442.
- cāḍayasaa* *caṭu-ka-ṣata* Ins. Pl. -*iḥum*. Sn. 168-115
- cārittāṇa* *cārīn* + *ṭṭa* Nc. 3.3.12.
- cāvira* √*carv* + *ṭṭa* (*ūccāḥṭṭe*) Hv. 85.11.14.
(Pk. *cavviya*, M. *cāvṇṇṇ*, Guj. *cāvṇṇ*, H. *cabū iḥ*,
Panj. *cabbṇṇ*, Sdh. *cabaṇu*)
- √*cāha* 'to like, to expect.' Imp. 2 Sg. -*hu* BhK. 147.3,
Ts.26. (M. *cāhṇṇ*, H. *cāhnā*.)
- cīa* **cīa* < *citta* DĀK 3.
- √*cīṭṭha* *tisṭha*-
Fut. 2 Sg. -*iḥisi* Sc. 513.2.
- cīḍaulla* = *cataka* MP. 9.8.14 (Traceable to √**cī* or *√*cīṭ*. See
S. M. KATRE's paper in *Festschrift Prof. P.V.Kane*,
p.258-59.)
- cīṇha* *cinha*. Ins. Sg. -*ḥ* Mt. 24.
- citta* (ts) Ins. Sg. -*ḥ* DĀs. 80, Gen. Sg. -*hā* PPr. 2.70.
Ins. Pl. -*chi* DĀs. 101 (used as Sg.).
Gen. Pl. -*ahā* Sc. 452.3, Loc. Pl. -*ahī* Sc. 777.4.
- citta* *caitra* 'N. of a month' Gen. Sg. -*ha* Śa. 18-468 used
locatively.
- √*cinta* *cintey*- Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* DĀs. 39. Kp. S. 74.1, -*ei* Kp.S. 51.2. 3
Pl.—(a)*hiṁ* Sn. 77-176, -*anti* Kp.S.89.2. Imp. 2 Sg. -zero
DĀs. 88, -*ssa* DĀs.77, -*asu* Kp. A. 11. 4 2 Pl. -*ha* DĀs. 46,

- Sn. 168.115. PP. Neut. direct Sg. -iu *KKc.* 1.11.1. Abs. -id *DKs.* 76. -tu *Kp.* J. 97.2.
- cinta* *cinta* Acc. Pl. zero *Pd.* 66.
- cintācinta* °*cinte* (i.e. Fem. Acc. Pl. -zero) *DKs.* 59.
- ciya, ceya* *eva* *MP.* 1.11.14 also *ceiya* *Nc.* 6.15.1.
ceya (*caiva*) in *Nc.* 7.14.8.
- ciru* *ciram* *Nc.* 3.13.13.
- cillaṇa* *celanā* (*devī*) *Nc.* 1.7.9.
- cihura* *cikura* 'hair' *Mp.* 2.7.1.
- cukkha, cokkha* *cokṣa* 'pure' *Kp.* E 34, but in *Kp.* E 22 *cokkha* means 'licking'.
- cumcu* *cañcū* *Nc.* 2.11.12.
(Pk. *cañcū*. But the Ap. form gives the NIA forms with -o- e.g. *M. cōc, roc, Guj. cac*).
- cumbhala* = *śekhara* *Hv.* 88.5.3, *Nc.* 4.10.7. (cf. *Dn* 3.16 *M. cumbal*).
- cei-hara* *cailya-grha* Loc. Sg. -i *Jdc.* 12.1.
- ceṇa* *cetanā* *BhK.* 330.4.
- cēya* *cetanō* *BhK.* 247.10.
- cellu* 'a disciple' *DKs.* 10. cf. *H. celā* connected with ✓**crt* or ✓**cṛ* *Festschrift Prof. P.V.Āa* ie P. 258-59).
- cotthā* *caturthī* *Nc.* 9.20.4.
- soddaha* *caturdaśa* *Mp.* 1.2.6.
(Pa. *catuddava, cuddasa*, Pk. *coddasa, coddaha* *M. caudā, caudā*, *H. caudah, Guj. cauda*).
- coraḍḍā* *cora-* *Sdd.* 75.
- ch**
- cha* *ṣaṣ* *Nc.* 1.12.15. Ins. Pl. -hiñ *Kp.* S. 37.1*
- chailla* 'Beautiful' (*chāyā-illa*) *Kp.* E. 11.
- ✓*chaḍḍa-* ✓*chard* = *tyaj* cf. *Hc.* 4.91.
Pres. 3 Sg. -i *DKs.* 34. Imp. 2 Sg. -u *DKs.* 57.
2 Pl. -hu *DKs.* 51. PP. -iu *Sdd.* 39.
Abs. -i *DKs.* 16.
- chaṇa* *kṣaṇa-* *BhK.* 12.3, *KKc.* 5.19.5, *Sdd.* 199.

*√chard**=muc*Pres. 1 Sg. -*um* *KKc.* 2.4.6.Imp. 2 Sg. -*i* *Pd.* 13, *Sdd.* 67. -*hi* *Jc.* 3.21. 11.2Pl. -*hu* *Pd.* 69, *Ts.* 21. Abs. -*i* *Pd.* 109,-*ivi* *Pd.* 16.205. -*evnu* *Jc.* 3.38.3, *Pd.* 151 PPr. 1.74.*channavāi**ṣaṇṇavati Sn.* 30-231.*chaddarisaṇa**ṣaḍdarśana Gen. Pl. zero Jdc.* 2.1.*chadāitta**chanda-vat Bhk.* 35.5.*chappanna**ṣaṭpañcāśat Mp.* 2.6.4.(M. *chappann*, Guj. H. Nep. *chappan*)*chaha**ṣaṭ Sdd.* 20.(II **kṣaṭ* or **kṣvaṭ*, Pa. Pk. *cha*, M. *sahā* Guj. Sdh. H. Nep. *cha*).*chāvātthi**=ṣaṭṣaṣṭi Kp. J.* 66.3.*chāyā*(ts) *Hc.* 4.370, Acc. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 103.*chāra**kṣōra PFr.* 2.90, *Hc.* 4.365.3.*chāha**chāyā Fem. Loc. Sg. -hī Mt.* 14.*chāhi**=pratibimbam (Tippana) MP.* 2.16.16.*chī chī*Interjection to express contempt. *Cd.**chitta**kṣetra Bhk.* 5.3 (cf. M. *śet*).*chuḍu**=yadī Bhk.* 54.8 *Hc.* 385, 401.1, *Hv.* 81.10.13, *Nc.* 3.9.11, *SdL.* 58.*=kṣipram Jc.* 3.13.18.*=yadā Bhk.* 121.10.*chuddhiyā**=kṣipta KKc.* 1.7.3. cf. *Hc.* 4.143.*churia(ya)**kṣurikā K Kc.* 3.13.7, *Sc.* 654.6. (M. *surī*, *orā*, Guj. Sdh. H. *churī*)*chuha**kṣuḍhā K Kc.* 5.10.4, *Kp. J.* 2.4, *Sc.* 554.5.*chūḍha**kṣipta Kp. S.* 84.3. cf. *Hc.* 4.143.*chetta**kṣetra KKc.* 1.3.3. (M. *śet* In other NIA languages *kh-*)*choha**kṣobha MP.* 17.1.6, 29.18.8.

ija

yad

j

Masc. Nom. Sg. jo *Cd.* 2.27.11, *DKK.* 16, *DKs.* 19. *Hc.* 4.330.4, 332.1, *Jdc.* 2.1, *KKc.* 6.3.7, *Kp.* J. 4.3 *Pd.* 1, *Sc.* 527.1, Direct Sg. ju *DS.* 4.32, *Hc.* 4.345, *Jdc.* 3.3, *Pd.* 161, *Sc.* 485.8, *Sn.* 271-190. Neut. direct Sg. ju *Hc.* 345, 350.1, *Ld.* 3.4.31. *Mt.* 22. *Sc.* 623.4.

jām *Kc.* 28, *Kp.* J. 1.1. *Ld.* 3.4.32 *Pd.* 2, *PPr.* 1.42, 57.

druṁ *Ld.* 3.4.31, *dhruṁ Hc.* 4 360, *Kc.* 27.

Ins. Sg. jem, jē *DKK.* 21,31. *DKs.* 10. *Hc.* 4.350. *KKc.* 6.3.2.

jīm, jī *Jc.* 4.1.4. *Kp.* E. 35, *Pd.* 71, 98.

jenc *DKK.* 17,19. *DKs.* 44, *Hc.* 4.414. *Kp.* S. 63.6, *Mt.* 18, *Pd.* 57,82. *Sc.* 491.1, *Sdd.* 2.

jṇa *Jdc.* 7.1. *Kp.* J. 9.4, *Sc.* 588.4, jṇi *Jdc.* 8.3. *Kp.* S. 52.4. jo *DKK.* 23 (?)

Dat. Gen. Sg. jasū *BhK.* 2.1, 4.6, *Jiu.* 4.2. *KKc.* 1.5.2, *Kp.* J. 25.4, *MP.* 1 11.12 *Pd.* 24 *Sc.* 503 8, *Sdd.* 5.

jasū *BhK.* 3.3, 9.10, *DKs.* 89, *Hc.* 4.358, *KKc.* 1.5.5. *MP.* 1.1.17, *Pd.* 59,76. jassa is Pktism

jāha *Pd.* 14, Loc. Sg. jahūm, jahē *BhK.* 5. 2. *DKK.* 20 (used instrumentively), *Hc.* 4.386 (adverbially) *Kc.* 26, *KKc.* 5.4.6, *Kp.* J. 74.4, *Sc.* 476.3.

jammī *Mt.* 20 (Pkt. sm). jāhūm *KKc.* 1.3.6.

Masc. Direct Pl. je *BhK.* 146.10, *Hc.* 4,333, *Jac.* 4.3.

Kp. J. 5.4, *MK.* 17.40, *Pd.* 4, *Pv.* 17.62. *Sc.* 610.6, *Sdd.* 20 jī *Kp.* A. 13.1. *Pd.* 86, Neut. in *Kp.* J. 54.1

Neut direct Pl. jāī *BhK.* 204.5, *Ld.* 3.4.32 (jain also), *PPr.* 2.56

Ins. Pl. jehūm, j. hē *BhK.* 147.6, *Hc.* 4.439, *Pd.* 92. *PPr.* 1.61. jehū *DKs.* 58.

Gen. Pl. jāham *Hc.* 4.353, *Pd.* 102, jāha *Pd.* 14. jahā *Kp.* J. 28.5, jahūm *Jc.* 2.12.19. jāhūm *Pd.* 156. 217.

Fem. direct Sg. jā *BhK.* 4.2 214.7. (Acc.) *BhK.* 140.4. *Hc.* 4.395.6, *KKc.* 5.15.4, (Acc.) *KKc.* 5.1.12, *Kp.* S.16.2. *Pd.* 19, *PPr.* 2.46*, 1, *Sc.* 736.5 Ins. Sg. jāī *BhK.* 209.10

Gen. Sg. jāhū *BhK.* 168.4, *Jc.* 3.7.7. jāhe *KKc.* 5.16.5, jasū *Hc.* 4.368, *Kp.* S. 12 1.3 jasū *Kp.* S. 13.4, jahe *Hc.* 4.359, *Ld.* 3.4.30.

jīe *Sc.* 484.4. Loc. Sg. jāhū *BhK.* 149.5.

jahūm *KKc.* 6.16.7. Direct Pl. jāō *BhK.* 10.3, jāū *Kp.* S. 98.1.

jāī

1) yadī *Kp.* J. 46.9, *Nc.* 8.13.3, *PPr.* 2.5, *Sdd.* 25.

2) yatra *Ld.* 3.3.14.

- jañh* An expletive (*pāda-pūraṇe*) *Pu.* 17.27.
- jañ* =*jāta* *DĀK.* 7.
- jañvar*, °*hu*, °*hā*=*yada* *Jc.* 3.34.6, *BhK.* 121.4. °*hum* *Nc.* 3.15.7.
- jañsu* *yādya* *Ld.* 3.3.10.
- jañā* *yamunā* *Hv.* 85.19.1, *KKc.* 10.12.9.
- jaga* *jagat*
Nom. Sg. -*u* *DĀK.* 27, Acc. Sg. zero *DĀKs.* 80.
Gen. Pl. -*ha* *Jc.* 1.6 1.
- √*jagaḍa* 'to fight, to overpower.' Traced to *Sk. jhakaṣa* *Hc.* 422.2.
Imp. 2 Sg. -*ha* *DKs.* 25. Pres. Part. -*anta* *Nc.* 3.15.12.
(cf. *Hc.* 4.170 'to hasten,' *Dn.* 3.44. *M.* *jhagḍā*)
- jajjariā* *jarja itā* Nom. Pl. -(*ā*)*u* *Hc.* 4.333.
- jajjāhi* Intensive of √*jā* (<*yā*) Imp. 2 Sg. *Nc.* 6.12.11.
- jaṇa* *jana* Gen. Sg. -*hu* *Sc.* 769.5.
jāna Ins. Pl. -*hi* *KKc.* 2.2.4.
- √*jaṇa* *janay*.
Fut. 3 Pl. -*isahī* *Sc.* 25.9 (Intro. to *Sc.* P. 17. §24)
Pres. Part. -*antu* *PPr.* 1.35.
- jaṇapi* *jananī* (Fem.)
Ins. Sg. -*i* *MP.* 87.13.15, -*e* *BhK.* 302.11
Gen. Sg. -*he* *BhK.* 73.8, 291.6.
- jañi* =*iva* *Hc.* 4.444. *Ki* 5.6, 7. *Kc.* 81, *Kp.* S. 10.6,
Ld. 3.3.24. *Pu.* 17.26.
- jaṇu* =*iva* *Hc.* 4.401.3, 444, *Kc.* 81, *Ld.* 3.3.24.
- janēri* =*janayitrī* *Nc.* 5.8.15. Gen. Sg. -*hi* *BhK.* 73.6.
- jatta* *yatra* (>*jattha*) *DKs.* 74.
- jattha* *yatra* *Kp.* J. 46.5, -*u* *DKs.* 31.
- japa-home* °*-homāḥ* (*i.e.* Nom. pl. in -*e*) *DĀK.* 29.
- jamuṇa* *janman* (>*jamma*). Loc. Sg. -*e* *Mt.* 4.
Yamunā Nom. Sg. zero *DKs.* 49.

- √*jampe-* √*jalp-*
 Pres. 2 Sg. -*hi* *KKc.* 1.10.4, 3 Sg. -*i* *Mt.* 18.
 Pres. Part. -*antu* *BhK.* 177.6
 PP. -*iya* *BhK.* 40.6, Abs. -*iri* *BhK.* 43.2 -*evinu* *BhK.*
- jamma* *janman* Loc. Sg. -*im* *Jc.* 2.19.1.
- jaya* (ts) (Imp. 2 Sg. of √*ii-*) *Jc.* 1.2.1, *KKc.* 1.1.3.
- jaya-siri* °*śrī* Acc. Sg. zero *Mp.* 87.5.15.
- jayaśi* *jayaśrī* *BhK.* 7.5. (Acc. to JACOBI).
- jarā* (ts.) Ins. Sg. -*e* *BhK.* 301.4.
- jarā-maraṇa-ha* °*marañayoh* (Gen. Pl. in -*ha*) *DKK* 19.
- jala* (ts.) Sg. Nom. -*u* *DKs.* 76, Loc. -*hi* *DKs.* 76. -*hī* *DKs.* 34.
- jalūa* *jalūkā*, *jalaūkā* *Kp.* S. 53.2.
 (Pa. *jalūkā*, Pk. *jalūgā*, M. *jaḷū*, Guj. *jaḷo*, Sdh. *jaru*,
 Panj. *jalogī*).
- java lā* =*yātum* *Pd.* 105 (cf. M. *jāy-lā*, H. *jāne ke liye* ; *lā* < *lag*).
- javaḷā* =*saṁipe* (Traced to *yamala-ka*) *PPr.* 2.127. cf. M. *javaḷ*.
- javāīya* *jāmātīka* *Kp.* E. 6a (Guj. *jamāi* H. *āwāi* Nep. *juuāi*)
- Javuṇa* *īamunā* Gen. Sg. -*he* *Kc.* 15.
- iahiṁ* 1) *yatra* *Jc.* 1.3.5, *Sdd.* 54, 61. *Sn.* 271-190.
 2) *yathā* (?) *Sdd.* 71.
- jram* *yad.* Pu. 17.55.
- jā* √*yā-* Pres. 3 Sg. -*ī* *KKc.* 1.12.9, 1 Pl. -*ha*
Bhk. 207.1, -*hum*, *hū* *BhK.* 210.8, *KKc.* 3.5.2 (?)
 3 Pl. -*hiṁ* *KKc.* 2.2.4, -*anti* *Sdd.* 8.
 Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* *KKc.* 1.13.6.
 -*hum*. *KKc.* 3.5.2.
 3 Pl. -*antu* *BhK.* 26.9 Fut. 1 Sg. -*isu* *Sc.* 153.7.
 3 Sg. -*hi* *Sc.* 569.1. Pres. Part. -*anta* *Pd.* 52. -*antaḥ* *M.*
 8, Fem. -*antī* *Mt.* 29, Pot. Part.
 -*evaa* *Nc.* 7.4.10.
- jā* *yāvat* (> *iāva*) *Hv.* 85.3.6, *Kp.* S. 27.7.
- jāūm* *Ld.* 3.3.11. *Hc.* 4.406. *yāvat*.

- √jāpa- √jā- Pres. 1 Sg. -*ā* DKs. 92, -*mi* DKs. 92.
 3 Sg. -*i* DKs. 60, 91. Jdc. 2.2
 1 Pl. -(a)hā BhK. 26.3. Imp. 2 Sg. -*asu*
 (Intro. to Hv. §56), -*i* PPr. 1.107, 2.38, -*u* PPr. 1.94.
 -*hu* Sdd. 82. 2 Pl. -*hu* DKs. 39, 64.
 Fut. 2 Sg. -*ihisi* Mt. 24. Pass. Pres. 3 Sg. -*ijjā* Nc. 3.3.7.
 -*i* DKs. 65. Pres. Part. -*anta* DKs. 1, PP. -*ā*, DKs. 92.
 -*ia* DKs. 53. KKc. 1.11.2.
 -*iā* Mt. 21.
 Fem. Pot. Part. -*evā* Jc. 4.6.4.
 (Pa. jānāti, Pk. jānei, M. Guj. √jān-, H. Nep. √jān-).
- jāma yāva Hc. 4.406. Hv. 84.2.5, Ld. 3.3.11, PPr. 2.81.
 -*i*=yadā (?) PPr. 2.174, -*u* PPr. 2.194.
 -*hām* Hc. 4.406.3, Ld. 303.11.
- āli *jālyā Abs. of √jālay DKs. 4.
- iāya-hū =jāyōmahe Sc. 465.8.
- ijāva yāvat Hv. 88.13.6.
- jāva yāvat Hc. 4.395.3. Hv. 89.13.12. -*i* PPr. 2.41.
- jāvāya jāvāt. MP. 23.4.16.
- jājha yāva (or yathā) Jc. 3.19.9.
 =eva (cit) Hc. 358.1, 396.3, Jc. 2.7.5.,
 KKc. 2.7.1, Ld. 3.3.35, PPr. 1.96, Sdd. 26, Sh 39
 =an expletive Jc. 3.10.12.
- jīmgha-i jighratu DKk. 6. (-i Metri causa).
- √jiṇa √ji- Fut. 3 Sg. -*ihai* Kp. E. 33.
 Inf. -*aṇaham* KKc. 8.14.10.
- jīṇa-nāha jīṇa-nātha. Gen. Sg. -*ha* ō Ts. 30.
- jīṇa n. uṇi °-muni Acc. Sg. zero Sdd. 116.
- jīṇa-vara jīṇa-vara Gen. Sg. -*ho* KKc. 1.1.2.
 Acc. Pl. zero PPr. 1.6.
- jīṇa-vayaṇa jīṇa-vayana. Ins. Pl. -*ihim* Sn. 307-169.
- jitta-sattu jita-satru Hv. 89.19.9.
- jittiu =yāvan-mātra PPr. 2.38.
- jithu =yatra Jdc. 181.

- jidha* =yathā *Ki.* 5.12, *Ld.* 3.3.8.
- jima* =yathā *Gū.* 2.27.11, *DKK.* 2, *Ki.* 5.12, *Ld.* 3.3.8' *Pu.* 17.23. *Sdd.* 2. 'like, as' *Pu.* 17.26.
- jiva* =yathā *Jdc.* 2.2, *Jdu.* 4.3, *Sn.* 17-570.
- jiva (jimva)* =yathā *Hc.* 4.330.3, 336. *Kp.* J. 9.8, *Sn.* 89-177.
- jihā* =yathā *Hc.* 4.337, *Jc.* 1.4.15, *Kp.* J. 15.6, *Pd.* 18, *Sdd.* 3.
- jīva-* √jīv- Fut. 1 Pl. -*esahū* (Intro. to *Sc.* p. 17 *Gram.* §24).
jīyana-Pres. Part. of √jīva- *Jc.* 3.41.8.
- jiva* (ts.) Nom. Sg. -ā *Is.* 33, Gen. Sg. -*ha Sdd.* 115, -*hao PPr.* 2.86.
 -*hu Pd.* 42.
 Voc. Sg. Zero (*jīya*) *PPr.* 1.23, *Sdd.* 4, 21.
 Gen. Pl. -*ham PPr.* 2.106, *Sdd.* 3.
- jīvājīva* (ts.) Acc. Pl. zero *PPr.* 1.30, Gen. Pl. -*ha ū Is.* 38.
- Jīvamjasa* 'N. of Karmāsa's wife'. Ins. Sg. -ī *Mp.* 87.1.15.
- jihā* *jihvā Kp.* J. 73.3, *Sn.* 16-570.
 Ins. Sg. -ī *Jc.* 2.5.11.
- juala* *yugala.* Ins. Pl. -*ehim Mt.* 10.
- jujha* *jujjha (yuddha) Kkc.* 2.96.
- jutta* = *alika* Gen. Pl. -*ha Jdu.* 77.1. cf. *H.* *jhūt.*
- junṇaū* **jūrnam* = *jūrnam Jc.* 3.38.3.
- jutti* *yukti* Ins. Sg. -e *BhK.* 290.7.
- juttha* *yūtha* 'collection' *DKs.* 73.
- jūya* *yuga* Ger. Sg. -*hu Sdd.* 3.
- jē, jai* <*yadi Mt.* 9.
- jettahe* *yatra Hv.* 83.16.4.
- jettula* =*yāvat, Kc.* 75, *Ld.* 3.3.12. *Sh.* 22.62.
- jettlu* =*yatra. Jc.* 1.5.10, *Mt.* 20.
- jema* *yathā Jc.* 1.3.1, *Ki.* 5.12, *Sdd.* 60.
- iēḍa* *yathā Hv.* 86.7.8 *Kp.* J. 50.1 (cf. *Hc.* 4.401).
- jēvaḍu* *yāvat Ld.* 3.3.12, *Sh.* 22.62.
- jeha* *yādīsa Sh.* 22.60. *Ld.* 3.3.9. -*u PPr.* 1.26, -*ē Ld.* 3.3.9.

√jōa (-ya)

√dyut->dyotate

Pres. 1 Sg. -um. Pd. 139, 175. 3 Sg. -i Pd. 51, 180.
 Imp. 2 Sg. -i Pd. 52, PPr. 2.34. 2 Pl. -hu Sn. 18-442.
 Pres. Part. Fem. -aniṭ Gen. Sg. -he Hc. 4.332.
 PP. -iu MP. 2.4.8, Inf. -ium Pd. 179. Abs. -iya Pd. 42.
 Pot. Part. -evvā Nc. 5.2.6. (cf. Guj. jova).

joi (-ya)

yogin (-ka) Nom. Sg. zero PPr. 1.35, 2.171,
 Ins. Sg. -ē ō PPr. 2.157, Gen. Sg. -hi ō PPr. 2.160.
 -hi Pd. 192, Voc. Sg. zero Dks. 34, Pd. 53, Ys. 38.
 Nom. Pl. -ā Cd. 2.27.11. Ins. Pl. -ihim, ikt. Pd. 9, Ys. 38,
 39. Gen. Pl. -hā PPr. 1.35. -hi ō
 PPr. 2.166. Voc. Pl. -hu Ys. 50.
 (-g- retained in NIA as in M. Guj. Nep. jogi).

joiṇi-māi

yoginī-māyām Dks. 88. (Acc. Sg. zero).

joni

yonī Loc. Sg. -him Jc. 2.30.10.
 Loc. Pl. -him MP. 82.10.11, Pd. 8.

jonha

jyotsnā Ins. Sg. -i MP. 87.12.7.
 Loc. Sg. -hī Mt. 14.

jh

jhaḍatti

jhaṭiti 'immediately' Hv. 82.6.9.

jhaḍavi

'immediately.' Jc. 3.8.4.

jhatti

jhaṭiti Hv. 84.2.15, PPr. 2.184 Sn. 236-270.

√jhampa

'to cover' PP. Masc. Nom. Sg. -io Kp. E. 8.4.
 Abs. -avi Jc. 1.6.4. (cf. H. jhāpnā, M. jhāpaḍ 'cover')

jhara

kṣar-(but, √kṣi acc. to Hc. 4.20) Nc. 2.2.5.

√jhalakka

'to burn' PP. -iyaū Kp. E. 3. (Traceable to √jval-

jhalakka

jhalakkā (pWB *grosse Flamme) Hv. 83.13.1.
 (cf. M. Guj. jhalak 'splendour, lustre').

jhalajhala-i

Freq. of √jval- Hv. 84.5.6 cf. jhala-halai Sn. 217-186.
 (M. jhalāṭnē, jhaljhalnē, H. jhaljhalānā)

jhāṇā

dhyāna. Ins. Sg. -ē Dks. 22, 24.

√jhā- (ya, -va)-i dhyāyati.

Imp. 2 Sg. -hi Pd. 37, Pres. Part. -antau Pd. 3.

√jhijja-

√kṣi+va (Pass :)
 Pres. Part. -anta Hv. 91.16.3.

<i>ihāṇa</i>	<i>kṣāṇa</i> Masc. Nom. Sg. -u <i>Hv.</i> 81. 15. 7. <i>Jc.</i> 3.19.5.
<i>jhuṣilla</i>	<i>dhvani-vat</i> <i>Hv.</i> 87.12.5 (-illa Poss. Suff.)
<i>jhendua</i>	= <i>kanduka</i> . Masc. Nom. Sg. -u <i>Mp.</i> 1.16.10.

†

<i>ihka</i>	<i>ṭikā</i> Fem. Ins. Sg. -im <i>Sdd.</i> 193.
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‡h

√ <i>ṭhā</i>	√ <i>sthā</i> Pres. 1 Sg. -imi <i>Kp.</i> S. 92.3. 3 Sg. -i <i>DKK.</i> 13, <i>DKs.</i> 40, <i>Kp.</i> S. 73.6. <i>Sdd.</i> 197. 3 Pl. -antu <i>Sdd.</i> 54. <i>thāvai</i> <i>Kp.</i> E. 11. Opt. 3 Sg. -ejja <i>Kp.</i> J. 104.1*, Fut. 3 Sg. -ṣai <i>Kp.</i> S. 44.5, Pres. Part. -antu <i>Kp.</i> S. 40.9, PP. -ia <i>DKK.</i> 5, <i>DKs.</i> 20, <i>Kp.</i> S. 81.2 <i>Sdd.</i> 132. -iaa <i>DKs.</i> 91.
<i>ṭhāṇa</i>	<i>sthāna</i> <i>DKs.</i> 54. Neut. Acc. Sg. -a <i>DKs.</i> 80. Direct Pl. -aim <i>Sdd.</i> 18.
<i>ṭhōba</i>	<i>sthāman</i> <i>DKK.</i> 16.
<i>ṭhāhara-ṭ</i>	= <i>tiṣṭhati</i> <i>Sda.</i> 132. cf. H. <i>ṭhaharnā</i> .
-ṭṭhiya	<i>sthila</i> . Direct Sg. -u <i>Pd.</i> 102.

<i>ḍakkha</i>	= <i>daṣṭa</i> <i>Kp.</i> S. 107.4 ct. <i>Hc.</i> 2.89. (M. Guj. <i>damkh</i> , Sdh. <i>dāgu</i> , Panj. <i>damg</i> , <i>ḍamk</i> , H. <i>damk</i>).
<i>ḍajjha-ṭ</i>	<i>dahyate</i> <i>Hc.</i> 4.365.3. <i>Nc.</i> 3.15.5.
<i>ḍamaṇo</i>	<i>damanah</i> <i>MK</i> 18.5.
√ <i>ḍara</i>	1. 'to fear' Pres. 1 Sg. -mi <i>Jc.</i> 2.28.6. (Sk. <i>darati</i> Pk. <i>ḍarai</i> , M. Guj. Sdh. Panj. H. Beng. √ <i>ḍa</i> - 'to fear'.) 2. 'to fall', Pres. 2 Sg. -hi <i>Sdd.</i> 156.
√ <i>ḍasa-</i>	√ <i>damś</i> -Pres. 3 Pl. -anti <i>Mt.</i> 10.
<i>ḍaha</i>	<i>dahara</i> 'a child' <i>Jc.</i> P. 125.
√ <i>ḍaha</i>	√ <i>dah-</i> Abs. -iu <i>Sn.</i> 270-190. caus. PP. -āba +iao <i>DKs.</i> 2.

- ḍāla* = *śākhā* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*ha* Sdd. 61.
 Loc. Sg. -*ham* Sdd. 95. Acc. Pl. -*aim* Hc. 445.4.
 (M. *ḍāḷi*, *ḍāḷli*, °*lā*, Guj. *ḍāl* Sdh. *ḍāru*, Panj. H. Beng. *ḍāl*).
- ḍumgara* = *śaila* Masc. Loc. Pl. -*ihim* Hc. 4.445.2.
- ḍomgara* 'a mountain' Nom. Pl. zero Hc. 422.2. (M. *ḍongar* Guj. *ḍungarm* Sdh. *ḍomgaru*).
- ḍora* *davaraka* 'a rope' Ins. Sg. -*em* Jc. 3.8.11.
 (Pk. *davara*, *dora*, M. *dor*, *ḍor*, Nep. *ḍoro*. Guj. Beng. H. Panj. *dor*.)
- ḍollai* *dolayati* MP 4.18.2.
 (M. Guj. H. Sdh. √*ḍol-*, Sdh. √*ḍor-*).
- ḍh*
- ḍhamkha* = 'dry,' *śuṣka* Jc. 1.13.3, MP. 29.13.5.
- ḍhamḍholanta-* *bhramat* Pd. 152. cf. Hc. 4.161.
 (M. *ḍhāḍolṇṇṇ*, Sdh. √*ḍhunḍh-*)
- ḍhala* = √*kṣar-* Pres. Part. -*anta* Kc. 24.
 PP. *iya-a* Hv. 90.4.6 (cf. M. *ḍhalṇṇ*, Guj. *ḍhalvā*, H. *ḍhalṇṇā*).
- ḍhāvu* = *śīghram* Kc. 35.
- ḍhilla* *śīthila* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* Pd. 43, Sdd. 129.
 (Pk. *śīghila*, *ḍhitla* M. *ḍhilā*, H. *ḍhīlā*, Guj. *ḍhīlā*, Sdh. *ḍhilo*, Panj. *ḍhillā*, Beng. Or. *ḍhil*).
- ḍhuraḍhullia* = 'wandered.'
 Masc. Nom. Sg. -*o* Pd. 23.
- √*ḍhekkara-* 'to bellow' cf. Hc. 4.99.
 Pres. Part. Masc. Nom. Sg. -*artu* Hv. 84.17.6. cf. M. *dhēk* 'roar', also *dhēkar*. Sdh. *dhikṇu*.
- ḍholla* = *viṭa*. Masc. Nom. Sg. -*ā* Hc. 4.330.1.2.
- ṇ(n)*
- ṇa* = *iva* Pv. 17.26. 2 *na* Sdd. 199. (cf. Ved. *va* 'like')
- ṇaa* *nata*. Ins. Sg. -*e* Mt. 31.
- ṇai* = 1. *iva* Ld. 3.3.24., Pv. 17.26.
 2. *nāpi* Mt. 34.

- ṇaū* =1 *na* *Hv.* 81.2.1. 2 *iva* *Hc.* 4.444, *Jc.* 2.5.9. *Kc.* 81.
- ṇam* =1. *iva* *Hc.* 4.444. *Hv.* 81.7.5. *KKc.* 1.3.11. *Kc.* 80.
Ld. 3.3.24, *Jc.* 2.3.2. *MP.* 1.12.2.
2. *nanu* *Jc.* 1.18.9, *Sn.* 217-186.
- ṇakka* Deśi 'nose' *Ins.* Sg. -*im* *Jc.* 3-22-3.
(*M.* *Guj.* *H.* *Beng.* *nāk.* *Sdh.* *nāku*, *Panj.* *nakk*).
- ṇaggala* *nagna-ṭa* *Masc.* *direct* *Pl.* *zero* *DKs.* 6.
(*M.* *nāgdā* *°vā* *Guj.* *nāgā* *Sdh.* *namgo*, *Panj.* *H.* *namgd*, *Or.* *namglā*).
- ṇa-caristu* =*na-cariṣṇu*
Masc. *Nom.* *Sg.* *zero* *Pd.* 58.
- ṇaccarī* *ṇṛtyati* *Sdd.* 162.
- ṇaṭṭa* *ṇṛtta* *Hv.* 81.1.11.
- ṇāṇā* *nātha.* *Masc.* *Nom.* *Sg.* -*u* *DKK.* 23.
- ṇatthi* *nāsti* *DKs.* 44.
- ✓*ṇama-* ✓*nam-* *Abs.* -*ivi* *Jdc.* 1.1.
- ṇarākīr-eppiṇu* *namuskṛtya* *Sdd.* 1.
- ṇayanāṇandīira* = *nayanāṇandakara*
Gen. *Sg.* -*āsu* *BhK.* 342.7.
- ṇara* *nara.* *Masc.* *Nom.* *Pl.* *zero* *Pd.* 5. *Ins.* *Pl.* -*ih* *Sc.* 459.2.
- ṇaraya* *naraka* *Loc.* *Sg.* -*ham* (Scribal error for -*im* ?) *Pd.* 5.
- ṇara-rūa* *nara rūpa.* *Direct* *Sg.* -*u* *KKc.* 1.10.8.
- ṇara-vai* *narapati* *Direct* *Sg.* (and *Voc.*) *zero* *KKc.* 1.10.6,
Gen. *Sg.* -*no* *Jc.* 1.19.1 (Pkt. *ism.*)
- Naravai-viṭṭhi* = *Narapati-vṛṣṇi* *Hv.* 84.8.14.
- ṇaravara* *nara-Ṭ* *Dat.* *Gen.* *Sg.* -(*ā*)*su* *KKc.* 1.10.5.
- ṇarinda* *narendra.* *Gen.* *Sg.* -*ho* *KKc.* 1.2.3.
- ṇaliṇi* *nalini* *Loc.* *Pl.* -*ihim* *Sdd.* 191.
- ✓*ṇava-* ✓*nam-* *Pres.* 3 *Sg.* -*i* *Pd.* 77. (with *pari-* *Pd.* 14).
1 *Pl.* -*hum* *KKc.* 4.1.9. *Imp.* 2 *Sg.* -*hu* *KKc.* 4.1.7.
2 *Pl.* -*ham* *Jc.* 4.8.13. *Abs.* -*evi* *PPr.* 1.7.
- ṇavakāra* *namaskāra* *Jdu.* 71.3.

- navama* . *navama* *Sdd.* 15.
- navayāri* . = *namaskṛtya* (Abs. in -i) *Jc.* 1.27.10.
- navara* = 1. *na param* = *kevalam* *Hc.* 4.401. *Jc.* 3.33.8.
2. 'there upon'. *Hv.* 82.15.4.
3. 'however, yet.' *Hv.* 85.5.7.
- navari* = 1. *kevalam* *Hc.* 4.377, 401.
2. 'afterwards.' *Pd.* 153. cf. *Hc.* 2.188.
- navi* *naiva* *PPr.* 1.31.
- navullaḍaa* *nava* (-ulla-ṭa)
Masc. Acc. Pl. zero *Kc.* 73.
- naha* *nabhas* Neut. nom. Sg. -u *PPr.* 2.20.
Loc. Sg. -hī *Mt.* 19. -*ammi* (Pkt. ism.) *Jc.* 1.16.14.
- nahayala* *nabha-tala* Abl. Sg. -hu *Sc.* 264.8. Intro. to *Sc.* Grām. §16.
- naha-siri* *nabha-śrī* Fem. Gen. Sg. -hi *Jc.* 2.12.5.
- nāi* = *iva* *Hc.* 4.444, *Hv.* 81.4.5. *Kc.* 81. *Kp.* J. 6.4. *Ld.* 3.3.24
Nc., 3.12.6, *Pu.* 17.26.
- nāim, oī* = *iva* *Mp.* 1.12.4, *Pd.* 158.
- nāikka* *nāyaka* Ins. Sg. -em *Sdd.* 51.
- nāimya* *nāginikā* *Jc.* 2.10.6.
- nāu* *nāman* (direct Sg. -u) *Mt.* 3, *PPr.* 1.19, 2.206.
- nāū* -*nāyu* 'muscle.'
Neut. Acc. Pl. zero *MP.* 100.5.3.
- nāni* *jñānin*.
Masc. Ins. Sg. -im *PPr.* 2.73.
Direct Pl. zero *PPr.* 2.19, Ins. Pl. -hi *PPr.* 2.16.
Gen. Pl. -ha *PPr.* 1.122. -hi *PPr.* 2.30.
- nāma* *nāman* Ins. Sg. -e *DKs.* 109.
Gen. Sg. -hu *Mt.* 3.
- nāmāla* *nāmavai* (-āla suff.) *Hv.* 81.8.4.
- nāri* *nārī* Fem. direct Sg. zero *KKc.* 7.1.3.
Ins. Pl. -him *KKc.* 3.1.11.
- nāvai* = *iva*. *Hc.* 4.444, *Hv.* 81.14.5. *Kc.* 81, *Ld.* 3.3.24.
Mt. 19, *Nc.* 1.7.6. *Pu.* 17.26.

<i>nāha</i>	<i>nātha</i> . Masc. Nom. Sg. - <i>u</i> <i>DKK.</i> 31, <i>DS.</i> 4.3.2.
<i>nāhala</i>	= <i>bhilla</i> Ins. Pl. - <i>hiṃ</i> <i>MP.</i> 82.10.6.
<i>nāhi</i>	<i>nāsti</i> , <i>na hi</i> <i>DKK.</i> 10, <i>DĀs.</i> 67, 90, <i>La.</i> 3.3.37. <i>Pd.</i> 94, <i>Sdd.</i> 13. ° <i>hi</i> in <i>DĀs.</i> 19.
<i>nāhiyā</i>	<i>nābhikā</i> 'the navel.' Fem. Gen. Sg. - <i>he</i> <i>KKc.</i> 1.16.6.
✓ <i>nia-</i>	Connected with Sk. ✓ <i>nī</i> cf. <i>netra</i> , <i>ṇayana</i> = <i>dyś-</i> in <i>Hc.</i> 4.181. Pres. 2. Sg. - <i>ehi</i> <i>Pd.</i> 186. Imp. 2. Sg. - <i>hu</i> <i>DKK.</i> 26.
<i>nikka</i>	<i>nikā</i> (= <i>iḍā</i>) Fem. Gen. Sg. - <i>he</i> <i>Kc.</i> 24.
<i>nikkhanta</i>	<i>niṣkrāntā</i> . Fem. direct Pl. - <i>u</i> <i>Hv.</i> 92.19.6.
<i>niḡghina</i>	<i>nirghṛṇa</i> <i>KKc.</i> 9.4.10.
<i>nircula</i>	<i>niścala</i> <i>DKK.</i> 20, <i>DĀs.</i> 68. Fem. Nom. Sg. zero <i>DKK.</i> 13.
<i>niccu</i>	<i>nityam</i> <i>Jdc.</i> 6.4. <i>PPr.</i> 1.89.
<i>nicchaū</i>	<i>niścayaṃ</i> <i>Hv.</i> 84.7.13.
<i>nicchai</i>	<i>niścayena</i> <i>Jdc.</i> 26.3, <i>Sn.</i> 18-286. ° <i>im</i> , ° <i>i</i> . <i>Kc.</i> 43. <i>KKc.</i> 1.10.10.
✓ <i>ni-joja-</i>	<i>ni-yōjaya</i> (< <i>yuj</i>). Imp. 2 Pl. - <i>hu</i> <i>Kc.</i> 20.
<i>nitamba</i>	<i>nitamba</i> . Gen Pl. - <i>ha</i> <i>DĀs.</i> 7.
<i>nitthara-</i>	<i>ni-star-</i> Pres 3 Pl. - <i>hiṃ</i> <i>Kp.</i> P. 3.5, Abs. - <i>ivi</i> <i>Kp.</i> P. 7.5.
<i>nidda</i>	<i>nidrā</i> . Fem. Ins. Sg. - <i>e</i> <i>Hc.</i> 4.330, <i>Mt.</i> 16. (M. H. <i>nīdo</i> , Singh. <i>nidi</i> , <i>nidu</i>).
<i>niddhā</i>	<i>nidrā</i> <i>La.</i> 3.3.43.
<i>ninda</i>	<i>nidrā</i> <i>Jc.</i> 3.20.9. cf. <i>H.</i> <i>nīd</i> .
✓ <i>niḡḡpila-</i>	<i>niṣ-</i> ✓ <i>pīḍ</i> Abs. - <i>ivi</i> <i>Kp.</i> S. 53.4.
<i>niḡesī</i>	<i>ni-veśya</i> . (Abs. in - <i>ī</i>) <i>DĀs.</i> 5.
<i>niḡbāṇa</i>	<i>nirvāṇa</i> . Neut. nom. sg. - <i>o</i> <i>DKK.</i> 22.
<i>niḡbhantu</i>	<i>nir-bhrāntam</i> <i>PPr.</i> 1.120, 2.88.

- √*ṇiya-* 'to see' cf. *Hc.* 4.181. See √*ṇia-* above.
Pres. 3 Sg. -*i Hv.* 91.195.
Abs. -*ḍvi Hv.* 85.5.11, 86.5.10.
- ṇiyaccha-* 'to see' cf. *Hv.* 4.181.
Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi Hv.* 87.9.10. Habit showing -*ira Hv.* 86.5.9.
- √*ṇiyatta-* *nir-√vart.* Inf. -*ḍum Kp.* J. 41.1*
- ṇiyama* *niyama.* Ins. Sg. -*ḍ PPr.* 2.62.
- ṇiyala* *nigaḍa* Neut. direct Pl. -*im Sdd.* 211.
- ṇiya-satti* *nija-śakti.* Ins. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 121.
- ṇiyamsaṇa* *nivasana Nc.* 3.11.11.
- ṇirasa* *nirasa.* Loc. Sg. -*mi Jc.* 1.15.16.
- ṇirāriu* =1. *nitarām.* 'verily, indeed.' *Hv.* 83.8.6, *Nc.* 7.2.6, *Pd.* 120.
=2. *atisayena MP.* 13.7.13.
=3. *anivāritam MP.* 2.18.8.
- ṇirāsa* *nirāśa=nirasta.*
Masc. direct Pl. zero *DKK.* 23.
- ṇirikka* 'thief.' Connected with *nir-īkṣ-*? *MP.* 29.17.3, *Nc.* 7.7.3.
- ṇiru* =*nitarām Hv.* 81.4.2, *MP.* 1.1.19, 13.11.11, *Nc.* 1.1.8, *Sn.* 25-212 (*chāyā-niścitam*).
- ṇiruttaṭṭu* *niruktaṇ=niścitam, nitarām.*
KKc. 1.2.4, 7.1.4, *Nc.* 2.13.11, *Pd.* 121. cf. *Dn.* 4.30. (cf. *M. nirutē*)
- √*ṇi-rumbha-* =*ni-√rudh-*
Abs. -*ivi KP.* S. 97.3.5.
- ṇiva* *nṛpa.* Masc. Nom. Pl. zero *KKc.* 4.1.4.
- ṇivāi* *nṛpati.* Loc. Sg. -*mmi Sc.* 479.4.
- √*ṇivaḍa-* *ni-√pat.*
Imp. 3 Sg. -*u Jc.* 2.1.5.
- √*ṇi-vasa* *ni-√vas-* Pres. 2 Sg. -*hi MP.* 1.3.10.
- ṇivitti* *niyutti.* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 10.
Gen. Pl. -*hi PPr.* 2.52.

<i>niśa</i>	<i>niśā</i> . Fem. Loc. Sg. <i>-hi DKs.</i> 89. <i>-i Jdc.</i> 16.3. (Prob. Skt. ism.).
√ <i>niśamma-</i>	<i>ni-√śāmaja</i> . Imp. 2 Sg. <i>-hi Mt.</i> 24.
<i>niśāḍa</i>	= <i>niśācara MP.</i> 16.26.8.
<i>niśāsūṇa-i</i>	= <i>niḥśvāsosṇayā</i> 'sighing out hotly.' (Ins. Sg. in <i>-i</i>) <i>MP.</i> 100.6.7.
<i>niśt</i>	<i>niśā</i> Fem. Loc. Sg. <i>-hi Jdc.</i> 18.2. <i>-hi Sc.</i> 452.3.
√ <i>ni-suṇa</i>	. <i>ni-√śṛ-</i> (<i>ṇu</i>) Imp. 2. Sg. <i>-i PPr.</i> 1 11, 2.2, <i>-hum Jc.</i> 3.11.14. (Pl.?) 3 Sg. <i>-u Sc.</i> 494.9, 2 Pl. <i>-hū BhK.</i> 1.2. Prob. <i>Jc.</i> 3.11.14 above. Abs. <i>-evīṇu Jdc.</i> 15.4. <i>-iu Mt.</i> 9, 10.
<i>nihasaṇa</i>	<i>nigharṣaṇa</i> = <i>nikaṣaṇa Hv.</i> 91.15.3.
√ <i>nihāla-</i>	<i>ni-bhāl-</i> Pres. 1 Sg. <i>-mi Nc.</i> 4.12.7. cf. <i>M.</i> <i>niḥāṇē</i> 'to look attentively.'
<i>-nihi</i>	<i>-nidhi</i> Masc. Nom. Sg. zero <i>MP.</i> 85.7.14.
<i>niḥitta</i>	<i>niḥita</i> (properly <i>nikṣipta</i>) <i>Hv.</i> 82.14.11, <i>Kp.</i> E. 3. cf. <i>Hc.</i> 2.99.
<i>nīra</i>	<i>nīra</i> Neut. Nom. Sg. zero <i>DKK.</i> 4.
<i>nīsa</i>	<i>anīśa Pd.</i> 27.
√ <i>nīkara-</i>	<i>niḥ-√sar-</i> Pres. Part. <i>-antu Kp.</i> J. 83.2. PP. <i>-iya</i> (Fem.) <i>Kp.</i> E. 32, Caus. Abs. <i>niḥāriṇi Kp.</i> S. 69.8.
<i>nṛ</i>	(<i>ts</i>) 'a mar' <i>Hv.</i> 83.5.8 . 88.14.2 <i>°sīha</i> = <i>nṛ-sīmha Hv.</i> 86.6.12.
<i>nṛva</i>	<i>nṛpa. Hv.</i> 81.1.9. <i>°-urasi</i> (Skt. ism.) <i>Kc.</i> 83. <i>-°jāla Hv.</i> 92.3.3.
√ <i>ne</i>	√ <i>nī</i> Imp. Pl. <i>-hu Sn.</i> 7-570. Abs. <i>-vi KKKc.</i> 2.5.4
<i>naa</i>	<i>naiva (=na) Kp.</i> S. 82.4.
<i>-netta</i>	<i>-netrā</i> . Fem. Ins. Sg. <i>-ē BhK.</i> 293.3.
<i>nettha</i>	<i>nepathya</i> (=ābharāṇa in <i>Tippaṇa</i>). <i>Nc.</i> 9.18.12.
<i>nāya</i>	<i>naiva</i> = <i>na Hv.</i> 82.4.6.
<i>Nāriya</i>	<i>Nairṛta Hv.</i> 87.15.6.

<i>nāsara</i>	(<i>di-</i>) <i>neśvara</i> 'the Sun' <i>Hv.</i> 83.21.9, <i>Mp.</i> 1.1.1.
<i>neha</i>	<i>sneha</i> . Ins. Sg. -e <i>DKK.</i> 29.
<i>nehā</i>	<i>na+iha</i> (-ā metri causa ?) <i>Pd.</i> 162.
<i>ṇhilla</i>	<i>snehala</i> (prop. -illa suff.) <i>Hv.</i> 81.10.13.

†

<i>ta</i>	<i>tad-</i> Demonstrative and Correlative Pron. Masc. and Neut. Sing. Masc. Nom. <i>so. BhK.</i> 2.7. <i>KKc.</i> 1.5.10, <i>Ld.</i> 3.4.31, <i>Mk.</i> 78.6, <i>Mt.</i> 20. <i>Pd.</i> 16, 23. <i>Sc.</i> 491.6, <i>Sdd.</i> 27, 28. <i>Sn.</i> 31.231. <i>sa DKK.</i> 16.19. <i>su BhK.</i> 291.5 <i>Ds.</i> 43.2, <i>Jdc.</i> 6.2. <i>Ld.</i> 3.4.31. <i>Pd.</i> 68, <i>Sc.</i> 471.2, <i>Sn.</i> 31.231. <i>to Nc.</i> 1.17.16. Acc. <i>so. BhK.</i> 1.11, <i>Pd.</i> 46, 160. <i>Sc.</i> 513.5. <i>su Sc.</i> 514.3. <i>taṁ BhK.</i> 78.3. <i>DKs.</i> 43. <i>KKc.</i> 1.14.11. <i>Sc.</i> 464.2. <i>tā Sc.</i> 603.8. Neut. direct <i>taṁ BhK.</i> 6.1., <i>Hc.</i> 4.350. <i>ḥc.</i> 28, <i>KKc.</i> 1.8.9. <i>Pd.</i> 3, 10. <i>Sc.</i> 502.1., <i>Sdd.</i> 4. <i>tā Sc.</i> 623.5. <i>taū Pd.</i> 11. <i>te DKs.</i> 87. <i>sa DKs.</i> 67. <i>su se. DKs.</i> 90, 106. 16.19. <i>PPr.</i> 1.30, 2.7.9. <i>Sc.</i> 648.8. <i>traṁ Kc.</i> 27. <i>truṁ Ld.</i> 3.4.32. <i>Sh.</i> 22.40. Ins. <i>teṇa BhK.</i> 4.1, <i>DKK.</i> 17, <i>DKs.</i> 100. <i>Hc.</i> 4.365. <i>KKc.</i> 1.6.1., <i>Pd.</i> 2. 10, <i>Sc.</i> 515.3, <i>tiṇa Jdc.</i> 2.2, <i>Sc.</i> 567.7, <i>tiṇā Jc.</i> 1.18.9. <i>teṁ, tē DKK</i> 30, 32. <i>KKc.</i> 1.6.9, 2.1.3. <i>tīm Jc.</i> 3.25.5, <i>te PPr.</i> 2.26. Dat. Gen. <i>tasu BhK.</i> 29.5, <i>DKK.</i> 13, <i>DKs.</i> 18.40. <i>Hc.</i> 4.338, <i>Jdc.</i> 2.4. <i>Sc.</i> 498.8, <i>Sdd.</i> 32, 184, <i>Sn.</i> 217-186, 19-468. <i>tāsu BhK.</i> 5.2., <i>Hc.</i> 4.358, <i>Jdc.</i> 9.4., <i>Ld.</i> 3.4.31. <i>Pd.</i> 45, 50, <i>Sdd.</i> 5, <i>tāsaḥ BhK.</i> 102.3, <i>Hc.</i> 4.419, <i>Sc.</i> 450.1., <i>taho BhK.</i> 4.7. <i>Hc.</i> 4.356, <i>Jc.</i> 1.5.20, <i>KKc.</i> 1.11.6. <i>tahu MP.</i> 1.11.10, <i>Mt.</i> 3, <i>Pd.</i> 71. <i>Sdd.</i> 187. <i>uhi Pd.</i> 174, <i>tāhara DKs.</i> 92, <i>tasa Pd.</i> 89, <i>tahē</i> (Loc. for Gen.) <i>DKK.</i> 24. <i>tamhā</i> (Pkt.) <i>KKc.</i> 1.2.11, <i>Sdd.</i> 101. Abl. <i>tā Mt.</i> 34. <i>to=tataḥ KKc.</i> 1.2.8. Loc. <i>tahim,</i> ° <i>hī BhK.</i> 4.8, <i>DKK.</i> 12, 14. <i>DKs.</i> 24. <i>Hc.</i> 4.357, <i>KKc.</i> 1.9.11 <i>Mt.</i> 34, <i>Pd.</i> 38, 48. <i>Sc.</i> 501.2, 725.4. <i>Sn.</i> 107-178. <i>ṭammi</i> (Pkt.) <i>BhK.</i> 59.1. <i>KKc.</i> 1.4.4, <i>Sc.</i> 636.3. Loc. Ins. <i>tiṇi Jdu.</i> 8.1.2. <i>tasu DKK.</i> 22. <i>teḥai Pd.</i> 103. Masc. Pl. Nom. <i>te</i> (tr.) <i>BhK.</i> 147.6, <i>Hc.</i> 4.353. <i>Jdc.</i> 7.4, <i>KKc.</i> 1.10.6, <i>Pd.</i> 4. <i>Sc.</i> 702.5, 763.1. <i>ti Hc.</i> 4.344. <i>Jdc.</i> 4.3. <i>Sc.</i> 562.8. Acc. <i>te BhK.</i> 108, 6, <i>Hc.</i> 4.336, <i>PPr.</i> 1.2, 62. <i>ti Sc.</i> 775.9., <i>tīm BhK.</i> 295.2. <i>tē(?) BhK.</i> 108.6. Neut. direct <i>tāim °ḥ BhK.</i> 20.2, <i>KKc.</i> 1.9.4. <i>Ld.</i> 3.4.32, <i>PPr.</i> 2.16. <i>Sdd.</i> 59. <i>te PPr.</i> 1.61. <i>teṁ Hc.</i> 4.339. Ins. <i>tēhiṁ,</i> ° <i>hī BhK.</i> 36.1. <i>Hc.</i> 4.370, <i>KKc.</i> 1.11.5. <i>Jc.</i> 1.14.11, <i>Sc.</i> 581.1. <i>tehi DKs.</i> 58. Dat. Gen. <i>taham,</i> ° <i>hā BhK.</i> 256.5, <i>Hc.</i> 422.3. <i>Pd.</i> 67,
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Sc. 460.8, *Sdd.* 31, *Sn.* 30-231. *tāham*, °hā *BhK.* 2.9, *Cd.* 1.5., *Hc.* 4.350, *KKc.* 1.12.8, *Pd.* 47, 102, *Sdd.* 30. *tāha* *Nc.* 1.14.9. *tānam* (Pkt.) *BhK.* 329.7, *Jc.* 3.37.2. *tāna* *Hc.* 333. *Loc. tihī* *Sc.* 517.2 *tahim* *Hc.* 422.18. *Fem. Sg. Nom. sā* *BhK.* 12.1. *Hc.* 4.439. *KKc.* 5.2.9. *Sc.* 488.4. *sa* *Mt.* 24.25. *Sc.* 640.5. *Acc. sā* *BhK.* 77.8, *KKc.* 5.3.7, 5.7.5. *PPr.* 2.46*, *Sc.* 498.2 *sa* *Sc.* 498.1. *sc DKs.* 49. *tam* *Sn.* 30.231. *Ins. tae* *BhK.* 106.7, *Hc.* 4.370, *KKc.* 1.8.5, 2.6.10. *tāim*, °i *BhK.* 11.9, *KKc.* 6.10.2. *tāem*, °e *BhK.* 2.5, *KKc.* 2.6.10, 6.11.1. *tīe* *Jc.* 2.1.4, *KKc.* 1.12.5. *tīem* *KKc.* 1.8.2 *tah* *Sc.* 6.22.2, *tahi* *Sc.* 637.2. *tena* *Jc.* 3.10.13. *Dat. Gen. tahe* *BhK.* 8.3. *Hc.* 4.380. *KKc.* 1.17.10, 6.8.9. *Ld.* 3.4.30, *Sh.* 22.39. *tāhe* *BhK.* 13.1, *KKc.* 2.6.8, 6.11.7, *taho* *BhK.* 160.8, *tahi* *Jc.* 2.6.8, *Sc.* 637.2. *tau* *Jc.* 2.284. *tasu* *Sc.* 497.8. *tāsu* 22.39. *tāha* *Mt.* 34, *tāhu* *KKc.* 7.8.1. *tā* *Mt.* 16. *tīe* *Sc.* 500.1. *Loc. tah* *BhK.* 147.3, *KKc.* 6.1.3, *PPr.* 2.46.*1. *Sc.* 538.6. *tāsu* *Jc.* 3.1.20. *tāhi* (?) *BhK.* 73.3. *Fem. Plur. Direct tāu* *BhK.* 10.3, 3.11.3. *Sc.* 602.3, 603.8. *Ins. tāhim* *KKc.* 6.15.8. *Gen. tāsi* *Sc.* 599.6. *tahā* *Sc.* 708. *tāhā* *Sc.* 516.5. *Loc. tāsu* (Pkt.) 1.8.5. (Forms in the grammatical sections in the introductions of different works are not indicated here.)

taī = *tatra* *Ld.* 3.3.14.

taīya *tītiya* *Neut. Nom. Sg. -u* *Nc.* 1.5.8.
Masc. Ins. Sg. -eṇa *MP.* 2.11.

taīya-ham = *tadā* *Jc.* 3.7.4. °hī *Kp.* E. 24.

taī-loya-ham *trai-lokyasya* *Pd.* 68, *Ys.* 28.

taīsu *tādīśa* *Ld.* 3.3.10. °sau *Hc.* 4.403, *Kc.* 51.
(*M. tasā*, *H. taisā*).

taū-lagi = *tāvat-lagṇam* *KKc.* 8.2.10.

takkhaṇa *tat-kṣaṇa.* *Loc. Sg. -e* *DKK.* 19. *-ammi* *Pkt. KKc.* 1.10.2.

tacru *tatvam* *Pd.* 25, *PPr.* 1.79.

taṇaa 'belonging, to, pertaining to.' *MP* 1.3.2. *Nc.* 3.9.16, *Hc.* 4.361 ex.

taṇu *tanu* *Fem. Acc. Sg. zero* *BhK.* 25.4, *PPr.* 2.182.

taṇu-vaṇa *tṛṇa-vana* *KKc.* 2.4.7.

taṇha *tṛṣṇā* *Hv.* 82.7.8, *KKc.* 2.16.5, *Sc.* 570.8.

- tatva* 1) *tatva* DKs. 9. Sc. 565.7.
2) *tatva* DKs. 74, 76.
3) *taptā* Gen. Pl. -āhā PPr. 1.10.
- tatti* = *tatparatā* Hv. 81.11.6, Nc. 8.14.4. (cf. Dn. 5.20)
Loc. Ins. Sg. -im Pd. 121. Here 'tatta' seems to be the original vocable.
- tatru* *tatra* Pu. 17.56. (Literally it is the Loc. Sg. of *tad-* in Pu.)
- tattha* *tatra* DKs. 38, Sc. 448.1.
- tappaṇa* *Tapana* Hv. 91.16.8.
- tama* *tamas* Ins. Sg. -iṇa Sdd. 2.
- tambira* *tāmra* MP. 1.16.9.
- √ *tara-* √ *tar.* Fut. 2 Sg. -ihahi Sdd. 67.
Inf. -evvaiṃ K Kc. 1.2.5, Abs. -avi Sn. 334-127.
- taralacchi* *taralākṣi* Gen. Pl. -hū Mt. 17.
- taru* **tvaram* 'quickly' MP. 25.19.13.
- taru* (ts.) Acc. Sg. zero Sdd. 52. Abl. Sg. -he Hc. 4.341.
Kc. 19, Loc. Sg. -(a)mmi K Kc. 8.7.7. Gen. Abl. Pl. -hum. Hc. 4.340, 341, Kc. 19.
- taruara* °*vara*. Loc. Pl. -haṃ Hc. 4.422.9.
- tarugaṇa* (ts.) Nom. Pl. zero Kc. 21.
- taru-mūla* (ts.) Loc. Sg. -i MP. 100.6.3.
- taruṇa* (ts.) Voc. Pl. -ho Hc. 4.346.
- taruṇi* *taruṇi* Voc. Sg. zero D K K. 29, Nom. Pl. -(ī)u Sc. 445.4, 477.4. Voc. Pl. -ho Hc. 4.346.
- taruṇi-du* *taruṇi* Mk. 17.7.
- √ *taḷa-* **taḷay-* PP. -iu, 'friend' Kp. J. 72.3.
(M. *taḷṇē*, Guj. *taḷvū*, H. *taḷnā*, Panj. *taḷṇā*).
- talāu* *taḍāgaḥ* Sdd. 170.
- taḷi* = *taḍi* Mt. 21.
- tava* *taḷas*. Ins. Sg. -eṇa PPr. 1.42.
- tavve* *tad-vā* Mt. 22. (cf. Coll. M. *tavā* H. *taḷ* tō)

<i>tasa</i>	<i>trasa</i> Nom. Sg. -u <i>DKK</i> 13.
<i>taha</i>	<i>tatra</i> <i>Sdd.</i> 61.
<i>taha</i>	<i>tathā</i> <i>KKc.</i> 1.2.1.
<i>tahim, °hi</i>	<i>tatra</i> (<i>Lit. tasmin</i>) <i>Ḥc.</i> 1.3.1b. <i>PPr.</i> 2.162. <i>Sdd.</i> 54, 71.
<i>tā</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>DKs.</i> 69, <i>Ḥc.</i> 1.8.9, <i>Kp.</i> S. 27.7, <i>PPr.</i> 1.108. <i>Sn.</i> 270-190.
<i>tāū</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>DKs.</i> 19, <i>KKc.</i> 1.6.1.
<i>tāūm</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>Ld.</i> 3.3.11. cf. <i>Hc.</i> 4.406.
<i>tāḍ-ijjai</i>	<i>tāḍyate</i> <i>MP.</i> 2.5.10.
<i>tābu</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>DKs.</i> 85, 90.
<i>tāma</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>Hc.</i> 4.406. <i>Hv.</i> 84.2.5, 85.3.6, 88.23.13 <i>KKc.</i> 1.14.3. <i>Ld.</i> 3.3.11, <i>Nc.</i> 1.14.9, <i>PPr.</i> 2.81, <i>Pu.</i> 17.23.
<i>tāma-i</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>PPr.</i> 2.41. °iḥ <i>PPr.</i> 2.174. °him <i>Ld.</i> 3.3.11, cf. <i>Hc.</i> 4.406.
<i>tāya</i>	<i>tāta</i> Gen. Sg. -ho <i>KKc.</i> 2.8.12.
<i>tāyatiṃsa</i>	<i>trayastrimśa</i> <i>Hv.</i> 89.13.7.
<i>tārisa</i>	<i>tāḍṣa</i> <i>Sc.</i> 571.9.
√ <i>tāla-</i>	√ <i>tāḍay</i> Pres. 3 Pl. -(a)nti <i>Sn.</i> 16-570.
<i>tālā</i>	Neut. Nom. Sg. <i>tālakam</i> 'lock' <i>DKK.</i> 22.
<i>tālū</i>	<i>tālu</i> Fem. Acc. Sg. zero <i>Pd.</i> 97.
<i>tāva</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>Hv.</i> 88.13.6. <i>Kp.</i> E. 21. °im <i>Sdd.</i> 52.
<i>tāṇa</i>	<i>tāvat</i> <i>Hv.</i> 83.19.3, <i>Mt.</i> 18.
<i>ti-</i>	<i>tri</i> Masc. Nom. <i>tia</i> <i>Mk.</i> 17.78. Neut. direct <i>tiṇi</i> <i>Mk.</i> 17.78. <i>Nc.</i> 1.8.2. Ins. <i>tihim</i> <i>Nc.</i> 3.3.11, <i>KKc.</i> 3.8.2. Gen. <i>tiha</i> <i>Ḥc.</i> 1.6.1. Fem. Loc. Pl. <i>tihi</i> <i>Sdd.</i> 12, <i>tihim</i> <i>Sdd.</i> 68.
<i>tiga</i>	<i>trika</i> <i>Kp.</i> S. 44.6.
<i>tijjaa</i>	<i>trīya</i> Masc. Nom. Sg. -u <i>Sdd.</i> 12. cf. <i>M.</i> <i>tijā</i> , <i>tij</i> .
<i>tiṭṭhā</i>	* <i>trṣ-tā</i> 'thirst'. <i>Hv.</i> 81.1.11, <i>PPr.</i> 2.132.
<i>tiṭṭhāluya</i>	* <i>trṣtāluka</i> 'thirsty' <i>Hv.</i> 88.12.6.
<i>tiṭṭhi</i>	* <i>trṣṭi</i> 'thirst' <i>Nc.</i> 9.14.1.
<i>tiṇa</i>	<i>trṇa</i> <i>Sc.</i> 497.5. Acc. Sg. -u <i>KKc.</i> 8.19.8.

- titti* *ṭṛṭi* *KKc.* 10.10.5.
- tittiḍaū* *tāvan-mātram* *PPr.* 1.105.
- tittula* *tāvat* *Hc.* 4.435, *Kc.* 75.
- tīttha* *tīrtha.* *Loc. Pl. -hiṃ* *Ys.* 42.
- tītthu* = *tatra* *Jc.* 3.41.2, *PPr.* 1.111. 2.137.
- tima* 1) *tathā* *Cd.* 2.27.11 *Ki.* 5.12, *Tr. Ld.* 3.3.8, *PPr.* 1,85,102.
2) *tāvat* *Pu.* 17.23.
- timira* (*ts.*) *Hc.* 4.382. *Gen. Sg. -hu* *Sdd.* 183.
- tiya* *strī-(kā)* *Hv.* 85.21.3 cf. *H. tiyā, tiy.*
- tiricchī* *tiryakṣī* *Hc.* 4.420.3, *Mt.* 12.
- tilariṇa* = *tailatra* *KKc.* 6.10.15, *Nc.* 1.18.6.
- tillī* *taula.* *Ins. Sg. -cṛṇ* *Sdd.* 184.
- tiṭṭa* = *tathā* *Hc.* 4.376.2, 395.1 *Kc.* 49, *Kp. J.* 24.2, *Mt.* 1, *Sn.* 89-177, 78-332.
- Tiveya* *Trivedā* *Gen. Sg. -he* *BhK* 290.9.
- tisa* *ṭṛṣā* *Gen. Sg. -he* *Hc.* 4.395.
- tisi* **ṭṛṣi* 'thirst' *Ins. Sg. -e* *DKs.* 58.
- tisia* *ṭṛṣita* *DKs.* 58.93.
- tisittana* *ṭṛṣitatva* *DKs.* 93.
- tiha* = *tathā* *Hv.* 87.5.8, *Kc.* 49, *Ld.* 3.3.8, *Sdd.* 3, *Tr., Ld.* 3.3.3. cf. *Hc.* 4.401.
- tihi-pavva-hi* = *tithu-parvasu* *Jdc.* 33.4.
- tihuyana* *tribhuvana.*
Gen. Sg. -hu *Sc.* 477.2, *Loc. Sg. -i* *PPr.* 1.4.
- tīsa* *triṃśat* *Sn* 335-127. (*Pa. tiṃsa, Pk. tisa, M. Guj. H. Maith, tis, Panī. tih, Singh. tisa, tihā* OIA -r- is conserved in *Or. trisa, Sdh. tīha, Guj. trīs*).
- tu < to* = *tataḥ* (*chāyā* on *DS.* 4.5.2).
- tutṭīaa* = *truṭṭa* *DKs.* 31.
- tutṭhi* *tuṭṭi* *Loc. Sg. -hi* *MP.* 87.9.15.
- tuḍḍa* *truṭṭa.* *Masc. Nom. Pl. zero* *DKK.* 30 -ā *DKK.* 5.

- tumibiṇi* °nī Fem. Gen. Sg. -he Hc. 4.427.
- tumbhāra* = *tvadīya Pu* 17.30.
- tumha-* **tuṣma-* = *yuṣma-* 2nd Pl. base.
Pl. Direct. *tumhaīm*, °i BhK. 111.5, Hc. 4.369, & Kc. 8.13.10, Nc. 2.6.11, *tumhaī Ld.* 3.4.47, *tumhe Ld.* 3.4.47, *tumhi BhK.* 115.9, Jdu. 1.2, KKc. 1.13.4, Sc. 645.1, Nom. *tubbhā Sc.* 565.1, *tubbhi Sc.* 486.3, Acc. *tumha BhK.* 99.4, Ins. *tumhehī Hc.* 4.371, KKc. 3.11.10, La. 3.4.39, Sc. 755.1, *tumhi BhK.* 113.4, *tumhaī BhK.* 101.7, Dat. Gen. *tumha BhK.* 44.6, Sc. 599.5, Sn. 25-22 *tumhahā*, °ham BhK. 26.11, KKc. 2.4.6, Ld. 3.4.43, Sc. 567.6, *tumhaha Sn.* 26-23, *tumhāṇa* (Pkt.) BhK. 69.10, Loc. *tumhāsu Hc.* 1.3.74, La. 3.4.42.
- tumhāra* **tuṣma-kārya* 'belonging or pertaining to you'
Sh. 22.65, -um Kc. 74.
- turanga* (ts.) Gen. Pl. -ha DKs. 8.
- ✓*tura-* ✓*tvar* Pres. Part. -anta KKc. 2.15.3,
Sc. 510.1, PP. -ia KKc. 2.10.7, Sc. 487.9.
- tusa* *tuṣa*, Acc. Pl. zero Pd. 13.
- tuhāra* **tuha-kārya*, cf. Hc. 4.434, KKc. 2.18.5.
Masc. Nom. Sg. -u Pd. 56.
- tuhū* 2 P. Pron. Sing. No. Nom. *tuhū BhK.* 24.1, Hc. 330.2,3,368, Jc. 1.1.11, KKc. 1.10.3, 2.8.10, Ld. 3.4.47, Mk. 17.6, MP. 1.6.5, Nc. 1.4.1, Pd. 11.13.17, PPr. 1.29, Sh. 22.46, *tuhu DKs.* 77, *tum* (?), Bhk. 262.3, *tumam Nc.* 2.3.19, *paīm KKc.* 3.10.5, Acc. *paīm* °i BhK. 21.7, KKc. 3.20.4, MP. 1.5.13, Mt. 22.24,29, Pd. 106, Sc. 534.5, 707.6, Sdd. 112, Ins. *paīm*, °i BhK. 21.7, Hc. 4.370, Jc. 1.15.14, 2.29.5, KKc. 1.10.9, MP. 1.6.11, Mt. 11,25,29,33, Pd. 111, Sdd. 155, Sc. 489.4, 518.2, *tumaī BhK.* 144.9, *taīm BhK.* 252.11, La. 3.4.40, *eiīm Ld.* 3.4.40, Dat. Gen. *tau BhK.* 19.8, KKc. 2.5.9, Ld. 3.4.41, *tao Ld.* 3.4.41, *tujjha Jc.* 1.7.12, KKc. 2.4.6, 3.11.5, Ld. 3.4.41, PPr. 2.182, Sc. 639.1, *tujjha-ha Mt.* 35, *tujjhu BhK.* 14.5, MP. 1.6.12, Mt. 15, 21, Pd. 119, 208, *tujjhum Sn.* 16-441, *tuddhu BhK.* 125.8, *tuha Hc.* 4.361, Jc. 1.7.5, KKc. 1.6.8, 1.10.6, 3.13.8, Ld. 3.4.41, Sc. 455.4, *tuham*, °hā Mt. 5, PPr. 2.171, *tuhim Pd.* 219, *tuhu Sn.* 28-213, *tua DS.* 4.5.2, *tudhra Hc.* 4.372, Ld. 3.4.41, *taha Jc.* 1.7.13, *tūsa Hc.* 1.7.11, *to DKK.* 29, *paīm KKc.* 3.11.9 (Dat.?) *tera Rt.* 3.2.5, *terau Jc.* 3.40.4, KKc. 3.21.5, Loc. *paī BhK.* 44.12, Hc. 4.370.

- tūra* *tūrya* Ins. Pl. -*eh* Mt. 23, Gen. -*ham* Jc. 2.12.8.
- trya* *stri* Hv. 89.13.4, MP. 9.22.9.
- tetta-hi* = *tatra* Hc. 4.436, Kc. 75. °*hm* Jc. 3.12.6.
°*hē* Hv. 83.16.4. Nc. 5.2.2. °*hō* = *tatratas* Hv. 81.11.13.
- tettya* *trayastrīṃśat* MP. 2.7.16.
- tettula* *tāvat* Hc. 4.407, Sh. 22.62, °*lu* Ld. 3.3.12.
- tetthu* *tatra* Hv. 81.15.12. cf. Hc. 4.404, Jc. 1.5.10.
- tema* *tathā* Ki. 5.12, Tr. Ld. 3.3.8, PPr. 1.102.
- teraha* *trayodaśa* Gen. Pl. -*ham* MP. 2.10.19. °*ma*. Ins. Sg. -*i* MP. 2.12.
(Pa. *teḷasa*, *telasa*, Pk. *terasa*, *ṭraha*, M. *tera*, Guj. *tera*, H. *terah*, Nep. *tera*.)
- tevada* **tayavadra* = *tāvat* Sh. 22.62, -*u* Hc. 395, 407, Tr. Ld. 3.3.12.
- tevaḍḍa* **tayavadra* Hv. 83.17.6, cf. Hc. 4.371. (M. *tevaḍḍā*).
- tēva* = *tathā* Hv. 81.8.10, KP.J. 50.3, cf. Hc. 4.397, 401.
°*i* = *tathā* Hc. 4.401, Kc. 49.
- tēha* = *tādṛś* (> *taisa*) Ld. 3.3.9. °*u* Hc. 4.402, Kc. 51, PPr. 2. 149 Loc. Sg. -*i* Jc. 1.11.9.
- tehim* = *arthe* (governs the Gen.) Kc. 71.
- to* = *tatah*, *tadā* Hc. 4.417, Kc. 60, KKc. 1.2.8, Ld. 3.3.50,
Pd. 51, Sn. 89-177. *tōi* Kp.E. 31b, *to* v. Pd. 36
- ✓ *toḍa-* ✓ *troḷay-*
Inf. -*hum* Sdd. 64. Abs. -*epṇiṇu* MP. 1.3.2. -*evīṇu* KKc. 10.27.2.
- tonḍa* *tuṇḍa* Hv. 86.8.8 (OIA* *taunḍa-*, M. *toṇḍ*, G. Beng. *tōṇḍ*)
- tolā* *tulā*- KKc. 2.2.2.
- tohāraṃ* = *twadīyam* Rt. 3.2.5.

th

- ✓ *thakka* IE **staq-ne*, but usually equated with OIA ✓ *sthā*.
cf. Pv. 17 17.77.
Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* DKs. 17, 61, Ho. 87.6.8, MK. 17.67. cf. Hc. 4.16, 307.3, 3 Pl. -*im* Sdd. 53.
Imp. 2 Sg. -*u* DKs. 105, Fut. 1 Pl. -*isahū* Sc. 84.6 (Intro.

- to *Sc.* p. 17, Gram. §24).
 PP. *thakka*. Neut. Nom. Sg. -ā *Pd.* 104.
 (M.H.Sdh. √ *thak*-, Panj. √ *thakk*-, Guj. Beng. √ *thāk*).
 -*thaḍi* = *sthali* Fem. Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ* *Pd.* 151. cf. M. *thaḍ*
thaḍḍhattaṇa (*stabdhatva*)
thatti **sthapti* 'room, space'. Acc. Sg. zero *Hv.* 83.19.1 cf. *thitti* in
Hv. 83.18.10. cf. *Dn.* 5.26 *thattiam viśrāmaḥ*.
 √ *thappa*- *sthāpay*- Abs. -*ēvi* *Hv.* 85.5.3.
 (M. Guj. H. Sdh. *thāp*-)
 -*thali* -*sthali* Fem. Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ* *Pd.* 112.
 √ *thava*- 1. *stav*-> *stu*- Fem. Pres. Part. -*anī* *Hv.* 91.12.21.
 2. *sthāpay*- Abs. -*epiṇu* *Hv.* 82.8.15. -*ivi* *Nc.* 7.10.1.
thava *stabaka*. *MP.* 12.9.19. (Pk. *thavaa*, M. *thavā*).
 √ *thā*- √ *sthā*- Abs. -*evi* *Nc.* 6.1.6.
hāvara *sthāvara*. Loc. Pl. -*hiṃ* *MP.* 82.10.11.
thitti *sthiti* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hē* *Hv.* 83.18.10.
thira *sthira* Gen. Sg. -*hu* *Mt.* 18.
thī *stri* *Kp.A.* 7.3.
 √ *thuṇa* √ *stu*- Pres. 3. Sg. -*i* *KP.* S. 31.2*,
 Imp. 2 Sg. -*aha* *Kp.* S. 111.1*
theva = *stoka* *Kp.J.* 64.9. cf. *Hc.* 2.125.
thoḍa *stoka*-
 Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Sdd.* 23, Loc. Sg. -*i* *Kp.E.* 2a.
 (Pa. *thoka*, Pk. *thoa*. -*ḍa* extension in M. *thoḍā* Guj. *thoḍā*,
 Panj. H. *thorā*. Sdh. *thoro*).
thova *stoka* *Kp.J.* 38.2. Masc. direct Plur. -*ā*
Hc. 376.1, Loc. Pl. -*ēhī* *BhK.* 19.10.
thovaḍaū *stokam* *Sdd.* 90.

daṣa *dayita* Masc. Ins. Sg. -*eṃ* *Hc.* 4.333.
 -*daṣya* *dayitā* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*ha* *Sc.* 455.1.
 √ *dakkhava*- Caus. of √ **dṛkṣ*- Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* *Nc.* 1.16.2.
 Pres. part. -*anta* *Nc.* 1.1.6. Cf. *Hc.* 4.32.

- dakkhāla-mi* = *darśayāmi* *Jc.* 3.33.10.
- daḍatti* Onomatopoeic 'suddenly' *MP.* 9.13.2.
cf. *M.* *dhāḍkan.*
- daḍavaḍa* = *śiḡhram* *Cd.* 2.27. *Hc.* 4.330.2, -*u* *Hc.* 4.422.18.
- daṇḍadhara-hu* = *daṇḍa-dharāḥ* (Voc. Pl. in -*hu*) *Sn.* 19-442.
- danita* (ts.) Ins. pl. -*hiṃ* *KKc.* 3.3.4.
- danti* °*tin* Gen. Sg. -*hi* *MP.* 87.2.9.
- dayo* *dayā* Nom. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 40. Acc. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 60.
- daramaliya* = *durmṛḍa* *KKc.* 8.19.4.
- dal-isu* *daḷiṣyāmi* (Fut. 1 Sg. -*isu*) *Sc.* 653.5.
- davakkadīya* *dāvāgni* -(*ḍa-ka*) 'a small fire' *Pd.* 102.
- davva* *dravya*. Neut. direct Pl. -*aī* *PPr.* 2.15, *Ys.* 35.
- dasa-disi-hiṃ* = *daśa-dikṣu* (Loc. Pl. -*hiṃ*) *KKc.* 8.8.3)
- dasa-vīsa-* = *daśa-vimśat.* Ins. -*ha* (scribal error for *i* ?) *Jdu.* 55.2.
- ✓ *daṃsa-* *darśay-* Pres. 3 Pl. -*hiṃ* *Sn.* 48.249.
-*ira* (habit showing suff.) *Jc.* 1.3.10.
- daṃsaṇa* *darśana* *Hc.* 4.401. Direct Sg. -*u* *Cd.* 2.27.11.
Ins. Sg. -*i* *Jc.* 1.6.19.
- daṃsaṇa-bhūmi* *darśana-* Abl. Sg. -*hiṃ* *Sdd.* 57.
- daha* *daśan* *Kp.* E. 24, *MP.* 2.5.9.
(Pk. *dasa*, *daha*. -*s-* is preserved in Guj. H. Maith. Beng. Or. Panj. *das*, and -*h-* in *M.* *dahā*, Sdh. *ḍāḥ*).
- daha-diha-hi* = *daśa-dikṣu* (Loc. Pl. in -*hi*) *DKs.* 45.
- dahama* *daśama*. Ins. Sg. -*eṃ* *MP.* 2.12. -*i* *BhK.* 300.2.
- dahi* *dadhi*. Acc. Sg. -*u* *KKc.* 8.13.6. Ins. Sg. -*eṃ* *BhK.* 270.4.
- dāijja* *dāyada* *Nc.* 4.8.9.
- dāiya* *dāyada* *Nc.* 3.14.13.
- dāḍha* *daṃṣṭrā*. Gen. Pl. -*ha* *Ss.* 217-186. (Pa. *dāḍhā*, Pk. *M.* Guj. *dāḍh*, Sdh. *ḍārhi*, Panj. *ḍārḥ*, Beng. *ḍār*).
- dāḍhāla* *daṃṣṭrā + āla* (possessive suff.) *Jc.* 2.17.4.
- dāṇa* *dāna*. Ins. Sg. -*iṃ* *PPr.* 2.72.

- dāṇaccapa-vihi* *dānārcana-vidhi*.
Acc. Pl. zero *Sdd.* 117.
- dāyāra* **dātāra* < *dāty*
Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *Sn.* 237-191.
- dāva* 'to show.' Pres. 3. Sg. -i *Nc.* 10.4. cf. *Hc.* 4.32. Coll. M. *dāvṇṇ*
- dāvāṇa* *dāman Kp.* J. 94.4.
Neut. direct Sg. u *Pd.* 42 (M. *dāvaṇ*, *dāvē*, Guj. *dāmpī*, H. *dāman*, *dāvan*, Sdh. *ḍāvaṇu*, Panj. *deū*).
- dikkha* *dīkṣā* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *BhK.* 290.6.
- dijja-i* *dīyatām* (*dā + ijjā* optative) *Sn.* 355-27.
- dīṭṭha* *dr̥ṣṭa DKK.* 3.11. *DKs.* 10, *PPr.* 2.132.
Ins. Sg. -ē *PPr.* 1.27, Loc. Sg. -i *Hc.* 365.1, -(a) -(a)*mmi* *Mt.* 20 Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 55.
- dīṭṭhaa* *dr̥ṣṭa-ka DKs.* 50.
- dīṭṭhi* *dr̥ṣṭi DKs.* 36. *Sdd.* 63, Direct Sg. zero. *Mt.* 24, 25, 26.
Ins. Sg. (Pl.?) -hiṃ *Sdd.* 63. Loc. Sg. -i *Jc.* 3.10.4. Loc. Sg. -hiṃ. *Jc.* 2.20.2
- dīḍha* *dr̥ḍha DRK.* 22, *DKs.* 59.
- dīṇṇa* **didna* = *datta Mt.* 32.
Neut. Nom. Sg. -ā *DKs.* 85. Loc. Sg. -i *Jc.* 3.21.17.
- dintu* = *yacchantu* (Imp. 3 Pl. -antu) *Sdd.* 223.
- divasa* (ts.) Loc. Pl. -ahi *BhK.* 19.10.
- divaha-ḍa* *divasa-ḥa* (pleonastic).
Masc. Nom. Pl. ā *Pd.* 17.
- dive* *divā Hc.* 4, 419. *Ld.* 3.3.43.
- divva-cakkhu* *divya-cakṣu* Masc. Nom. Sg. zero. *KKc.* 7.1.4.
- divvaṃbara* *divyāmbara* Neut. direct Pl. zero *Sdd.* 203.
- divva-vāṇi* *divya-vāṇi* Acc. Sg. zero *KKc.* 2.5.1.
- disa* *disā* Fem. Acc. Sg. *Mt.* 32, Loc. Sg. -im *BhK.* 75.4, -i (Skt. *ism*). *Sdd.* 56. Gen. Pl. *āham KKc.* 7.13.8.
- disi* **disi* = *dis* Fem. Dat. Sg. -hem *KKc.* 2.2.10, Loc. Sg. -hiṃ *KKc.* 4. 2. 4, 7.12.5. Ins. Pl. -hiṃ *Hc.* 4.340.

<i>dissa-i</i>	<i>ḍṣyate DKs.</i> 83. ' "
<i>diha</i>	<i>diṣā</i> Fem. Loc. Pl. <i>-hiṃ Pd.</i> 175.
<i>dihi</i>	<i>dhṛti Hv.</i> 82, 18, 12. 92.20.9.
<i>diṣa</i>	<i>diṣa</i> Masc. Nom. Sg. <i>-ho DKK.</i> 22. Acc. Pl. <i>-ā DKs.</i> 4.
<i>diṣaa</i>	<i>diṣaka.</i> Masc. Ins. Pl. <i>-ehiṃ KKc.</i> 3. 3. 9.
<i>Divāyaṇa</i>	<i>Dvīpāyana Hv.</i> 92. 6. 1.
<i>diṣiya</i>	<i>diṣikā</i> Fem. Ins. Pl. <i>-hi BhK.</i> 77.2.
<i>diṣai</i>	<i>ḍṣyate DKs.</i> 69, 81. <i>PPr.</i> 1.100, 120.
<i>du</i>	<i>tu</i> 'again' <i>MP.</i> 2.5.2.
<i>duāra</i>	<i>dvāra DKK.</i> 22.
<i>duijja</i>	<i>dvitīya Kp.</i> J. 33.2*
<i>duiya</i>	<i>dvitīya Kp.</i> J. 28.4.
<i>duguna</i>	<i>dvi-guṇa Sc.</i> 495.5.
<i>dugunia</i>	<i>dvi-guṇita Kp.</i> P. 6.2.? <i>Sc.</i> 454.7.
<i>duggijja</i>	<i>durgrāhya Kp.</i> S. 98.1.
<i>duggejjhaum</i>	<i>durgrāhyam Sn.</i> 168-115.
<i>Dujaḍa</i>	<i>Dvijata Kv.</i> 91.6.6.
<i>duddhaḷā</i>	<i>dugdha-ṭa-ka Mt.</i> 4.
<i>dubbha-i</i>	<i>duhyate Jc.</i> 3.21.9.
<i>Dumaya</i>	<i>Drupada Hv.</i> 92.8.2.
<i>dummeha</i>	<i>durmedhas.</i> Masc. Nom. Pl. <i>-ā Pd.</i> 98.
<i>dureha</i>	<i>dvi-repha Kp.</i> S. 102.8.
<i>Duvaya</i>	<i>Drupada Hv.</i> 92.18.4.
<i>duṁa</i>	<i>druma Hv.</i> 82.5.7.
<i>duviha</i>	<i>dvividha BhK.</i> 60. 13.
<i>duvayaṇa</i>	<i>durvacana.</i> Ins. Pl. <i>-ehi BhK.</i> 21.3
<i>dusaṃga-susaṃga-ha</i>	= <i>°susaṃgānām Jdc.</i> 10.3. (Gen. Pl. in <i>-ḥi</i>)
<i>duṣaha</i>	<i>duḥsaha</i> Masc. Nom. Sg. <i>-ā Pd.</i> 102.
<i>duha</i>	<i>dvidhā Sc.</i> 545.8.

- duha *duḥkha* Neut. Nom. Pl. -i PPr. 1.28
- duhaḍi * *dvi-ghatī* Jc. 3.30.13.
- duhikkha *durbhikṣa* Hv. 87.1.2.
- duhiya *duhita* (°tr) Fem. Gen. Pl. -hā Sc. 662.8.
- dūṇa *driguṇa* Nc. 8.1.9. (cf. M. *duṇḇ*, H. *dūṇa*).
- dure (ts.) DKK. 27, Hc. 349.1.
- √de- =dā
Imp. 2 Sg. -hi Pd. 18 Sn. 17.570 3 Pl. -ntu Intro. to Hv. §56. *de-de-hi* (intensive 'bhṛṣārthe.') Nc. 6.12.11 Fut. 1 Sg. -su Sc. 635.9. Pres. Par+. -nta Ml. 7, -evaem. KKc. 1.5.5., evam Ld. 3.3.20.
- √dekkha- √*dṛks- Pu. 17.79. Pres. 2 Sg. -hi Pd. 197.3 Sg. -i DKs. 64, MK. 17.64. PPr. 1.64, 1 Pl. -hum KKc. 3.4.7.
Imp. 2 Sg. zero (or -a) Mk. 17.11, -u Pd. 190. -ha DKs. 85, 2 Pl. -hu BhK. 99.6, DKs. 57. Pres. Part. -anta Pd. 196. Pot. Part. -evaa. Sdd. 39. Caus. Pres. 3 Sg. -āva-i MK. 17.65.
- deḍi *devī* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero. DKK. 18.
- deva Voc. Sg. zero KKc. 1.1.3
Abstract noun. -ttaṇa. Loc. Sg. -i Sn. 34-199.
- devaya *devatā* Fem. Gen. Pl. -hā Sc. 466.1.
- devala *devālaya*. Loc. Pl. -ihic Ys. 43.
- devi *devī* Fem. Gen. Sg. -hi Jc. 2.8.10. Sc. 474.1, Voc. Sg. zero Sc. 455.2, Ins. Pl. -him MP. 87.13.1 Pd. 3 (can we not take it as Gen. Pl.? The line runs as follows: *devi him koḍi ramantu*. 'With crores of goddesses.')
- desa *deśa* Loc. Sg. -i Hc. 4.425. -hi DKs. 86. -him Hc. 4.386.1. *dveṣa*. Masc. Nom. Sg. -u PPr. 2.49.
- desaḍa *deśa-* (ta). Masc. Loc. Sg. -i Hc. 4.419.3.
- desa-bhāsa -*deśa-bhāṣā* Fem. Nom. Pl. -aḥ BhK. 52.4.
- deha 1) (ts.) Ins. Sg. -e DKK 29. Gen. Sg. -haḥ PPr. 1.71. Loc. sg. -hi DKK. 3. Abl. Pl. -ham Pd. 40.
2) *dvaidha* Loc. -e Hv. 91.5.7.
- dehā-devālī =*deha-devālaye* (Loc. Sg. in -i) Pd. 53.

- dehā-deha* (iv.) Loc. Pl. *-hi PPr.* 1.29.
- dehi* *-dehī* Fem. Loc. Sg. *-hī Mt.* 7.
- dehiya* *dehi-ka (-dehin)* Gen. Pl. *-ha PPr.* 2.26.
- do* *dvau* Numeral *Sc.* 642.3, *Sdd.* 28. Direct Pl. *doṇṇi Jc.* 1.27.15, *KKc.* 2.18.3, *MK.* 17.78, *Sn.* 33-624. *dui Pd.* 17. *duṇṇi Kp.* J. 32.2,* *Sdd.* 222 (Neut.) *beṇṇi MK.* 17.78. Ins. Pl. *dohim, °hī Jc.* 2.24.10, *Kp.S.* 31.1,* 16.7. *Pd.* 72, *PPr.* 2.71. Gen. Pl. *dohi Jc.* 2.3.3, *Sdd.* 25, *doṇḥa Mt.* 16. *duṇham Nc.* 5.10.1 *duha Sn.* 217-186. Loc. Pl. *dohi Jc.* 1.26.18, 19, *PPr.* 1.59.
- Dovai* *Draupadī Sc.* 451.4.
- dovālasa* *avādaśa KKc.* 10.16.6.
- dosa* *doṣa.* Masc. Ins. Sg. *-ina Sn.* 272-191. Acc. pl. *-ī BhK.* 3.4, Gen. Pl. *-ham Sdd.* 19. (used for Sing).
- dosa-guṇa* *doṣa-guṇa* Acc. Pl. *-ā DKs.* 76.
- dosa-ḍa* *aoṣa* Masc. direct Pl. zero *Hc.* 4.379.1. *Kc.* 72.
- dohō* *dodhakaḥ DKs.* 94.
- dohāṭ-huya* *dv-bhāḡḡbhūla* Masc. Loc. Sg. *-e Hv.* 88.1.16.
- dohāvya* *avdhā-kṛta Jc.* 3.7.11.
- dh*
- dhagadhaga-nla* 'shining, glittering' *Hv.* 86.1.14. cf. M. H. *dhagdhag-*
- dhaṇa* *dhanyā.* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *Hc.* 4.330.
- dhaṇa dhāra* *dhana-dhārā* 'shower of wealth.'
- Dhaṇamāṭ* *Dhanamatī KKc.* 10.10.8.
- dhaṇu* *ghanuḥ* Acc. Sg. zero *Bh.K.* 295.2.
- dhanṇa* *dhanya.* Masc. Nom. Sg. *-ā DKs.* 71.
- dhandhā* *dhandhatā* (Sk. Com. on *DKs.* 34 *Les Chants Mystiques*, p. 189) Acc. Sg. zero *DKs.* 34.
- dhandha* =1 *vyavṛṣāḡa* Loc. Sg. *-i Pd.* 91. cf. M. *dhanaā*, H. *dhandhā*
2. *dhāmdha* (?) Brahmadeva on *PPr.* 2.121. Sk. *dvandva?*
- dhandha-vāla* =*lajjāval Pd.* 122 of *Dn.* 5.57 *dhaya-dhandhā naraḷojjā.*
- dhamma* *dharma.* Gen. Sg. *-ho BhK.* 249.2 Loc. Sg. *-e DKs.* 29,

- dhamma-gaī* *dharmā-gatī* Acc. Sg. zero *DKK.* 16.
- dhammādhamma* *dharmādharmā*. Masc. Acc. Pl. zero *DKS.* 3.
- dhamma-dheṇu* *dharmā-dhenu* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 222.
- dhamma-māī* *dharmā-mātī* Sc. 448.
- dhara-* *dhṛ-* > *dhār-* Pres. 3. Pl. -*anti* Pd. 4.
Imp. 2 Sg. -*i* Mt. 5. PP. -*iya* Sn. 6480.
Inf. -*aṇu* Jdu. 12.1, -*ivī* Sn. 155-296.
Abs. -*ivī* Kkc. 1. 2.1. Pot. Part. -*evvā* Nc. 2.8.4.
- dharaṇi* (*ts*) Fem. Dat. Gen. Sg. -*he* MP. 1.15.10.
Loc. Sg. -*him* -*hī* Sc. 446.1., *Sdd.* 90.
- dhavala-* *dhavalaya-* Inf. -*aṇaṇi* *Sdd.* 194.
- Dhāḍaisaṇḍa* *Dhātākā-ṣaṇḍa* Loc. Sg. -*e* Hv. 90. 15. 13.
- dhāra-* *dhāraya-* (but used primitively) Abs. -*ēvi* PPr 2.25.
- dhijjāī* = *dhriyate* (-*ijja* Passive) DS. 4.5.2.
- dhīṭṭha* 1 *dhṛṣṭa* Kkc. 3.19.2.
2. *adhiṣṭhita* Kkc. 1.17.4
- dhīya* **dhītā* (< *duhitṛ*). Acc. Sg. zero MP. 87.1.11. cf. Pa. *dhītā*
- dhuttima* = *dhūrtatva* Pd. 80.
- dhruva* *dhruvaṇ* Hv. 81.8.9.
- dhruvu* *dhruvaṇ* Hc. 4.418, Kc. 62, Ld. 3.3.27, MP. 2.7.12.
- dhūa* *dhūma* Sdd. 39.
(cf. *dhūa* also TURNER *Nep. Dictionary* 331a under *dhuvā*)
- dhūma* *ts*. Ins. Sg. -*ē* DKS. 2.
- dhūya* *duhitā*. Fem. Dat. Gen. Sg. -*he* Kkc. 7.7.9.
Acc. Pl. zero Sc. 600.9 Gen. Pl. -*hā* Sc. 660.8.
- p.
- paa* *pada* Loc. Sg. -*i* Hc. 4.406.1, Mt. 12.
- Paāvai* *Prajāpati* Masc. Loc. Sg. -*him* Mt. 19.
- paīja* *pratijñā* Acc. Sg. zero Kkc. 4.1.12. *ojja* in Bhk. 145.6.
(N. H. Panj. *paij*, Sdh. *paij* Masc.)
- paṭiṭṭha* *pravṛṣṭa* Neut. Nom. pl. zero *DKK.* 11.

- paṭmīṇi* *padminī* Fem.Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ* *Sdd.* 203.
- paṭulaṇa* *prajvalana* *MP.* 7.6.12. cf. *M. polṇē* and the cognates given by BLOCH under it in *FLM.*
- paesa* *pradeśa.* Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ* *PPr.* 2.22.
- pakokkiu* -*āhūtaḥ* (Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u*) *Jc.* 3.34.7.
- pakkhara* *upaskara-* = *turaga-sannāha* *Kp.* S. 42-8 cf. *Dn.* 6.10 (*M. Guj.* Panj. H. *pākhar*, Sdh. *pākhiru* (with ref. to camels).)
- paṇāma* *prakāma* *Pd.* 112.
- paggima* -*prāyaḥ* *Ld.* 3.3.42.
- paggiṃva,* °*va* = *prāyaḥ* *Hc.* 414.4, *Kc.* 59.
- paṃka* (*ts.*) Loc. Sg. -*i* *Mt.* 19.
- paṃkaa* *paṃkaja* Loc. Sg. -*i* *Hc.* 357-3, Direct Pl. -*a* *Mt.* 19.
- paṃkkayaruha* *paṃkaja-ruha.* Gen. Pl. -*āhaṃ* *KKc.* 9.16.1.
- paṃkaya-siri* *paṃkaja-sīrī.* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hē* *BhK.* 17.2.
- paṃkhi* *pakṣin* Masc. Nom. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 87.
- paccala* *pratyaḥ* (*m*) *Kp.* J. 9.3. cf. *Dn.* 6.69.
- pacchai* *paścāt* *Hc.* 362, 420, *Ld.* 3.3.49.
- pacchae* *paścāt* *Hv.* 83.12.11. cf. *Guj.* *pāche*
- pacchaliu* -*pratyuta* *Ld.* 3.3.38. -*cc* in *Hc.* 420.5.
- pacchittu* *prāyaścittam* *Jc.* 3.38.15, *Mp.* 1.6.12.
- pacchiṭṭa* *paścima* *Hv.* 81.6.13.
- paṃca* (*ts.*) *DKK.* 25. Plur. Nom. zero *DKK.* 7.
Kp. J. 25.4, Acc. zero *Kp.* J. 7.1. Ins. -*ehi* *DKK.* 8, (*a*)*hi*
Hc. 4.422.14. *Kp.* S 37.1* Gen. -*hā* *Hc.* 4.422.14. *Kp.* J.
29.6, (*a*) *ha* *Kp.* J. 64.2. (Pa. Pk. *pañca*, *M. Guj.* H. Beng.
Nep. *pañc.* Or. *pañca*, Panj. *pañj*, Sdh. *pañjā*).
- paṃca-guru* (*ts.*) Acc. pl. zero *Sdd.* 1.
- paṃcame* (*ts.*) Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Sdd.* 15, Ins. Sg. -*epa* *MP.* 2.11.
°-*gai* °-*gati.* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *Ys.* 48.
- paṃcamī* (*ts.*) Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hi* *Sdd.* 185.

- paṇṇa-vīsa* *paṇṇa-vīmśa* MP. 2.10.1 (see *paṇṇuttaravīsa* below).
- paṇṇa-sattari* °saptati MP. 2.9.7.
- paṇṇānana* ts. Ins. pl. -ehī DKK. 25. (Sing. No. ?)
- paṇṇāṇuvvaya* *paṇṇānūvata*. Neut. direct Pl. zero Sdd. 11.
- Paṇṇālī* *pāṇṇālī* Hv. 92.10.1.
- paṇṇumbara* *paṇṇodumbara*. Gen. Pl. -haṇ Sdd. 10.
- paṇṇuttaravīsa* *paṇṇottaraviṇṇat* MP. 2.9.12.
(Pa. *paṇṇavīsa*, M. *paṇṇvīs*, Guj. H. *paṇṇ*, Nep. *paṇṇ*).
- paṇṇjali* *prāṇjali* Masc. Ins. Sg. -nā MP. 87.14.10.
- paṇṇṭha* *prṣṭha* Loc. Sg. -i MP. 2.16.15.
- ✓*paṇṇṭhava-* *pra-✓sthāpay-* Imp. 2 Sg. -hi Nc. 4.14.1.
(M. *pāṇṇhavaṇṇe*, Sdh. *paṇṇu*, Panj. *paṇṇhānā*).
- ✓*paṇṇa-* ✓*pat-* (Pres. 2 Sg. -si Pd. 91, 3 Sg. -i Hc. 422.4, -ei DKS. 72, 3 Pl. -(a)ṇṇi Hc. 422.20, -(a)hiṇ Hc. 388, Fut. 3 Sg. -isaī Pd. 155, 3 Pl. -issahī Sc. 264.8 (See Intro. to Sc. p. 17). PP. -ia Kp. J. 95.3, -iya Pd. 7, 116, Abs. -evīṇu Pd. 21 (Pa. *patati*, Pk. *paṇṇā*, M. Guj. ✓*paṇṇ*, H. *paṇṇā* Nep. *paṇṇu*).
- paṇṇi*] *prati* DKS. 104.
- paṇṇicchavi* **pratiṇicchavī*=*pratiṣya* Mt. 14.
- paṇṇibakkha* *pratiṇapakṣa*. Nom. Sg. -ā DKS. 76.
- paṇṇima* *pratiṇmā*. Fem. Ins. Sg. -im Sdd. 193, Nom. Pl. -u Nc. 1.12.6.
- paṇṇivajja-* *prati-paṇṇ-ya* Pres. 2 Sg. -hi Jc. 2.37.12. Pres. 2 Pl. -ha MP. 91.3.4.
- paṇṇivatti* *pratiṇpatti* Fem. Acc. Pl. zero Sc. 461.1.
- ✓*paṇṇha-* ✓*paṇṇ-* Pres. 3 Sg. -i DKK 12. Abs. -ivī Kkc. 3.8.8. Pres. Part. Ins. Sg. -anta-ehī DKS. 53. Fem. Loc. Pl. -antī -hī Sc. 468.1.
- paṇṇhama* *prathamā* DKS. 36. Masc. Nom. Sg. -u Sdd. 10. Loc. Sg. -e DKS. 36.
- paṇṇaiṇi* *pranayini* Dat. Gen. -he BhK. 23.1.
- ✓*paṇṇava-* *pra-✓nam* Abs. -ivī PPr. 1.8.

- paṇuvīsa* *pañca-vimśat* MP. 2.10.1.
- paṇḍava* *pāṇḍava* Hv. 91. 20. 8. Nom. Pl. zero *ḥi*. 3.29.7. Gen. Pl. -(a)*hā* Sc. 451.4.
- paṇḍia-loa* *paṇḍita-loka* Voc. Pl. -*hu* DKs. 95.
- paṇḍitta* *paṇḍita*. Nom. Pl. -*ā* DKK. 2.
- paṇṇāsa* *pañcāśat* MP 2.9.21, Nc. 5.11.7.
(Pa. *paññāsa*, *paṇṇāsa*, Pk. *paññāsa*, M. *paññās*, Guj. H. Nep. *pañās*).
- patta* *prāpta*. Neut. direct Sg. -*u* PPr. 1.9.
- patti* *patnī* Fem. Ins. Sg. -*i* MP. 87.14.8.
- pattija-ha* = *pratiyāta* DKs. 35. (Imp. 2 Pl. -*ha*).
- pattijja-si* = *pratiṣe* Kp. J. 26.6.
- pattiya* *prati-i* Imp. 2 Sg. -zero or -*a* (Intro. to Hv. §56).
- pattiya* *patrikā*. Direct pl. -zero Pd. 158, 59. cf. M.H. *pattī*.
- ✓ *pa-thippa-* *pra-√stip-ya*.
-*ira* (showing habit, frequency, etc.) *ḥi*. 3.9.1.
- padesa* *pradeśa* Neut. direct Pl. zero PPr. 2.24.
- panti* *pañkti* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero Sdd. 167.
(In comp.s) Neut. Loc. Sg. -*hi* Sc. 443.2.
- paṁtha* = *pathin* Loc. Sg. -*hī* Mt. 8.
- paḥana* *pavana* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*ho* DKK. 23.
Gen. Sg. -*ho* DKs. 32.
- pa-bhaṇa-i* *prabhaṇati* (Pres. 3 Sg. -*i*) KKc. 1.11.4.
- paṁā* *pramāda* Loc. Sg. -*i* (used for Ins.) Sn. 308-169.
- paṁāṇa* *pramāṇa* Sc. 555.3. Acc. Sg. -*u* PPr. 1.51, Acc. Pl. -*i* Jdc. 2.1.
- payāgama* *patāṅgama* DKs. 73.
- payāḍa* *prakaṣa* Masc. direct (Acc.) Pl. -*ā* Hc. 338.
- payāḍiṇa* *prakaṣaṇa* Kp. S. 27.2.
- payamṇa-* *pra-√jalp-* Hc. 4.2. Nc. 5.9.9.
Pres. 1 Sg. -*mi* *ḥi*. 3.11.11. 3 Pl. -*hi* Jdc. 11.1.
- payāra* *prakāra*. Ins. Pl. -*ehim* Hc. 4.367.

<i>payāla</i>	<i>prajāla</i> (-āla suff.) <i>Pd.</i> 69.84.
<i>payāsiya</i>	<i>prakāśita</i> Masc. Nom. Pl. zero <i>PPr.</i> 1.6.
<i>para</i>	(<i>ts.</i>) 1 Gen. Sg. - <i>ssu</i> <i>Hc.</i> 4.338. 2. <i>paraṃ</i> <i>Lc.</i> 3.3.28.
<i>paraa</i>	= <i>paredyuh</i> <i>MP.</i> 32.26.8. Loc. Sg. - <i>i</i> <i>MP.</i> 16.20.12.
<i>parajjiya</i>	<i>parājita</i> <i>Hv.</i> 82.8.3, <i>KKc.</i> 2.3.1. <i>Nc.</i> 1.3.6. 1.14.10.
<i>paramattha</i>	<i>paramārtha</i> . Masc. Nom. Sg. zero. <i>DKK.</i> 31. ° <i>ya</i> (=ka) - <i>e</i> <i>DKs.</i> 63.
<i>parama-muṇi</i>	° <i>muni</i> . Masc. Nom. Sg. zero. <i>Ys.</i> 36.
<i>paramesara</i>	<i>parameśvara</i> Nom. Sg. - <i>u</i> <i>DKs.</i> 83. Gen. Sg. - <i>āsu</i> <i>BhK.</i> 253.4.
<i>para-hara-</i>	<i>para-√har</i> Imp. 2 Sg. - <i>i</i> <i>Sdd.</i> 52.
<i>para-huya</i>	<i>parabhṛta</i> <i>Sc.</i> 450.7.
<i>parāiya</i>	<i>parakīyā</i> <i>Pd.</i> 43. cf. <i>H.</i> <i>parāi</i> .
<i>parāhiṇa</i>	<i>parhīna</i> <i>MK.</i> 17.350.
<i>parim</i>	<i>paraṃ</i> <i>PPr.</i> 1.28
<i>pariṭṭhāba</i>	<i>pariṭṭhāpita</i> <i>DKs.</i> 50
<i>pariṭṭhiya</i>	<i>pratiṣṭhita</i> <i>Kp.</i> J. 26.3 cf. <i>Hc.</i> 1.38. Masc. Nom. Sg. - <i>u</i> <i>PPr.</i> 1.14.
<i>pari-ṇesami</i>	<i>pari-ṇesyāmi</i> <i>Nc.</i> 5.8.3 (Fut. 1 Sg. - <i>esami</i>)
<i>paripuṇṇa</i>	° <i>pūrṇa</i> . Masc. Nom. Sg. - <i>e</i> <i>DKK.</i> 8.
<i>pari-bhamantu</i>	° <i>bhraman</i> <i>Sc.</i> 516.3 (Pres. Part. - <i>anta-u</i>).
<i>pari-māna-ha</i>	=° <i>mānayata</i> (Imp. 2 Pl. - <i>ha</i> <i>DKK.</i> 9.
<i>pariyaṇa</i>	° <i>jana</i> Acc. Sg. - <i>u</i> <i>Pd.</i> 13.
<i>parivāḍi</i>	° <i>pāṭi</i> Fem. Nom. Sg. zero <i>Pd.</i> 17.
<i>pari-sakka-i</i>	° <i>śvaśkati</i> <i>Mt.</i> 30. - <i>ira</i> <i>Kp.</i> P. 8.3.
<i>pari-hara-</i>	°- <i>√har</i> . Imp. 2 Sg. - <i>i</i> <i>Sdd.</i> 20, - <i>hi</i> <i>Sdd.</i> 22. Abs.-(a) <i>vi</i> <i>PPr.</i> 2.4.
√ <i>parisa-</i>	√ <i>sprś-</i> Imp. 2 Pl. - <i>hu</i> <i>DKs.</i> 57.
<i>palāṇa</i>	<i>palāyana</i> Direct Sg. - <i>u</i> <i>Hv.</i> 83.13.4.

- palitta* *pradīpta* Kp. S. 97.9 cf. Hc. 1.221.
- pallaṭṭa-* = *pariyastam* *kr-* Abs. -*evi* Jc. 2.37.1, -*vi* Nc. 2.6.3.
(M. *pālaṭṭhē*, Guj. *pālātva*, Sdh. *palatṭu* H. *palatnā*.)
- palhattha* *pariyasta* Hv. 83.10.4. cf. Hc. 4.258. Kp. S. 18.4, PP. -*iu* Hv. 85.15.5. -*u* Jc. 3.39.15. (M. *pōlthā*. See *pallaṭṭa* above).
- pavasanta* Pres. Part. of *pra-√vas-* Ins. Sg. -*ena* Hc. 4.333.
- pavāṇa* *pramāṇa* Sdd. 27.
- pavva* *parvan* Loc. Sg. -*i* Jc. 3.31.3.
- pasaria* **prasarita* Mt. 23, 30.
- pasamsa-* *pra-sams-* (with -*i iya* of the pass.)
Pres. 3 Pl. -*hiṃ* Jdc, 4.3, 6.4.
- pasāha* = *pra-kathaya-* Imp. 2 Sg. -*ha* Jc. 1.18.10.
- pasāhiya* *prasādhita* (PP. in -*iya*) Jc. 2.4.4.
- paṣiya-* *pra-sīd-* Imp. 2 Sg. zero Mt. 31 (Skt. ism.) also 3 Pl. -*(a)ntu* (Intro. to Hv. §.56).
- pasuya* *paśuka* Masc. Nom. Pl. zero PPr. 2.5.
- paṣu-vāha-mi* *paśu-vadhe* (Loc. Sg. in -*mi*) Pd. 127.
- pahaṭṭha* *prahṛṣṭa* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* Sc, 692.3.
- pahāra* *prahāra* Ins. Sg. -*eṃ* Mt. 29.
- pahāṇa* *pradhāna* Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ* KKc. 1.3.1.
- pahirāviya* *paridhāpita* KKc. 7.8.6.
(M. *pehernē*, H. *pahrānā*.)
- pahila* **prathila* = *prathama* Nc. 1.5.8., Pd. 218. Neut. direct Sg. -*u* Nc. 1.5.8. Loc. Sg. -*e* Hv. 84.2.1. -*āro* (Comp. suff.) Hv. 82.1.7. Jc. 4.8.17, Nc. 1.6.1. Fem. -*ārī* (pleonastic) 4.6.4.
- pahilla* **prathillaka* = *prathama* Hv. 82 *dhruvaka*
(Pk. *pahilla-*, °a, M. *pahilā*, Guj. *pahelū*, Nep. *pailo*).
- pahua* *prabhṛti* Jc. 1.2.9a.
- pahu-kero* ('pertaining to' = *kera*) -*prabhokh*. DKK, 21.
- pahūi* *prabhṛti* Hv. 91.19.12.

- paho-sāṭ* *prabhaviṣyati* (Fut. 3 Sg. -*sāṭ*) *Hv.* 87.6.5.
- praḍ(yō)vadi* *prajāpati* *Hc.* 4.404.
- prangaṇa* *prāṅgaṇa* *Hv.* 83.4.3.
- ✓*prassa* 'to see' *Pu.* 17.79.
- pāa* 1. *pāda* Direct Pl. -*ā* *DKs.* 19.
2. *pāpa* Direct Sg. -*v* *Pd.* 59.
- pāanta* *pādānta* Loc. Sg. -*i* *Mt.* 3.
- pāikka* *pādika*=*padāti* *Hv.* 83.20.3. cf. *Hc.* 2.138. cf. old M. *pāṭṭ*
'a servant.'
- pāusa* *prāvṛṣ* *Sc.* 446.8. (Pa. *pāvusa*, Pk. *pāusa*, M. *pāūs*, Guj. *pāvas*, H. *pāwas*, *pāūs*)
- pāḍ-ijjihii* =Pass Fut. 3 Sg. *pātaya-* (ending in -*ihii*) *Sc.* 661.8.
- pāḍihera* *prātihārya* *MP.* 1.18.9
- pāṇa* *prāṇa* Masc. Acc. Pl. zero *Sn.* 217-186.
- pāṇi* *pāṇīya* *DKs.* 66.
(Pa. *pāṇīyam*, Pk. *pāṇīa*, M. Guj. *pāṇi* Panj. Sdh. *pāṇi* Masc. Or. H. *pāṇi*, Beng. Nep. *pāṇi*).
- pāṇia* *pāṇīya* Loc. Ins. Sg. -*ehi* *DKK.* 32.
- pāba-si* **prapa-si*=*prāpnoṣi* *DKs.* 62.
- pāya* *pāda* Acc. pl. zero *KKc.* 4.11.6.
- pāyaḍa* 1. *prakaṣa* *Hv.* 83.2.4. cf. *Hc.* 1.44.
Vb. Pres. 1 Pl. -*hū* *Hv.* 84.2.11.
- pāya-poma* *pāda-padma.* Dat. Gen. Pl. -*āṇa* *KKc.* 3.14.4.
- pāraddhi* *pārardhikā* 'hunting' *Sdā.* 47 but *pāpardhi* according to H. L. JAIN *KKc.* p. 218 glossary.
Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ* *KKc.* 7.444. (M. *pāradh*, Guj. *paradh*).
- pāla-* *pālaya-*
Fut. 1 Sg. -*esam* *KKc.* 2.6.3. 2 Sg. -*esahi* *KKc.* 2.5.6. 2.6.2.
- ✓*pāva-* ✓*prāp-* Pres. 1 Sg. -*mi* *Mt.* 34. 2 Sg. -*hi* *Ys.* 15. Fut. 1 Sg. -*isu* *Sn.* 306-169. 2 Sg. -*hi* *Sdd.* 208. 3 Sg. -*esai* *KKc.* 2.8.3. Pot. 3 Sg. -*evva-u.* *Jc.* 3.36.3. Abs. -*evī* *KKc.* 2.5.4. (Pa. *pāpeti*, Pk. *pāveti*, *pāvai*, M. *pāvṇē*, Nep. *pāunu*).

- pāsa** *pārśva*. Loc. Sg. *-(a)hīm* *Nc.* 1.10.10 *-i Kkc.* 2.8.7 *-e DKs.* 5 (*M. pās, Guj. pāsū, Sdh. pāsu*).
- pāsā** *prāsāda* *Ins.* Sg. *-em Pd.* 81.
- pāhāṇa** *pāṣāṇa* *Sdd.* 161.
- prāira, °va**, *°vā=prāyaḥ* *Hc.* 414, *Kc.* 59, *Ld.* 3.3.42.
- prāū** *prāyaḥ* *Hc.* 414, *Kc.* 59, *Ld.* 3.3.42.
- prāṇa** (*is.*) *Hv.* 84.7.9.
- pi** *api* *Mt.* 18.
- pia** 1. *priya* *Mt.* 8. Direct Sg. *-u Ld.* 3.3.5. *Ins.* Sg. *-em Hc.* 410.
2. *priyō* *Mt.* 22, 29. Abl. Sg. *-hu Mt.* 13. *°dā Mk.* 17.5.
- pia-ama** *priyatamā* *Mt.* 31.
- piu** *pitr* *Kkc.* 6.1.8, *Kp.* S. 46.6.9. *Ins.* Sg. *-pā. Kp.* S. 48.9.
Gen. Sg. *-hi MP.* 87.1.2. *-hu Sc.* 564.5
- ✓**pikkha-** *prekṣ* Abs. *-avi Pd.* 33.
- ✓**piccha-** ✓*prekṣ-* Pres. 3 Sg. *-i Pd.* 180. *Sdd.* 167.
Imp. 2 Pl. *-ha Jdu.* 1.4.
Fut. 1 Sg. *-ihimi Jc.* 3.15.11.
- picchī** *picchikā* *DKs.* 8.
- piḍa** *pīḍā*. Fem. Loc. Sg. *-i Sdd.* 8.
- pidu, °do** *pīlā* *Ld.* 3.3.1.
- priya** *priyā*. *Ins.* Loc. Sg. *-hā Sc.* 198.1.2 (Intro. p. 12)
°sahi °sakhī *Ins.* Pl. *-hī Sc.* 485.4.
- piyāraū** = *priyatama* *MP.* 2.21.7.
- ✓**pulla-** *prer-* Abs. *-i Pd.* 220.
- pulla** 'young one.' Neut. direct Pl. *-āim Jc.* 3.13.17.
- piva** = *iva Cd.*
- piṣuṇattāṇa** *piṣunatva* *Sdd.* 144.
- priu** *priya* *Ld.* 3.3.35 *priya* *In Hv.* 81.3.12.
- ✓**piḍa** ✓*pīḍ-* Imp. 3. Pl. *-antu Hc.* 385. *Sc.* 400.6 (Intro. to *Sc.* §22, p. 16).
PP. *-ia Mt.* 7.

- ✓*pīṇa-* *pī-ṇa-* Opt. 3 Sg. -*ijjau* Jc. 3.8.14.
PP. -*ia* Neut. direct Sg. -*u* KkC. 1.5.2.
- pukkāra* =*āhvāna śabda*. Acc. Sg. zero KkC. 2.1.9. cf. M. *pukāra*
H. *pukār*.
- ✓*puccha-* ✓*prech-*
Pres. 1 Sg. -*imi* Mt. 29, 3. Sg. -*i* DKs. 64.
Imp. 2 Sg. -*esu* Kp. J. 28.1 -*hi* DKs. 31.
2 Pl. -*ha* DKs. 52. PP. -*iu* Mt. 35, PPr. 2.2.
- pujja* *pūjā* Acc. Sg. zero Pd. 49.
- ✓*pūjja* ✓*pūj-* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* KkC. 10.4.5.
Imp. 2 Sg. -*ejja-su* (Hv. Intro. §56.)
- puṭṭhi* 1. *prṣṭha* Sc. 763.8.
2. *puṣṭi* Loc. Sg. -*hi* MP. 87.9.16.
- puṇu* *punaḥ* Jc. 1.3.1 Kp. J. 7.6. Kp. S. 94.7. Ld. 3.3.26, Mt. 14, 16,
24, PPr. 2.211. Sdd. 5.17.
- puṇo* Sn. 78-332. *punaḥ* Kp. J. 41.2*
- puṇḍucchu* *puṇḍra-ikṣu* Nc. 1.6.11.
- puṇṇālī* =*puṇḥscālī* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hi* Jc. 2.9.16.
- putta* *putra*. Voc. Sg. -*ā* Kc. 14. Ins. Pl. -*ehim* MP. 82.13.13.
- puṣṣha* *puṣṣa*. Neut. Nom. Pl. -*aṭ* MP. 87.15.13.
- puṣṣhavaṭ* *puṣṣavatī* Fem. Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ* Hc. 438.
- pubba* *pūrva* DKs. 84.
- ✓*pura* ✓*pūr-* Imp. 2 Sg. -*ehu* Jc. 18.4.
Fut. 1 Pl. -*issahū* Sc. 318.8. (Intro. to Sc. §24, p. 17).
- purāiu* *purākṛta* Pd. 77.
- purisa* =*puruṣa* Ins. Pl. -*ihī* Sc. 460.4.
- puvva* *pūrva*. Fem. Loc. Sg. -(ā)*hiṃ* KkC. 7.12.5.
- Puvva-videha* *Pūrva-videha* Loc. Sg. -*i* MP. 100.9.1.
- buvoilla* *pūrva-illa* (=mat 'possessing') MP. 1.2.4.
- pusiu* **spṛṣito*=*spṛṣṭa* Nc. 2.8.1.
- puhai* (°vi) *prthavī* KkC. 3.9.4. Loc. Sg. -*hi* PPr. 2.131.
- pūya* *pūjā* Acc. Sg. zero Sc. 466.2.

- pūra-hiṣ* *pūrayanti* Sdd. 97 (Pres. 3 Pl. -hiṣ)
- pūhavi* *pṛthavi* DKK 8.
- pejā* *peṭikā* KkC. 1.7.2.
- pekkha-* *prekṣ-* Pres. 1 Sg. -mi Mt. 8, 3 Sg. -ti DKs. 19.
Imp. 2 Sg. -u DKs. 45. Mt. 34. zero PPr. 1.71. -ha Sdd. 52. Pl.
-ha DKs. 73. -hu MP. 91.3.5. Fut. 1 Sg. -ihumi Mt. 22.
-esu Sc. 635.7. 2 Sg. -esahi Nc. 2.4.4. Inf. -hum KkC. 4.3.2.
Abs. -ivi -esahi Nc. 2.4.4. Inf. -hum KkC. 4.3.2. Abs. -ivi
KkC. 2.3.9.
- ✓ *pecca-* *prekṣ-* Pres. Sg. -ahi Kp.S. 79.2. 3 Sg. -ti Kp. S. 32.1* Imp.
2 Sg. zero Kp. S. 63.1. -i Jc. 3.33.10. 2 Pl. -hu Mt. 30.
Pass. Imp. 3 Sg. -ijja-u 68.9. Abs. -ivi Kp. J. 91.3. -evi Kp.
S. 104.1
- ~~*peṇṇa*~~ *paryanta* Kp. S. 59.2.
- ✓ *pella-* *prer-* Pres. 3 Sg. -i Jc. 3.24.5. Nc. 3.17.14. Imp. 2 Pl. -hu
DKs. 57. PP. iya MP. 2.13.22. Abs. -ivi Nc. 4.7.16. -eppiṇu
Nc. 9.25.14. cf. Hc. 4.143.
- peṣa* *praveśa* Masc. Acc. Sg. -u Pd. 77, 193.
- poṭṭullau* = *poṭṭa-ullaa* (pleonastic) Jc. 2.28.7.
- poṭṭhā-picchiya* = *pustaka-picchikā* Ins. Pl. -im, -i ō Ys 47.
- popphalī* *pūgi-phala* MP. 22.7.13.
cf. M. *po-phal*, Guj *phopha!*
- Pomāvaī* *Padmāvaī* KkC. 10.13.10.
- Pomāvayā* = *Padmāvaī* Fem. Ins. Sg. -em KkC. 2.6.7.
- polatī* *prajvalati* DKs. 82.
- ph.*
- phaṇi* *phaṇin* Masc. Ins. Sg. -ṇi MP. 100. 4.15.
- pharanta* Pres. Part. cf. ✓ *sphur*? DKK. 16. (Pres. Part in -anta).
- pharusa* *paraṣa* Hv. 89.17.10, Nc. 9.20.8, but *pharasa* in BhK, 244.7.
cf. Hc. 1.232. °tana (-tva) Nc. 3.3.16.
- phala* 1. (ts.) Neut. direct Pl. zero Hc. 335.
2. Vb. Pres. 3 Pl. -hiṣ KkC. 1.14.6.
(M. *pha!*, -l in Guj. Panj. H. Beng. Sdh.)

- √*phāḍa* *sphāṭaya-* Abs. -*evi Hv.* 84.12.12, cf. *M. phāḍaṇē*.
phāraa *sphārta DKs.* 109.
phāsa *sparśa.* Masc. Ins. Pl. -*hi PPr.* 2.112.
phīṭṭa-i = *bhraṣyati, naṣyati Ds.* 4.3.2.
 (M. Guj. Sdh. √*phīṭ-*).
phukka *phūtka* 'hissing' *Kp.* P. 4.2.
 √*phukka-* = *sphāy-* Pass.Pres. 3 Pl. -*ijja-nti Pd.* 151. cf. *M. phumkagē*
H. phūknā.
 √*phuṭṭa-* *sphuṭ-ya* Abs. -*ivi Sdd.* 100.
 (M. *phuṭṇē*, Guj. *phuṭvā*. Sdh. *phuṭṇu*, Panj. *phuṭṇā*, H.
phuṭnā, Nep. *phuṭnu*).
phuḍu *sphuṭam Hv.* 81.11.7.
 √*phura-* √*sphur-* Pres. Part. -*anta Sc.* 528.5.
phulla-ithāṇaya = *phulla-sthāna* Gen. Sg. -*hi Sdd.* 34.
phullia *phullita* = *puṣpita. Sdd.* 35.
 (Pa. Pk. *phulla*, M. Guj. *phul*, Beng. Nep. *phul*. H. *phul*
 Masc.).
 √*phusa-* √*spṛś* = √*mrj.* Abs. -*ivi Pd.* 157.
 √*pheḍa* caus. of √*sphīṭ-* cf. *Hc.* 4.105.
 Pres. 1 Sg. -*mi Jc.* 4.6.2. Abs. -*ivi Kp.J.* 10.1. (M. *pheḍaṇē*,
 Guj. *pheḍvā*, Beng. *phelile*).

b

- √*baisa-* *up-vīsa.* Abs. -*i DKs.* 4.
bāṣaṇaa(-ya) *upaveśana-ka* Neut. direct Sg. -*u Jdc.* 21.3.
bajja-i *varjyate DKs.* 56.
baḍha = *vaṣa* or 'a fool' Voc. Sg. zero *DKK.* 11. -*e DKK.* 2.
Baṇāraṣi *Vārāṇaṣi DKs.* 49. (Fem. Nom. Sg. -zero).
baddha (ts.) Ins. Sg. -*iṇa Sdd.* 60.
bande *vandya DKs.* 10.
 √*bandha-* √*badh-*
 Imp. 2 Sg. -*asu Kp.J.* 62.2*. -*i Sdd.* 208.
 Abs. -*ivi Kp.J.* 26.7. -*i DKs.* 5.

- bandha** (ts.) Ins. Sg. -e DKs. 107.
- bandhu** (ts.) Gen. Pl. -hum, -ham Kc. 18.
- batthu** vastu Neut. Nom. Sg. zero DKs. 54.
- baṁbhāṇa** brāhmaṇa Gen. Pl. -ham Jc. 3.40.18.
- baṁbhāṇa-cāra** =brahmacarya Nc. 9.9.9.
- bara-nāla** vara-nāla Acc. Pl. -ē DKs. 51.
- balāla** bala-āla(=vat) Hv. 85.10.21.
- bali** (ts.) Acc. Sg. zero Hc. 338.
- baliya** °ka. Gen. Pl. -ham Sdd. 147.
- bali-vaṇḍa** bali-vṛnda (-vaṇḍa=rat). Nc. 1.6.14, 8.3.2.
- baṁbhāṇa** brāhmaṇa Ins. Pl. -ehi. DKs. 1.
- baṁhiṇa** barhiṇa Mt. 24 (Voc. Sg. -zero).
- ✓**baha** 1. ✓badh 'to bind'. Abs. -eppiṇu Hv. 92.19.3.
2. ✓vāh- Pres. Part. -anta. Ins. Sg. -eṇa DKK. 17.
- baḥiṇi** bhaginī KP.S. 64.9. Loc. Sg. -hi Sdd. 42. (Gen. Sg. ?)
Voc. -e Kkc. 2.1.13. (M. baḥiṇ, Guj. behen, Initial as-
pirate in Sk. conserved in others).
- baḥiṇullī** bhaginī + ullī (pleonastic) Jc. 1.15.4.
- bahiranta** =badhīrayantāḥ Sn. 16-570 (Nom. Pl. -zero).
- bahu** (ts.) Neut. Acc. Pl. zero Jdc. 7.3.
°ya =bahuka. Masc. Acc. Pl. zero Sdd. 85.
- bahutta** bahu 'abundant' Jdc. 37.1. 46.4.
- bāca** vācā Fem. Ins. Sg. -ē DKs. 35.
- bādha** -bādhya. Neut. Nom. Sg. -ā DKs. 90.
- bārasa** dvāḍśa Kp.S. 55.1. cf. M. bōrasē °sa.
- bāraha** dvāḍśa. Kp.A. 1.3, Pd. 211, Sdd. 59.
°ma MP. 2.12.
(Pa. dvāḍśa, As. duvāda(da)sa, Pk. duvālasa bārasa. M. bārā
Guj. bār, H. bārak).
- Bārāvaiṣṭura** Dvārāvati-pura Hv. 83.12.1

- bāla* *bālā*. *KKc.* 1.15.4. Gen. Sg. -*he Hc.* 350. 376.3. *Mk.* 17.14. Ins. Pl. -*him KKc.* 1.3.8.
- bāvīsa* *dvāvimsat*. *Jc.* p. 146. *Kp.S.* 97.1. *Sn.* 7-440. °*ma* = *dvāvimsatitama Nc.* 6.5.11. (Pa. *dvāvīsa(tī)*, Pk. *bāvīsa*, M. Guj. *bāvīs*, H. *bāīs*, Nep. *bāīs*).
- bāsa* *vāsa* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*e DKK.* 8.
- bāsia* **vāsita DKs.* 78.
- bāhim* adv. *bahiḥ Kp.S.* 44.8.
- bāhira* *bahiḥ DKs.* 64,82, *Nc.* 3.2.6, °*u Sdd.* 57. °*ri Kp.K.* 2.3, *Mp.* 16.3.3, *Pd.* 61. with -*ita* (term. of Loc. Sg.) *DKK.* 2. (Pa. Pk. *bāhira*, M. Guj. *bāher*, H. *bāhīr*, Panj. H. *bāhar*, Beng. *bāhīr*).
- bāhuḍi* *bahiḥ KKc.* 1.12.10.
- bāhera* *bahiḥ DKK.* 2 (See *bāhira* above).
- biappa* *vikalpa* Nom. Sg. -*u DKs.* 92, Acc. Sg. zero *DKs.* 102. Nom. Pl. zero *DKK.* 30.
- biijjaya* *dvitīya Kp.* S. 4.1.
- bikhaṇḍia* *vikhaṇḍita*. Neut. Nom. Pl. zero *DKs.* 70.
- Bitṭhu* *Viṣṇu* Nom. Sg. zero *DKs.* 52.
- bidia* *dvitīya Sdd.* 17.
- biphāria* *visphārīta*. Neut. Nom. Sg. -*ā DKK.* 17.
- bimala-mai* *vimala-mati* Masc. Nom. Sg. zero *DKs.* 71.
- biyaa* *dvitīya*. Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u Sdd.* 11.
- birala* *virala*. Masc. Nom. Sg. -*ā DKs.* 97.
- bisa(ya)* *viṣaya* Masc. Ins. Pl. -*hi DKs.* 66 (Sing. according to SHAHIDULLA).
- bisaya* *viṣaya* Masc. Nom. Pl. -*ā DKK.* 23. °*yā-satti* = °*ya-śakti* Fem. Loc. Sg. zero *DKs.* 73.
- bisaria* *vismṛta*. Masc. Nom. Sg. -*ū DKs.* 92.
- bisarisa* *visadṛśa*. *DKs.* 86, 88.
- bisuddha* *viśuddha* Neut. Nom. Sg. -*o DKs.* 36

- biaya* = *dvīṭya* Kp.S. 70.8.
- biyaa* = *dvīṭya* Neut. Nom. Sg. -u Nc. 1 5.8. Sdd. 11.
- bīra* *vīra* DKK. 6.
- bīrahā* *vīrahita* DKs. 104.
- ✓*biha* ✓*bhi-* Pres. 1 Sg. -*emi* Mt. 9. Imp. 2 Sg. -*su* Jc. 1.15.5. Pass. Pres. 3 Sg. -*iyāi* Jdc. 27.3.
- ✓*bujjha-* *budh-ya-* Pres. 2 Sg. -*si* DKs. 62. 3 Sg. -*i* DKs. 36, 65. Pd. 127. 3 Pl. -*hi* PPr. 2.212. Imp. 2 Sg. -*u* DKs. 53, 63. -*hu* Pd. 40. 3 Sg. -*u* Pd. 40. Pres. Part. -*anta* Pd. 125, PP. -*ia* DKK. 21, 30, -*iya* Pd. 22, 40. Abs. -*ivi* Sdd. 78. (M. Sdh. H, Beng. Or. ✓*bujh-* Guj. ✓*buj-*, Panj. ✓*bujjh-*).
- budḍa* = 1 ✓*masj-* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* Sdd. 161, PP. *budḍa* = *naṣṭa* Jdu. 62.2. cf. M. *budḍe*. 2. ✓*bruḍ-* Neut. Pres. Part. acc. Sg. -*anta*-u Sn. 236-270. (Cf M. Guj. Sdh. Beng. ✓*bud-*, H. ✓*būḍ-*)
- buddhi* (ts.) Fem. Acc. Sg. zero DKK. 9. Ins. Sg. -*e* MK. 17.26, Nc. 1.4.2.
- ✓*bubbuya-* 'to bleat, to cry', Pres. 2 Sg. -*hi* Kp.E. 26.
- būḍhaū* *vṛddha-kah* KKc. 9.5.4. PPr. 1.91. (H. *būḍhā*, M. *budḍhā*.)
- be* *dve* (Always in Pl.) Masc. Direct *be* Hc. 4.379, PPr. 1.12.1 *beṇṇi* Jc. 2.22.5, *beṇṇa* DKK 5. Neut. direct *beṇṇi* DKs. 17. *biṇṇi* Jc. 4.4.3, *biṇṇa-* DKs. 56. Ins. *behim* Hc. 4.119, *bihim* Jc. 4.3.11, 4.4.2, MP. 2.4.7. Sdd. 74.
- Bea* *Veda* DKK. 2. °*purāṇa*. Neut. direct Pl. zero DKK. 30.
- beaṇa* *vedanā* Fem. Acc. Sg. -*v* DKs. 77.
- beṭṭā* = *putrah* Jdu. 63.1. Fem. -*i* (i.e. *beṭṭi*) Jdu. 63.1.
- beṇima* *dvidhā* DKs. 51.
- bojjhu* = *buddhyasva* DKs. 53.
- boḍḍia* *boḍḍikā* 'a cowrie' Fem. Acc. Sg. zero Hc. 335.
- bori* *badarī* Fem. Ins. Pl. -*him* Sdd. 110. (Pk. *bora*, *borī*. M. Guj. *bor*, H. *ber*, Sdh. *beru*, Beng. *bair*)

- ✓*hola* 'to go' Pres. Part. Loc. Sg. -*anta-i* Mt. 18.
 ✓*bolla-* 'to speak', Imp. 2 Sg. -*i* Sdd. 88.
 (*Pk. bolla-*, M. Guj. Sdh. Panj. H. Beng. ✓*bol*).
bohi *bodhi*, DKs. 105. Fem. direct Sg. zero DKK. 29, Pd. 8.
bohi-cia *bodhi-citta* Masc. Nom. Sg. zero DKK. 3.
 ✓*bro-di* = *bruvati* Mt. 18.10.

bh

- ~~*bhabā*~~ *bhagavān* DKs. 3. cf. AMg. *bhagavam*.
bhaiya = *bhaya* Ins. Sg. -*e* Hb. 81.14.5.
bhauhā = *bhrkuṭi* Fem. Ins. Pl. -*him* Jc. 1.17.13.
bhaūhā = *bhrū* MP. 1.3.13. (Pa. *bhamuka*, Pk. *bhumaā*, *bhamuhā*, M. *bhaūā*, Guj. *bhavū*, H. *bhaū*, Panj. *bhaūh*, Beng. *bhomā*).
bhagga *bhagna*. Neut. direct Sg. -*i* Pd. 104, Masc. direct Pl. -*i* Hc. 386.
bhagga-māṇa = **bhagna-māṇa* 'running away.'
 Masc. direct Sg. -*u* KKc. 1.13.1.
 (Guj. H. Beng. Assam. ✓*bhāg*- 'to run away').
bhaṁga (ts.) Masc. Nom. Sg. -*e* DKK. 27.
bhaṁgāla *bhrīga-āla* (poss. suff.) Jc. 1.3.6.
 ✓*bhaja-* ✓*bhañj-* Fut. 3 Pl. -*esahim* Pd. 83.
bhajja *bhāryā*. Fem. Ins. Sg. -*e* DKs. 21. (Pk. *bhajjā*, M. *bhājā*).
bhaṭṭhā *bhraṣṭā* DKs. 87.
bhaḍāra(ya) *bhaṭṭāraka* BhK. 352.7, Voc. Sg. -*ā* MP. 2.4.3.
bhaḍāriya *bhaṭṭārikā* < *bhartārikā* BhK. 95.2. Fem. Voc. Sg. -*e* KKc. 1.11.10.
bhaḍārī *bhaṭṭārikā* Jc. 3.34.4.
 ✓*bhaṇa-* ✓*bhaṇ-* Pres. 1 Sg. -*mi* PPr. 1.30, 1 Pl. -*hum* MK. 17.58, 3 Pl. -*anti*. PPr. 1.30. Imp. 2 Sg. -*i* Sn. 16.441. -*u* Sdd. 55. *ehi* Pd. 25. Pres. Part. Gen. Sg. -*anta-ho* Mt. 2. Inf. -*(a)i* DKs. 60, Abs. -*i* Sn. 271-190.
bhattāra **bhartāra*, Acc. Sg. -*ha* DKs. 82.

- bhatti** *bhakti* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *DKs.* 59, Ins. Sg. -*e* *PPr.* 2.51 (also 1.6), -*na* *Sc.* 489.1.
- bhanti** *bhrānti* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *ƒc.* 3.26.2. Ins. Sg. -*a* *DKs.* 78. -*e* *BhK.* 76.1. *ƒc.* 3.26.2. *PPr.* 2.177.
- bhappara** *bhasman* *ƒc.* 1.13.8.
- bhaba** *bhava*. Acc. Sg. zero *DKK.* 22.
- bhaba-mudda** *bhava-mudrā*. Fem. Ins. Sg. -*ē* *DKs.* 24.
- √bhama-** *√bhram-*
Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* *DKs.* 50, 65, *Mt.* 15. -*ei* *Pd.* 16. Imp. 2 Sg. -*hu* *DKs.* 57. Fut. 2 Sg. -*ihisi* *ƒc.* 3.32.6. Pres. Part. -*anta* *Mt.* 22, 24, 33. Gen. Pl. -*aham*. *KKc.* 9.8.1. -*ira* (to show habit) *Kp.* J. 2.7. Inf. -*aī* *DKs.* 50.
- bhamara** *bhramara*. Nom. Sg. -*ū* *DKs.* 73, -*u* *Hc.* 368.
- bharaḥa** **bharatha* = *bhṛta* = *ācchādita* *ƒc.* 1.3.3.
- Bharahesara** **Bharatheśvara* *KKc.* 4.4.10.
- bhalla** **bhad-lc.* Neut. direct Sg. -*um* *ƒc.* 3.38.6. Loc. Sg. -*i* *ƒc.* 1.24.2 Masc. Nom. Pl. -*ā* *Sdd.* 65.
- bhallattana**, °*ppaṇa* = **bhad-la-tva* (Abs. noun). Neut. direct Sg. -*u* *Kc.* 76.
- bhallīma** **bhad-la-ima* (= *tva* Abs. Noun). *Kp.* E. 17.
- bhallūa** *bhallūka*. Ins. Pl. -*ehim* *KKc.* 1.17.6.
- bhava** (ts.) Loc. Pl. -*him* *Sdd.* 74.
- bhava-jalahi** °*jaladhi*. Masc. Acc. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 85.
- bhava-nivvāṇa** °*nirvāṇa*. Neut. Nom. Pl. -*ā* *DKs.* 43.
- bhava-sindhu** (ts.) Masc. Nom. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 108.
- bhavaru** *Bhramaraḥ* *Hc.* 4.397.
- bhaviya** *bhavya-ƒdc.* 8.2. *Sdd.* 33.
- bhaviya-sāra** *bhavya*-Acc. Pl. zero *KKc.* 1.1.4.
- bhāi** *bhrātṛ* Gen. Pl. -*hā* *BhK.* 185.7.
- bhāiya** 1. *bhrātṛka* *KKc.* 4.3.10.
2. *bhāvita* *Sdd.* 213.

- hābābhābā* *bhāvābhāva* Masc. Nom. Pl. zero *DKs.* 22.
Loc. Pl. -*ē DKs.* 61.
- bhāya* *bhrātṛ* *KKc.* 3.5.2. Nom. Pl. zero *KKc.* 5.4.1.
- bhāyaṇi* *bhājini* Gen. Sg. -*hṛ* *BhK.* 27.12.
- bhārayā* -*bhāarakāḥ* *MP.* 87.9.1.
- Bhārahī* **Bhārahī* *MP.* 1.10.
- bhāriya* *bhāryā*. Fem. Gen. Pl. -*hā* *Sc.* 462.1.
- bhāva-mi* —*bhrāmyāmi* *Mt.* 34.
- bhāvini* *bhāmini* *MP.* 2.1.2.
- bhikkha* *bhikṣā* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *Pd.* 186, *Ys.* 43.
- bhikkhu* *bhikṣu*. Nom. Sg. zero *DKs.* 10.
- bhicca* *bhṛtya* *PPr.* 1.89.
- bhiṇṇa* *bhinna* Neut. Nom. Sg. -*ā* *DKs.* 85.
- bhitti* (*ts.*) Gen. Sg. -*e* *BhK.* 76.1 Loc. Sg. -*hi*
BhK. 74.7 cf. coll. *M.* *bhīt*.
- bhintara* *abhyantara* *Pa.* 154 cf. *M.* *bhītarī* (°*r*).
- bhisa* *bisa* *Nc.* 2.11.12. contrast *Hc.* 1.238. and *Vararuci* 2.38.
Sdd. 34.
- bhīsiya* *bṛsikā* = *ṛṣiṇāmāsanaṁ* Gloss. *Hv.* 83-18-4.
- bhītaru* *abhyantaram* *Kc.* 15. (*M.* *Guj.* *Beng.* *bhitar*, *Or.* *bhītara*, *H.* *bhītar*).
- bhīsa* *bhīṣma* *Hv.* 84.5.3. Neut. direct Pl. *ām* *Jc.* 1.16.9.
- ✓*bhukka* 'to bark.' Imp. 3 Sg. -*u* *MP.* 1.8.7. cf. *Hc.* 4.186.
(*M.* *Guj.* *H.* ✓*bhuk*., *Sdh.* *bhāukaṇu*)
- bhukkhā* *bubhuksā* *KKc.* 2.16.5. *Nc.* 1.11.10.
(*Pk.* *bubhukkhā*. *M.* *bhūk*, *H.* *Guj.* *bhūkh*, *Nep.* *bhok*)
- bhugga* *bhugna* = *bhukta* *Kp.* J. 69.3.
- ✓*bhumja-* *bhuñj-* Pres. Part. Gen. Pl. -*anta-hā* *Sc.* 452.2.
Abs. -*ivi* *Sn.* 22-287. Caus. Abs. -*ivi* *Sdd.* 59.
- bhubaṇa* *bhuvana* Loc. Sg. -*ē* *DKs.* 91.
- ✓*bhumaya* = ✓*bhram* Pres. 3 Pl. -*anti* *DKK.* 2.

- bhulla** = *bhraṣṭa* *Nc.* 9.19.2. *Pd.* 17. cf. *Hc.* 4.177.
Neut. Nom. Sg. -ā *DKs.* 3. (Pk. *bhullāi* < **bhulyati* cf. *bhurāti*. *M.* *bhulaviṇṣe*, *Guj.* *bhulāvṇū*. *H.* *bhulānā* *Nep.* *bhulnu*, *bhulānu*).
- bhullallio** = *bhrāntimān* *Ml.* 16.
- bhūta** (*ts.*) Neut. direct Pl. -ā *DKK* 7.
- bhūmi** (*ts.*) Direct Sg. zero *Jc.* 2.4.1. Loc. Sg. -*hi* *MP.* 2.21.5. -*hiṃ* *KKc.* 4.2.6.
Nom. Pl. -*u* *Jc.* 2.4.9.
- bhūva** *bhūta* Abl. Pl. -*hiṃ* *Pd.* 104.
- bhea** *bheda* Masc. Acc. Sg. -*u* *Pd.* 1.
- bho** Interjection (*ts.*) *Kp.* J. 64.4.
- bhoga** (*ts.*) Gen. Pl. -*ham* (used locatively). *Sdd.* 5.
- bhoma** *bhauma*. Neut. direct pl. -*aiṃ* *Jc.* 3.26.17.
- bhoya'** *bhoga* Gen. Pl. -*ham*. *Sdd.* 221 (used locatively).
- bhoya-dhara** *bhoga-dharā* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*ham* *Sdd.* 190.
- bholaa** *bahulaka* 'a simpleton.' Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Jdc.* 33.1. *MP.* 2.20.7. cf. *M.* *bhoḷa*.
- bholaviya** PP. from *√bholava* cf. *Guj.* *bhoḷavṇū*. 'to mislead, to deceive.' *Kp.* J. 85.2.

m

- ma** *mā* *Nc.* 2.4.4., *PPr.* 1.101. but *mam* in *PPr.* 2.107, 109 and *Ld.* 3-3.45.
- maacchi** *mṛgākṣī* *Ml.*
- Maapa** *Madana* Nom. Sg. -*i*, -*o* *MK.* 17.12.
- maaranda** *makaranda* Acc. Sg. -*ē* *DKK* 6.
- maila** 1. **mṛadilla* 'dirty' *Jc.* 3.19.12, Fem. Nom. Pl. -(ā)*u* *Jc.* 3.27.3.
2. 'to become dirty.' Pres. 3 Sg. -*ei* *Sdd.* 36 PP. -*iya* *Jc.* 4.2.19.
- magga** 1. *māga* Loc. Pl. -*ehiṃ* *Hc.* 4.347.
2. *√māgay-* Imp. 2 P. Sg. -*e* Intro to *Hv* § 56.
Pres. Part. -*anta*. *Nc.* 4.4.3. PP. -*iya* *Nc.* 3.16.13.

- magha* *makha* Nom. Sg. -u *MK.* 17.2.
-majjha *madhya* Loc. Sg. -^u *DKK.* 11. -mi *Pd.* 23.
majjhima *madhyama* *Kp.* J. 10.1.
mañchu-ḍu *mañkṣu* *Hv.* 92. 13.3.
manjari °rī Fem. Loc. Sg. -hiṃ *Pd.* 152.
mañjūsa °sā Fem. Loc. Sg. -iṃ *KKc.* 1.6.10.
mañṭṭi *mṛttikā* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *DKs.* 2.
maḍahulla = *laghu* (-ulla pleonastic) *Nc.* 3.4.12 cf. *Dn.* 6. 117
lahummi maḍaḥam
maṇa *manas* Direct Sg. -u *KKc.* 1.5.8. Loc. Sg. -e *DKK* 15, *KKc.* 1.1.12. -i *KKc.* 1.2.1.
maṇa-vaya-kāya *manovākkāya.* Ins. Pl. -hiṃ *Sdd.* 60
maṇāṇi *manāk* *Ld.* 3.3.47.
maṇuyatta *manujatva* *Kp.* S. 51.3
maṇuyattāṇa *manujatva.* Loc. Sg. -i *Sdd.* 3
maṇuva *manuja* Masc. Gen. Pl. -haṃ *KKc.* 1.10.7.
maṇoraha *manoratha* Acc. Pl. zero *Sdd.* 190
maṇṭha *mṛṣṭa* *Jc.* 3.1.13.
maṇṇa- *man-ya.* Pres. 3 Pl. -ahiṃ *Ys.* 56.
-matṭa (ts.) Masc. Gen. Pl. -haṃ *Hc.* 4.345.
matṭha *masā* Ins. Sg. -eṃ *Mt.* 4.
manta *mantra.* Masc. Gen. Pl. -āṇa *KKc.* 1.1.5.
mantana *mantraṇā* Fem. Ins. Sg. -i *MP.* 87.5.11.
manṭi *manṭin* Masc. direct Sg. zero *KKc.* 8.1.10. Gen. Sg. -he *KKc.* 8.1.11. Ins. Pl. -hiṃ *KKc.* 3.1.1. *MP.* 87.5.10.
mantitta *manṭitva* *Kp.* S. 49.3.
mandira (ts.) Abl. Sg. -āsu *BhK.* 342.7.
māya *mṛga.* Nom. Pl. zero *PPr.* 1.112.
mayaga *mṛtaka* 'N. of a song.' *Kp.* S. 63.5.

- mayāsi* *amṛtāsi* 'a god' *MP*. 14.1.4.
- ✓*marā-* ✓*my-* Imp. 2 Sg. -*ehu* *KKc*. 1.13.3.
maragaa *marakata*. Nom. Sg. -*u* *PPr*. 2.78.
- marapa* (*ts.*) Gen. Sg. -(ā)*ham* *Sdd*. 156.
- maruthali* °*sthalī* Loc. Sg. -*hī* *DKs*. 58.
- mahaevi* *mahādevī* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*e* *Jc*. 2.3.5.
- mahalla* *mahat* (-*alla* pleonastic) *Kp*. J. 4.3. cf. *Dn*. 6.143.
- mahāpara* °*nara*. Gen. Sg. -*āsu* *BhK*. 345.2.
- mahābhūta* (*ts.*) Neut. direct Pl. -*ā* *DKK*. 7.
- mahādraa(ya)* -*madīya* (suff. -*kārya.*) *Jc*. 3.9.9. *Kp*. 45.9.
Nc. 5.3.13. cf. *Hc*. 4.434. (H. *hamāra*, Marw. *mhārā* ?)
- mahā-lacchi* °*lakṣmī* Fem. Loc. Sg. -*hī* *Mt*. 7.
- mahā-saī* °*saī* Fem. Ins. Sg. -*em* *KKc*. 6.11.1.
- mahi* (*ts.*) Acc. Sg. zero *BhK*. 79.7. Gen. Sg. -*hi* *Sc*. 485.2. Loc. Sg. -*hi* *Hc*. 352. -*hī* *Sc*. 469.1. Loc. Pl. -*su* *Jc*. 1.1.7.
- mahila* °*lā* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hi* *MP* 87.4.2. Gen. Pl. -*ham*. -*hā* *BhK*. 53.10, *Sn*. 108.115. -*āṇa* (Pkt.) *Pd* 157.
- mahu* (*ts.*) Direct Sg. zero *Mt*. 26. *Sdd*. 77. Acc. Sg. -*m* *MP*. 100.4.10.
- mahūsava* *mahotsava* *Kp*. S. 9.1.
- mahalia* *mahelikā* = *mahilā* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hu* *DS*. 4.32.1.
- mahovahi* *mahodadhi* *KKc*. 1.1.4.
- māi* *māī* *DKs*. 86. Voc. Sg. zero *Jc*. 2.13.15. 4.4.9. also *māe* *Hv*. 89.12.14. (M. Guj. Marw. *Sdh*. H. *māī*. Beng. *mā.*)
- māuya* *māṭṛka* *Hv*. 91.22.11.
(H. Panj. *māū*. *Sdh*. *māu*, Singh. *mav*. *mā.*)
- māucchiyā* *māṭṛ-ṣvaṣṭkā*. Fem. Ins. Pl. -*hīm* *Jc*. 3.9.9.
(Pk. *māussiā*, *māucchā*. - M. *māvśī*, Guj. Panj. Beng. *Sdh*. *māśī* H. *mausi*. *māśī*.)
- māṇa* 1. *māna* Masc. Acc. Sg. zero *DKK*. 2.
2. Vb. ✓*mānay* Imp. 2 Pl. -*ha* *DKK*. 9. Abs. -*ivi* *MP*. 2.20.13.

<i>māṇṣa</i>	<i>mānuṣa</i> , Nom. Sg. -u <i>Kc.</i> 21. Gen. Sg. -ha <i>Sdd.</i> 54.
<i>māya</i>	<i>mātṛ</i> <i>KKc.</i> 3.9.1. Nom. Sg. zero <i>KP.</i> A. 3.1. Gen. Sg. -haṁ <i>Hc.</i> 399.
<i>māyaphiya</i>	<i>mṛga-tṛṣṇikā</i> <i>MP</i> 20.20.7.
<i>māyari</i>	<i>mātṛ</i> Acc. Sg. zero <i>MP.</i> 87.14.7.
√ <i>māra-</i>	<i>māray-</i> Imp. 3 Sg. -u <i>Sn.</i> 308.169. Pot. Part. -eva <i>Jc.</i> 1.11.7. <i>Nc.</i> 3.15.4. cf. <i>Hc.</i> 4.438.
<i>mālāi</i>	<i>malatī</i> Fem. Gen. Sg. -hi <i>Sc.</i> 483.2.
- <i>māli</i>	<i>mōlin</i> Gen. Sg. -hi <i>KKc.</i> 1.14.4.
<i>māha</i>	<i>māgha</i> Loc. Sg. -hī <i>Mt.</i> 17.
<i>mi</i>	= <i>api</i> <i>Hv.</i> 81.4.5., <i>Pd.</i> 26.55.
<i>Mikaṇḍa</i>	<i>Mṛkaṇḍā</i> <i>Hv.</i> 81.16.9.
<i>muccha</i>	* <i>mūṭhya</i> 'a heretic.' Ins. Pl. -ehī <i>DKs.</i> 3.
<i>mucchatta</i>	<i>mūṭhyāṭva</i> <i>Sdd.</i> 136.
<i>mucchattiya</i>	<i>mūṭhyāṭvika</i> = ° <i>tvin</i> <i>Pd.</i> 20.
√ <i>milla</i>	=√ <i>muc.</i> Imp. 2 Sg. -hī <i>Sdd.</i> 133. Abs. -i <i>DKK.</i> 27. -ivī <i>Pd.</i> 29.
<i>mua-</i>	√ <i>muc-</i> Imp. 2 Sg. -e <i>Hv.</i> (Intro § 56.) Abs. - <i>eppiṇu</i> <i>PPr.</i> 2.47. - <i>ēviṇu</i> <i>PPr.</i> 2.9.
<i>mua</i>	<i>mṛta</i> <i>KKc.</i> 3.21.3.
<i>muiya</i>	<i>mṛtā</i> <i>KKc.</i> 10.20.10.
<i>mukka</i>	<i>mukta</i> , Gen. Pl. -(ā)haṁ <i>PPr.</i> 1.47. -(ā)haṁ <i>Sdd.</i> 18.
<i>mukkha</i>	<i>mokṣa</i> <i>Kp.</i> J. 85.2.
√ <i>muca-</i>	√ <i>muc-</i> Pres. 3 Sg. -anti <i>Ys.</i> 63.
<i>mucca-</i>	<i>muc-ya</i> Imp. 2 Pl. -hu <i>Jdu</i> 1.2.
<i>mucchā</i>	<i>mūrchā</i> , Fem. Ins. Sg. -iṁ <i>KKc.</i> 6.15.4.
<i>muṭṭhi</i>	<i>muṣṭi</i> Loc. Sg. -hi <i>BhK.</i> 78.7.
√ <i>muṇa-</i>	√ <i>man-</i> but usually equated with <i>jñā-</i> cf. <i>Hc.</i> 4.7. Pres 1 Sg. -āmi <i>Kp.</i> E. 27, 2 Sg. -ahi <i>Kp.</i> J. 6. 4. -esi. <i>Kp.</i> S. 96.9.3 Sg. -i <i>DKs.</i> 89, <i>Kp.</i> S. 44.3. <i>Mt.</i> 17, <i>PPr.</i> 1.64. 1 Pl. -(a)hū <i>BhK.</i> 55.8. <i>Kp.</i> J. 46.8. Imp. 2 Sg. -ha <i>DKs.</i>

34. -(a)hi PPr 1.15, Ṭs. 15. -(ē)hi Kp. S. 80.4. -hu DKs. 34. -(a)su Kp. A. 13. 2. 2Pl. -hu Ṭs. 21. Pres. Part. -antu PPr. 1.76, 2.35 PP. -iya -ia DKs. 80. Kp. S. 43.1.* Inf. -(a)hu PPr. 1.23. Abs. -i DKs. 41, -ia DKs. 80. -ivi Kp. S. 39.8 Pass. Pres. 3 Sg. -īa-i DKs. 73. Pres. Part. -ija-māṇu Kp. J. 75.3.

muṇālu *mṇāla* DKK. 5, KKc. 7.2.8.

muṇi *muni* Masc. Sing. Nom. zero Pd. 60. Acc. zero. KKc. 7.1.4. Dat. Gen. -hi Sdd. 93. Plur. Ins. -hūm MP. 100.1.12 Gen. -haṁ Hc. 414.3.

√*muṇḍa* √*muṇḍ-* pp. -ī 5. Caus. Abs. -āvi Pd. 125.

mutta *mūtra*, Gen. Sg. -haṁ Pd. 196.

mutti *mukti* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero DKs. 7.

mudda *mudhā* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero PPr. 1.22. Acc. Sg. -m Mt. 5

muddha *mugdhā* Ins. Sg. -i MP. 87.12.11. Gen. Sg. -he Hc. 357.3. Voc. Sg. -e Mt. 5. -i Hc. 376.

Mura-riu °*riṇu* Masc. Gen. Sg. -hū Sc. 451.1.

murukkha *mūrka* Kp. S. 57.2 cf. Hc. 2.112.

muha *mukha* Nom. Sg. -ū D^h. 4.52. Abl. Pl. -hñ Hc. 22.204

mūḍha (ts.) Nom. Sg. -o Pd. 85. (Pkt. sm.) Voc. Sg. -ā Pd. 13, Gen. Pl. -haṁ 1s. 29.

mūla-guṇu (ts.) Nom. Pl. zero Ṭs. 29.

mṛga (ts.) MP. 2.14.4. °*jūḍhu* < °*yūtham* MK. 17.4.

Mṛgāyaṇa 'N. of a sage.' Hv. 82.8.10.

meṇi *medinī*, Fem. Acc. Sg. zero KKc. 2.8.3.

memmāyanta 'bleating' (Pres. Part. in -anta) Jc. 3.11.5. Onomatopoeic.

√*melava-* Caus. of √*mil-* Pres. 3 Pl. -ahim MP. 2.6.11. (M. *milā*, H. *milnā*, Nep. *milau*.)

√*mella-* √*muc-* Pres. 3 Sg. -i Hv. 83.2.6. Mt. 34. Imp. 2 Sg. -hi Hc. 84.15.2. PPr. 1.12, -i Hv. 85.9.33. 3 Sg. -u Hv. 85.6.5.. 2Pl. -ha DKs. 47, Hv. 87.5.16. Fut. 3 Sg. -esaī Hv. 87.16.6,

- Pres. Part. Fem. Gen. Sg. -*anti-he* Hc. 370. Abs. -*evi* Hv. 81.9.7. -*ivi* PPr. 1.92. -*eppinu* Hv. 88.12.5. Caus. PP. -*āviu*. Hv. 85.6.12. -*āviya* (direct Pl. zero) Jc. 1.11.5.
- mokaliya* =*mukta* Neut. direct Pl. -*iñ* Sdd. 66.
- mokkala* =*-mukta* Neut. Nom. Pl. -*ā* Sdd. 128.
- mokkalliu* -*mukta* MP. 1.9.18.
- mokkha* *mokṣa* Sdd. 74. Nom. Sg. zero Ts. 29. Gen. Sg. -*ha* Pd. 62 -*haḥ* Ts. 33.
- √*moḍe-* *moṭay-* Pres. 3 Pl. -*anti* Nc. 5.5.5. (Pk. *moḍei*, M. *moḍṇē*, Guj. *moḍvū*, H. *moṇā*, Nep. *moruv*.)
- mora* *mayāra*. Masc. Nom. Sg. -*y* Mt. 3. Voc. Sg. -*ā* Mt. 35. (M. Guj. Panj. H. *mor*, Sdh. *moru*.)
- √*moha-* 'to deceive.' Abs. -*evipū* KKc. 1.3.8.
- moha-mahoyahi* °*mahodadhi*. Masc. Acc. Sg. zero Sn. 334-127.
- mhi* *asmī* Kp. S. 106.5.

y

- yēala-i* *caluti* (Pres. 3 Sg. -*i*) MK. 18.2.
- yjāla-i* *jvalati* (Pres. 2 Sg. -*i*) MK. 18.2.

r

- rai* *raṭi*. Fem. Direct Sg. zero PPr. 2.13, Pd. 13. -*ī* (elongation of final vowel) Nc. 6.5.8. Gen. Sg. -*hu* Sc. 491.1. -zero BhK. 21.4. (Is 'rai' in that line; *rai saṅgami avagannaṭ*, the 1st member of Gen. Tat. comp.?)
- Raiveya* *Rativegā*. Fem. Gen. Sg. -*he* KKc. 7.14.1. -*heṁ* KKc. 7.7.5.
- rakkha* *raḥṣā* Sc. 466.9.
- √*rakkha-* √*raḥṣ-*
Imp. 2 Sg. -*i* Sn. 77-176. -*hu* Sdd. 195. -*ejja-hu* Hc. 350.2, 2 Pl. -*ejja-hu* BhK. 226.7, Inf. -*hum* KKc. 5.18.2. Pass. Pres. 3 Sg. -*yjā* Sdd. 98. (Pa *rakkhati*, Pk. *rakkhāi* M. *rākhṇē*, Guj. *rākhvū*, H. *rākhvā*, Nep. *rākhnu*.)
- rakkhavāla* *raḥṣāpāla* KKc. 1.15.3. cf. M. *rakhavāl-dār*, *rakhavāl*.
- rakkhosi* *rōḥṣasi* KKc. 2.11.1. Ins. Sg. -*ē* BhK. 22.3.
- raṁkholira* =*vilasana-śīla* (Suff. -*īa*) MP. 3.2.1.

- raḍḍa** PP. of $\sqrt{\text{raḍa}} < \sqrt{\text{raṭ}}$ 'to cry.' *Kp.* S. 79.3. (Pa. *raṭati*, Pk. *raḍḍāi*, M. Guj. $\sqrt{\text{raḍ-}}$, Sdh. *raṣaṇu*)
- $\sqrt{\text{raṇa-}}$ $\sqrt{\text{raṇ-}}$ Pres. 3 Sg. -*etti* (?) *Ds.* 4.5.1.
- raṇa-gaya** °gata. Loc. Pl. -*hiṃ* *Hc.* 370.
- raṇṇa** *araṇya* *Nc.* 6.16.19. cf. *Hc.* 1.66. Ins. Sg. -*ḥ* *Mt.* 34. Loc. Sg. -*e* *Mt.* 24, 35. (Pa. *araṇṇōm*, Pk. *araṇṇa*, M. Guj. *rān*, H. *rān* (Masc.), Singh. *riṇa*.)
- Raḍi** *Rati* Ins. Sg. -*e* *Hc.* 446.
- rabi-śaśi** = *ravi-śaśinau* (Nom. Pl. zero) *DKK.* 5.
- ramaṇi** *ramaṇi* Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ* *Sn.* 77.176. °yā Direct Pl. -(ā)v *KKc.* 3.2.1.
- ramanti-ya** *ramanti* Fem. Nom. Pl. -*u* *KKc.* 8.9.10.
- raya** *rajas*. Gen. Pl. -*ham* *Sdd.* 183.
- rayaṇa** *ratva*. Direct Pl. -*ām* *Hc.* 334.
- rayaṇattaya** *ratnatrya*. Gen. Sg. -*hao* *PPr.* 2.95.
- rayaṇi** 1. (a) *ratni* 'a hand.' *MP.* 2.7.5.
2. *rajanī* Fem. Loc. Sg. -*hi* *Jc.* 2.21.7. *MP.* 87.11.12. -*him*, -*hi* *BhK.* 21.4., *Jc.* 2.12.11 *Sc.* 445.1.
- rayaṇi-vahu** *rajanī-vadhū* Gen. Sg. -*hi* *Jc.* 2.2.10.
- rayā** -*ratā*. Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hi* *MP.* 87.4.2.
- ravi-sasi** °śaśi Masc. Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ* *Pd.* 219.
- rasa** (ts.) Lot. Sg. -*ṣ* *DKK.* 19. Loc. Pl. -(a) *hiṃ* *Pd.* 132.
- rasanta** Pres. Part. of $\sqrt{\text{ras-}}$ (-*anta*) *Sn.* 217-186.
- rasana** *rasīyana* *DKs.* 53.
- raha** 1. *ratha*. Nom. Pl. zero *MP.* 83.3.15.
2. $\sqrt{\text{rakṣ-}}$ Pres. 2 Sg. -*hi* *Nc.* 6.1.5. 3 Pl. -*anti*. *Nc.* 1.5.9. *Sdd.* 138 PP. -*ya* + Masc. Nom. Sg. -*ṣ* *DKs.* 60 Pass. Pres. 3 Sg. -*ija-i* *Nc.* 6.4.7. (M. Guj. Sdh. Panj. H. $\sqrt{\text{rah-}}$ Beng. *rahite*).
- rahaṭṭā** *araghaṭṭa* *MP.* 27.1.4. (M. *rahāt*, H. *rahaṭ*, Panj. *raṭṭa*)
- rāu** *rījan* *MK.* 17.10. (Pa. *rājā* Pk. *rāyā* M. *rāo*, *rāy*, Guj. *rāv* *rāv*, Sdh. Panj. *rāu*, H. *rāo*.)

- rāṇaa(-ya)* = **rāṇja-ka* 'a king.' *Hv.* 81.17.14. Nom. Sg. -u *Ĵc.* 4.2.10.
- rāṇī* *rājñī Hv.* 85.15.4. *Ĵc.* 2.31.7. -i before terms. and suff. e.g., °*ya Hv.* 82.5.5. (with -*he* of Gen. Sg. (Pa. *raṇṇī*, Pk. *raṇṇī* *rāṇiā* M. Guj. Sdh. Panj. H. *rāṇī*, Nep. Or. *rāṇi*.)
- Rāma* 1. (ts.) Gen. Sg. -*hu MP.* 69.2.3. Gen. Pl. -*hu MP.* 69.2.11. -*ham Hc.* 407.
2. *rāmā* 'a beautiful woman.' Loc. Sg. -*im Pd.* 42
- Rāmaṇu* *Rāvaṇaḥ sNom.* Sg. -u *Sdd.* 63.
- rāya* 1. *rāga* Loc. Pl. -*hiṇ Pd.* 107.
2. *rājan* Gen. Sg. -*ho Ĵc.* 1.9.2. -*ha* (used for Acc.) *Sm.* 48-249. For cognates see *rāu* above.
- rāya-rosa* *rāga-roṣa* Acc. Pl. zero *Ys.* 48.
- rāyāṇī* **rājānī- √rājñī Hv.* 81.12.7. Nom. Pl. -zero *Ĵc.* 4.2.7.
- riu* 1. *rtu Sc.* 546.8.
2. *riṇu* Gen. Pl. -*hūm MP.* 87.5.18.
- riu-maddaṇa* *riṇu-mardana.* Gen. Sg. -(ā)*su Ĵc.* 4.2.4.
- riṇa* *ṛṇa KĀc.* 2.18.2. cf. M. *riṇ* 'debt.'
- riṇiya* *ṛṇika* 'a debtor' *Kp.* J. 93.4.
- ṛiddhi* *ṛiddhi Kp.* J. 97. 1. *Sc.* 456.3. Ins. Sg. -(i) *Sc.* 471.1. Gen. Sg. -*he KĀc.* 1.15.1. Ins. Pl. -*hiṇ MP.* 100.10.1.
- riyā* **ṛcā=ṛc* Fem. Nom. Pl. -(ā)*u Ĵc.* 3.29.1.
- Risaha* *Rṣabha.* Ins. Sg. -*im Ĵc.* 3.30.7.
- risinda* *ṛṣindra KĀc.* 6.1.9.
- rīṇa* **ṛ-ṇa* (PP. of *√ṛ-*). 'come, tired.' *Ĵc.* 3.19.5. *Pd.* 115.
- rukṇha* **rukṣa* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*ho MK.* 17.11.
Acc. Sg. zero *KĀc.* 1.13.7. Ins. Sg. -*em PPr.* 2.133. Loc. Pl. -(a)*hiṇ MP.* 83.8.13. (Pa. Pk. *rukḥha* H. M. Guj. *rukḥ*, Panj. *rukḥh-*, Ncp. *rukḥ*.)
- rukḥha-ḍa* **rukṣa-ḥa* (pleonastic). Nom. Pl. -ā *Sdd.* 190. °*ḍu, °ullu* (pleonastic) *Ld.* 3.3.29. °*du MK.* 17.7. In these -*u* is Nom. Sg. ending.
- √ruṭṭha* *ruṣṭa* < *√ruṣ*. Imp. 3 Sg. -*u Sn.* 308-169.
- uṇṇa* **rudna* cf. *Hc.* 1.209. Neut. Nom. Sg. -ā *Hv.* 83.7.7.

- ✓*rundha-* **rundh-* < *rudh-* Abs. -*evīṇu*
 ✓*ruharuḥa* Onomatopoeic for warbling of birds. Pres. 3 Pl. -*anti* Hv. 83.9.6.
rūa *rūpa* Ins. Sg. -*ē* DKK. 6.
rūva *īṣpa* Loc. Pl. -*hiṃ* Pd. 101.
rei *rōjute* Sdd. 174.
roya *roga* Acc. Pl. zero PPr. 1.70.
royara *rucikara* MP. 17.12.7.
rora-ttaṇu = *dāridiṇa* (-*ttan* suff. of Abs. nouns.)
 Ncut. direct Sg. in -*u*. Jc. 2.26.17.
 ✓*rova-* = **īṇd-* < ✓*īud* 'to cry.' Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi* KKC. 2.1.13.
rohini °*nī* 'A kind of fast.' Fem. Ins, Pl. -*hiṃ* Sdd. 188.

lai 'much' Jc. 3.10.11. cf. coll. M. *lai*.
lauḍa *lakuṭa*. Ins. Sg. -*i* Jlu. 19.1.
lauḍi *lakuṭa* Hv. 88.5.8.
lakkaḍiya *lakuṭa*. Gen. Sg. -*ham* Sdd. 148.
lakkuḍa *lakuṭa* Hv. 85.5.3. (Pa. *lagṛ*, M. *lākāḍ*, *lākūḍ*, Guj. *lākāḍi*, *lākāḍ*, Panj. *lakkad*, H. *lakḍā*, Beng. *laguḍa*, *lagi* cf. Dn. *lakkūḍo* *lukutah*. The original word **lak*, **tag* is regarded as Austro-Asiatic.)
lakkha- 1. ✓*lakṣ-* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* DKK. 21, DKs. 19. PP. -*iya* DKs. 28. Pass. Pres. 3 Sg. -*ijja-i* Mt. 25.
 2. *lakṣa* 'a hundred thousand,' Ins. Pl. -*ehiṃ* Hc. 335. (Pa. Pk. *lakkā*, M. Guj. H. Beng. Nep. *lākḥ*, Singh. *lakh*, Panj. *lakkh*, Or. *lākḥa*.)
lakkhaṇa 1. *lakṣaṇa* Sc. 467.7. Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ* PPr. 1.25.
 2. *Lakṣmaṇa* Nc. 3.14.5.
 3. °*nā* Hv. 88.17.3.
lakkhārasa *lākṣā-* KKC. 3.2.4.
 ✓*lagga* *lagṇa* < ✓*lag-* Pres. 1 Sg. -*uṃ* Sn. 236-270. 3 Sg. -*i* Kp. J. 64-8. 3 Pl. -*hiṃ* Sdd. 75. Imp. 2 Sg. -*u* Kp. E. 29a. PPr. 2. 127. PP. *lagga* DKs. 16, KKC. 1.11.4. Abs. -*evi* Nc. 2.1.9. -*wi* Nc. 6.1.11. Sdd. 106. (NIA post-positions c.g., M. *lāgī*, Guj. *lāgu* Sc'h. *lagṛ* are traceable to this.)

- ✓*langha* *laṅgh-* Fut. 2. Sg. *-ihihisi Kp.* S. 83.4. 3. Sg. *-ihihai Kp.* E. 28. Pass. Press. 3 Sg. *iyai Kp.* E. 18.
- Lacchi* *Lakṣmī BhK.* 32.3, *Hv.* 81.3.8, *KKc.* 6.2.1. *Kp.* S. 73.4. *Sc.* 606.9, Ins. Sg. *e BhK.* 28.1. *-i MP.* 1.12.6. Gen. Sg. *-he MP.* 1.12.2. *-hi Sdd.* 187.
- Lacchima* *Lakṣmī Sdd.* 191.
- ’ajja* *lajjā.* Ins. Sg. *-ha Sn.* 168-115. (Pa. Pk. *lajjā* M. Guj. H. Beng. Nep. *lāj*, Or. *lāja*, Panj. *lajj*, Sdh. *laja*).
- lanjiya* = *dāsī* Ins. Sg. *-i Jc.* 3.9.11.
- latta* **lapta Nc.* 9.17.27.
- laya* *latā.* Fem. Gen. Pl. *-hā Sc.* 484.1.
- lalanā-rasaṇā* (*ts.*) Nom. Pl. zero *DKK.* 5.
- ✓*lalala-* Intensive ✓*lal-*. Pres. 3 Pl. *-anti Hv.* 84.5.6. cf. M. *lalalala* #
- lahalaha-i* = *lālayate Sn.* 217.186.
- ✓*laha-* ✓*labh-* Pres. 3 Sg. *-i Hc.* 335. Pres. 3 Pl. *-hiṃ Pd.* 4. Fut. 2 Sg. *-esahi BhK.* 130.5. *KKc.* 2.4.2. *-ehi KKc.* 2.8.10. *-īsi PPr.* 2.141. 3 Sg. *-esai BhK.* 74.3. *KKc.* 2.5.7. *PPr.* 2.47. Pres. Part. *-anta PPr.* 65.1*. Abs. *-i Jdc.* 3.4. *Sdd.* 220. *-ivi Sdd.* 221. *-evīṇu PPr.* 1.95. also *Cd.* 2.27.11.
- lahiri* (*ts.*) Ins. pl. *-hiṃ KKc.* 8.12.9. (M. H. *lahar*, Guj. *leher*, *ler*, Panj. *lahir.*)
- lhasuṇa* *laśūna Sdd.* 34. (cf. Pa. *lasuṇ(n)am*, Pk. *lasaṇa*, *lasuṇa*. M. *lasuṇ* H. *lahasuṇ*, Panj. *lasaṇ.*)
- ✓*lā-* Sec under ✓*le-*
- lāla* *lālā.* Fem. Ins. Sg. *-iṃ Sdd.* 146. cf. M. Guj. *lāl*.
- lirāra* = *lalāṭa.* Loc. Sg. *-e DKs.* 85.
- livi* *lipi* Fem. Nom. Pl. *-u Nc.* 3.1.1.
- lihia* *likhita* Neut. direct Pi. *-ā Hc.* 335.
- līla* *līlā.* Acc. Sg. zero *KKc.* 4.1.14. Ins. Sg. *-e BhK.* 27.3. *Sc.* 603.4. *-e BhK.* 19.9. 76.10. *-ha Sn.* 334-127.
- līlāvāṭ* *Līlāvāṭī* Ins. Pl. *-hiṃ Mt.* 19.
- līha* *lekhā Pd.* 83.

- √lupa- √lu Pres. 1 Sg. -ēvi Hv. 82.10.3.
Fut. 3 Sg. -ēsai Hv. 92.2.27. PP. lūya Hv. 84.10.4. Abs.
-ēvi Hv. 84.11.5. -ēviṇu Jc. 3.11.6.
- √le-, √ld √lag-. To avoid confusion the full form is quoted. Pres.
1 Sg. lemi Hv. 84.14.11. 3 Sg. lēi. Hv. 81.5.8. 1 Pl.
lehū Hv. 84.15.6.
Imp. 2 Sg. lehi Kp. S. 56.3. Mt. 11, Sdd. 119. 3 Sg. leu
KKc. 1.13.6. -laijjai (?) Nc. 3.7.8. Inf. leṇaham Abs.
lai DKK. 7. PPr. 2.87. Fut. 1 Pl. laesahū. Hv. 85.20.5.
PP. laya Pd. 91 Sdd. 119. lēvi Hv. 81.4.9. leppinu Hv.
82.7.13. Nc. 5.8.13. laeppinu Nc. 1.15.13. levinu Nc. 1.10.1).
- lekkha-hi lakṣaya (Imp. 2 Sg. -hi) MP. 2.5.2.
- lehi -lekhā. Fem. Loc. Sg. -hī Mt. 7.
- loa loka Nom. Sg. -ha DKK. 1. Voc. Pl. -ho Kc. 22, Hc. 346.
- loaṇa locana DKs. 68. Ins. Pl. -ehim Hc. 350.
°vanta=locana-vat. Neut. Nom. Sg. -ā. Mt. 8.
- √loṭṭa- √luṭ-yo. Pres. 3 Pl. -anti Nc. 5.5.5. PP. loṭṭa Nc. 7.7.6.
(M. loṭṭē. Guj. Panj. H. Beng. √loṭ)
- loṇiu navaṇitam (Neut. direct Sg. -u) Sdd. 25.
(M. loṇī. H. lonī, lunī, Or. lahuṇi, Beng. lanī).
- loha lobha- Ins. Sg. -im Pd. 81.
- v
- va 1. iva Kp. J. 70.4, 71.3.4. S. 8.2. A. 12.3. Nc. 1.7.1.
2. vā BhK. 1.4.8 (Gūṇe).
- vaṇa vadana. Direct Sg. -u Mt. 7. Ins. Sg., -ē Mt. 24. Loc. Sg.
-mmi Mt. 15. Ins Pl. -ehī Mt. 19.
- vaī Inter. to express regret Pu. 17.28.
- vaikunṭha Vaikunṭha 'N. of Viṣṇu' Nc. 7.12.7.
- vaīri vairin Gen. Pl. -hum Nc. 1.4.4.
- °ya „ Gen. Sg. -ha Sn. 34.199.
- vakka vyagra Jdu. 43.2.
- vakkhāṇa-i vyākhyāṇayati (Pres. 3. Sg. -i) Nc. 3.1.16, 9.5.11.
- vakkhāṇa-ḍa vyākhyāṇa-ṭa (pleonastic).
Acc. Pl. -ā Pd. 84.

- vaggha* *vyāghra* *Nc.* 6.8.9 (Pk. *vaggha*. M. Guj. *vāgh*. Panj. H. Beng. Nep. *bāgh*, Sdh. *vāghu*, Singh. *wag*).
- √*vacca-* **vytyate* = √*vraj*. Pres. 3s J. -i *Nc.* 1.10.9. 7.6.1.
3 Pl. -anti *Sdd.* 147. Pres. Part. -anta *Nc.* 7.1.10. (cf. Old M. *vacñē* 'to go.' also *Hc.* 4.225.
Aśok *vacca*. TURNER (429b) traces this to Sk. *vacyate* cf. *vañrayati*).
- vaccha* *vrkṣa* *PPr.* 2.133. Abl. Sg. -he *Hc.* 4.336.
- vaccha-yala* **vakṣa-tala* *BhK.* 269.9.
- vacchi* **vatsī* = *vatsā*. Gen. Sg. -hi *Sn.* 14.141.
Voc. Sg. zero *Sn.* 16.441.
- vajjanta* *vādyat* (Pres. Part. in -anta). Ins. Pl. -ehī *Mt.* 23. Fem. Loc. Plur. *nū-him* *Jc.* 2.20.3.
- √*vaṁca-* 1. 'to go. Pres.. 3 Sg. -i *MK.* 17.70.
2 (*ts.*) 'to deceive'. Pot. Part. -eva. *Nc.* 3.2.12.
- vaṭṭa* *varīman*, *Hv.* 85.24.7. (Pk. *vaṭṭam*, *vaṭṭā*. M. Guj. *vāṭ*, Singh. *vat*, *vaṭu*).
- vaṭṭaḍḍiya* *varīman-* (pleonastic -ṭikā)
Acc. Sg. zero *Pd.* 47.
- vaṭṭula* *varīula* *Nc.* 3.4.8.
- vaḍa* = *ukta*. 'prattling, talk'. Ins. Sg. -iṇa *Pd.* 145.
- vaḍavaḍa-i* = *pralapati* (onomatopoeic ?) *Pd.* 6. cf. *Hc.* 4.148. and M. *baḍḍaḍḍē*.
- vaḍḍa-u* *varīatām* (Imp. 3 Sg. -u) *MP.* 1.12.6.
- vaḍḍha* = *mūrkha*, *vatsa*. 'a term of endearment in addressing' *Kc.* 67, *Pd.* 2.22. *PPr.* 2.19, 154. cf. *baḍḍha* above.
- vaḍḍha* *vrḍḍha* *KKc.* 10.3.5.
- vaṇa* *vana* Direct Sg. -u *MK.* 17.10. Loc. Sg. -i *Nc.* 2.9.4.5.
vaṇṇami < *vaṇṇammi* in *KKc.* 1.14.9.
- vaṇa-kīla* *vana-kīḍā* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *BhK.* 295.3.
- vaṇa-rāi* *vana-rāji* Fem. Loc. Sg. -mmi *Sc.* 479.3.
- √*vaṇṇa* √*varṇ-* Pass. Pres. 3 Sg. -iya-i *Jdc.* 5.1.
- aṇṇasaī* *vanaspati* *MP.* 2.1.5.

- vattha* *rastra*. Neut. Nom. Pl. zero *Sdd*. 203.
- √*vanda-* √*vand-* Pres. 1 Sg. -u^o *PPr*. 1.4. Pass. Imp. or Pot. 3 Sg. -*ijje-i Jc*. 3.31.8.
- vandi* =*bandin* Ins. Sg. -*ṇa Sc*. 459.2. Loc. Sg. (Pl. ?) -*hiṃ Sc*. 459.5.
- vaya* *vrata KKc*. 3.20.9. Direct Pl. zero *Sdd*. 206.
- vayaṇa* *vacana*. Acc. Sg. -u *KKc*. 1.8.9. Loc. Pl. -*hiṃ Jc*. 2.42.1.
- vayaṇiyā* -*vadanikā* =*vadanā*. Fem. Ins. Sg. -e *Sc*. 669.2.
- vayaṃsī*, ^oa } **vayasīkā* =*vayasā*. *Hv*. 90.6.8.
^{ya} } Fem. Ins. Sg. -e *Nc*. 2.2.14. Gci Plur. -*hu Hc*. 351.
- vayaṃsulliṇa* *vayasā-ullikā* (pleonastic) Fem. *Hv*. 90.8.10.
- varāṭṭa* **vorayitra* 'husband,' Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *Jc*. 4.2.15.
- varāḍiya* *varāṭikā*. Fem. Ins. Sg. -*iṃ Sdd*. 209.
- vari* =*varan* *MP*. 1.3.12.
- varisa* 1. *varṣa*. Loc. Sg. -i *MP*. 1.3.1 (M. *varīs*, H. *baras*, Panj. *varah*, Or. *barasa*).
 2. √*varṣ-* Pres. 3 Sg. -ei *Mt*. 21.
- √*vala-* √*val-* Abs. -*ivi Pd*. 51. Caus. Abs. -i viz., *vāli* < **vālyā Mt*. 8.
- valaa*(^oya) *valaya*. Nom. Sg. zero *Ds*. 4.5.2. Direct Pl. -ā *Hc*. 352.
- valagga* *avalagna Hv*. 81.4.5. 'āruḍha' in *Hc*. 4.206.
- valli* (ts.) Fem. Loc. Pl. -*hiṃ Mt*. 17.
- √*vava* √*vap-* Pres. 3 Sg. -i *DS*. 4.5.1. *PP*. -*iya-u Sdd*. 70.
- √*vasa* *vas-* Pres. Part. -*antu PPr*. 1.36. *PP*. -*iya Sdd*. 35.
- vasahi* **vrṣabhi* 'an ox' *Kp*. J. 71.4. *ALSDORF* records this as a contamination of *vrṣabha* and 'vaha: an ox.'
- √*vaha-* √*vah-* Pres. Part. Fem. -*antia*. Ins. Pl. -*hī Mt*. 14. Inf. -*evvaim* *KKc*. 1.5.5. Caus. *vāha*. Inf. -i *Jdu*. 75.2. Abs. -i *KKc*. 1.13.6.
- rahu* -*vadhū* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hi Jc*. 2.2.10. -*hu Sc*. 444.1.
- vahuya* *vadhūkā* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hum MP*. 100.3.9.
- vahelra* **arahaḍḍita*. *Mt*. 19.
- vāū* *vāyu MK*. 17.9. Ins. Sg. -*eṇa MK*. 17.24.
- vāuḍa* *vyāpṛta Nc*. 1.9.7.

- Vāpārasī* *Varāpāsī* Fem. Loc. Sg. -*hīm* *Hr.* 442.
- vāya* 1. *vācā* Fem. Ins. Sg. -*e* *MP.* 1.6.1b.
2. *vāda* Masc. Nom. Pl. -*i* *BhK.* 43.2.
- vāra* *dvāra* *BhK.* 7.6. *Kp.* J. 2.9. *S.* 38.7.
- vāravāra* *vāram vāram* *Jc.* 2.25.18. *Sdd.* 156.
- vāvaṇa* *vāmana* *Jc.* 3.2.9.
- vāvi* *vāpī* Fem. Loc. Sg. -*hē* *Nc.* 2.8.3.
(*M. H. bāva-ḍi* *Guj.* *vāi, vāo* Sing. *vava*).
- √*vāha* 'to see' *Jdu.* 22.1, *PPr.* 2.142. (connected with *paśya* > *pāsa*?)
- vāhi* *vyādhi.* Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *I'd.* 210.
- vāhiyālī* *vāhyālī* 'Training ground for elephants.' *Jc.* 1.4.3.
- Vrāsa* *Vyāsa* Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Ld.* 3.3.6. *MK.* 17.3.
- vrākrosu* *vyākrośa.* *MK.* 17.3.
- vrāḍi* *vyāḍi* *MK.* 17.3.
- vrāgaraṇu* *vyākaraṇam* *MK.* 17.3.
- vi* *api* *Mt.* 2, 4, 16.
- viaggha* *vidagha.* Ins. Sg. -*eṇa* *DS.* 4.6.2.
- vīu* =*iva* *Kp.* *S.* 110.4.
- Vuḷa-iri* *Vipula-giri.* Masc. Loc. Sg. -*hi* *MP.* 100.1.2.
- vuuvvīṭṭhī* *vyvviṣṭō* <*vi-ut-viṣ-* *Mt.* 19.
- viusa* **viduṣa* = *vidvas* *Nc.* 3.4.2. (*Jc.* p. 160), *Sc.* 449.1.
°*ttara* = *vidvatva* *Nc.* 3.5.11.
- vigutta* *vigupta* Masc. Nom. Pl. -*āim* *Hc.* 421.
- vicca* **vr̥tta* = *vartman* *Hc.* 421, *Kc.* 67, *Pd.* 188.
Loc. Sg. -*i* *Jc.* 2.26.10. *Ld.* 3.3.53. records *viccha* for °*cca*.
- vicintirī* *vi-√cint + ira* (habit showing suff.) used as Pres. Part. *Sc.* 5301.
- vichitta* PP. of *vi-√chiva* 'to touch' cf. *Hc.* 257. *Dn.* 3.27. Neut.
Nom. Sg. -*a* *Hr.* 83.16.13.
- vicchoya* *vikṣobha* = *viraha* *KKc.* 10.1.4.
- vijja* *vidyā.* Fem. Nom. Pl. -*u* *KKc.* 2.4.10
- vijjappaha* *vidyutprabha* *Nc.* 6.2.2.

- vijjaya** *dvitīyaka BhK.* 354.6.
- vijjā-sāla** *vidyā-sālā.* Fem. Abl. Sg. -*ho BhK.* 18.10.
°-*hariya vidyāśāharī KKc.* 1.15.10.
- vijjijjamāṇa** Pass. Pres. Part. of *vīj.* (-*ijja-māṇa*) *Nc.* 2.11.2.
- vijjula** *vidyullotā MP.* 2.14.8. cf. H. *bijlī.*
- vijjhoviya** *vidhyāpita Kp.* S. 75.4. cf. M. *vijhavṇē* but *vikṣāpita* acc. to ALSDORF.
- Viṃḡha** *Vindhya.* Nom. Sg. -*u KKc.* 1.12.8, 2.2.11.
Loc. Sg. -*i Jc.* 3.35.15.
- viṭṭala** *apavitra-la* Nom. Sg. -*u Hv.* 90.3.14. *Jc.* 3.18.4.
(M. *vitāl*, Guj. *vaṭāl*, Beng. *viṭāl*, Sd. *viṭāranu*. BLOCH connects M. *viṭāl*, to Sk. *viṣṭhā*. See *FLM* §§ 109, 150).
- Viṭṭhu** *Viṣṇu Hv.* 83.14.10, *KKc.* 7.7.3. *Nc.* 4.9.11. cf. M. *Viṭhu*, *Vithobā*.
- viḍavi** *viṭapi* Masc. Ins. Pl. -*hī Sc.* 481.1.
- viḍhatta** PP. of $\sqrt{\text{viḍghava}}/\text{arj-}$ *Kp.* A. 5.2. cf. *Hc.* 4.108.
- vināsa-ho** *vināśinah* (Gen. Sg. -*ho*) *KKc.* 1.1.1.
- vinu** *vinā DKs.* 107, *Hv.* 82.9.5, *Jdc.* 7.2. *Kc.* 71. (cf. *Hc.* 426), *Mt.* 13.34, *PPr.* 1.42, 2.59. *Sdd.* 6.18. *Sn.* 272-191. This is used with the Acc. and the Instr. cases.
- viṇṭala-u** = *veṣṭanakalī Jdc.* 23.2 cf. M. *vēṭolē*.
- $\sqrt{\text{vinṇava-}}$ *vi-√jñap-* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i Kp.S.* 35.3.1, *Nc.* 1.8.12. 1 Pl. -*imo Kp.J.* 45.1* Imp. 2 Pl. *aha Kp.J.* 45.2* PP. -*ia, Nc.* 1.16. 7, *PPr.* 1.8. (M. *vinavṇē*, Guj. *vinavavū*, H. *binavnā*).
- vitti-ṇivitti** *vṛtti-nivṛtti.* Loc. Pl. -*hi PPr.* 2.52.
- viddāṇiya** *vidārṇa KKc.* 1.10.3.
- vidiśi-hiṃ** = *vidikṣu* (Fem. Loc. Pl. -*hiṃ*) *Sdd.* 66.
- vinda** *vṛnda.* Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ PPr.* 1.39 Gen. Pl. -*hā PPr.* 1.110.
- viṃbhariya** **vismarita MP.* 1.13.3.
- viyakkhāṇu** -*vicakṣaṇaḥ PPr.*
- viyambhīya** *vijṛmbhita PPr.* 2.158.
- ai-yāṇu** *vi-jānīhi* (Imp. 2 Sg. -*u*) *PPr.* 1.53 *Sdd.* 19.

-vilaya	=vanitā. Fem. Gen. Sg. -hē BhK. 17.8.
vilalullu	=vilola + ulla- <i>u</i> (pleonastic + nom. Sg. - <i>u</i>) DS. 4.5.2.
vilāsinī	vilāsinī Fem. Ins. Pl. -hē BhK. 17.7.
viva	=iva. Hv. 85.2.2. Nc. 3.8.3. cf. Hc. 2.182.
vīvarera	=vīparīta + ira (showing habit) Jc. 3.29.13. Pd. 125, 129.
vivva-hu	=vīyatām Sn. 16-286.
visaa	viṣaya Ins. Pl. -ehim Kc. 22.
visa-kaniya	viṣa-kaṇikā. Fem. Ins. Sg. -im Sdd. 207.
visaya	viṣaya. Gen. Pl. zero Kc. 22. -ha ō Ts. 50.
visarisa	viśadīśa. Sc. 584.1.
visāṁvū	=viśrāmaḥ Kc. 26.
visitti	*viśitā < √viś Abso. Mt. 18.
viṭāṇa	ṇa. Neut. Direct Pl. zero PPr. 2.23.
vīhau	=vibhītaḥ Pd. 74.
vīhayv	=vīkṣitā Fem. Ins. Sg. -(ā)e KKc. 1.13.2.
vuṭṭhi	vṛṣṭi Kp. S. 18.3.
vutta	ukta Kc. 67, Ld. 3.3.53. cf. Hc. 4.421.
vuttanta	vṛttānta. Kp. S. 39.8.
vṛnda	(ts.) Hv. 81.18.3.
ve	dvi BhK. 291.2, Nc. 9.20.11. Pd. 213. Sdd. 36. Ins. Pl. vihi Nc. 3.5.5.
veulla	vicakā Hv. 84.1.2.
Vegavai	Vegavatī Dat. Gen. Sg. -he KKc. 6.14.7.
Veya	Veda. Nom. Pl. -im Jc. 3.29.12. Ins. Pl. -hi ō PPr. 1.23.
veyaṇa	vedaṇī Fem. Acc. Sg. zero Pd. 74.
vesa	1. dveṣya Masc. Nom. Sg. -u MP. 1.4.5. 2. veṣyā Fem. Sg. -him Sdd. 44.
vesi	=vetsi (Skt.sm.) Nc. 6.13.8.
voccheya	=vyuccheda Hv. 90.1.7.

vonda *vrnda* Hv. 90.13.12. Cf. *Hc.* 1.131.

volīṇa =*vyatītā* Fem. Ins. Pl. -*hi* MP. 2.4.6.
But the Tippaṇa takes it as Loc. Sg.

s

saa 1. *śata* Ins. Sg. -*ena* *Hc.* 332, Ins. Pl. -*hi* *Mt.* 13. Loc. Pl. -*ehi* *Hc.* 345. (Pa. *sata*, Pk. *saa(ya)*, M. Guj. *śē*, H. Panj. Nep. *sai*, Sdh. *sau*).
2. *svaka* Ins. Sg. -*e* ? =*svayam* *Nc.* 9.21.5.

sai 1. *satī* Fem. Dat. Sg. -*hi* MP. 87.12.12.
2. *sadā*. *Sn.* 26.213.

saī, °im *svayena* =*svayaṁ* *Jc.* 2.12.16, *Mt.* 11, *Nc.* 3.4.17

saūcca *śauca*. Direct Sg. -*u* *Sdd.* 7. Ins. Sg. -*ē*. *Nc.* 1.4.4.

saūṇi *śakunī* Masc. Gen. Pl. *iham* *Hc.* 340.

saū 1. *samaṁ* *Kp.* S. 7.2.
2. *sva* (ALSDORF) *Kp.E.* 10b.

saṁkaḍilla *saṅkata* +*illa* (=possessing, full of). *Jc.* 1.3.2.

saṁkala *śṛṅghalā* *Kp.A.* 1.2. cf. *Hc.* 1.189.

saṁkhala *śṛṅghalā* *Hv.* 88.11.9 (Pa. Pk. *saṅkhalā*, Pk. *sinḅhalā*, M. *śāḅkaḷ*, *śākaḷ*, *sākaḷ*. Guj. *śākaḷ*, H. *sākaḷ*, Or. *saṅkoḷi*, Nep. *saṅlo*).

saṁkheva *saṁkṣepa*. Ins. Sg. -*eṁ* *Sdd.* 1.

Samkhohanikā *Samkṣobhanikā* (N. of a *vidyā*) *Nc.* 6.6.11.

saṁgahia *saṁgṛhīta* *KKc.* 5.10.1.

sanga (*ts.*) Gen. Sg. -*ho* *BhK.* 205.2.

saccava 'to see' cf. *Hc.* 4.181. Imp. 2 Sg. -*ehi* *Kp.* S. 80.3.

saccha *sākṣāt* *BhK.* 252.7.

sajjana °*na*. Gen. Pl. -(ā)*ham* *KKc.* 1.5.7.

sajjo *sadyaḥ* (adv.) *Jc.* 3.11.1

sa-jhuṭṭha =*sa-juṭṭa*-false' *Nc.* 6.13.15. cf. H.M. *jhūṭ(h)*.

✓*saṁ-calla* *saṁ-√cal-ya*- Pres. 3 Pl. -*him* *KKc.* 1.3.7.

- ✓*saṃjaia* *saṃjāta* DKK.7.
- saṃjha* *sandhyā* Kp.S. 40.4. Loc. Sg. (ā) *i* Jc. 2.9.4.
Loc. Pl. zero *Sdd.* 68, *i Sdd.* 12 (M. Beng. H. Nep.
sājh, Guj. Nep. *sāj*).
- saḍḍha* *sārdha* MP. 2.5.4.
- saṇṇum* *śanaiḥ*. Jc. 3.12.8.
- saṇṇāha* *sannāha*. Ins. Sg. -*em Sdd.* 60.
- ✓*saṇṭhava* 1. *saṃ-stav-* Inf. -*aṇa PPr.* 2.137.
2. *saṃ-sthāpay* Imp. 2 Sg. -*hi KKc.* 1.11.10.
- satta* *sapta* Kp. J. 31.2, * Plur. Direct zero Kp.S. 4.4, Pd. 220.
Instr. -*ehim Kp.S.* 37.1*.
Loc. -*ihē Kp.* 74.3. (Pa. Pk. *satta*, M. Guj. H. Beng. *sāt*,
Or. *sāta*, Panj. *satt*).
- sattama* *saptama* Kp. J. 58.9, *Sdd.* 15.
- sattāva-* = *santāpayati* Pd. 64.
- satti* *śakti* Fem. Ins. Sg. -*e BhK.* 18.3, *Sdd.* 9.
- sattu* *śatru* Masc. Acc. Sg. zero *PPr.* 2.45.
- Sattuhāṇa* *Śatrughna* Hv. 89.19.91.
- sattha* = *śastra*. Ins. Pl. -*ihim Hc.* 358, *Sn.* 24-212.
- sadda* *śabda*. Ins. Sg. -*eṇa DKs.* 94.
- santāvia-o* **santāpitakaḥ* = °*pitaḥ Mt.* 28.
- saṃthavantu* *saṃstavantu* (Imp. 3 Pl. -*antu KKc.* 9.18.3.
- sandhukkī* *sandhukṣita* Pd. 87, cf. *Hc.* 4.152.
- sappa* *śarpa*. Ins. Sg. -*im Pd.* 15, No.n. Pl. zero *Sdd.* 65.
- śabara* (ts.) Ins. Sg. -*e DKK.* 25.
- sama* *ts.* Masc. Acc. Pl. zero *DKs.* 76.
- Samai* *Samati*. Masc. Gen. Sg. -*hi MP.* 90.16.4.
- samara* *śabara* Jc. 3.29.13. *Nc.* 5.13.6.
- sama-sīla* °*sīlā*. Fem. Ins. Pl. -*him KKc.* 3.6.1.
- samāṇu* *samānam* = *samam Ld.* 3.3.40.
- ✓*samāsa-* 'to speak', Pres. 1 Sg. -*mi Hv.* 90.15.9. PP. -*iu BhK.* 171.6.

- samāhi* *samādhi* Fem. (?) Ins. Sg. -e *Sdd.* 224.
Loc. Gen. Sg. -hi *Sad.* 193.
- samidi* *śamiti* *Nc.* 1.12.3. (Śaurasenism).
- samiddha* *samiddha* *Kp.* J. 82.2
- samubbaha-i* *samudvahati* *DKK* 1 (Pres. 3 Sg. -i).
- samuhū* *sammukham* *Hv.* 88.11.11. cf. *saūhū.* *Hv.* 86.2.4. and *samuha* *Mt.* 12.
- ✓*samoḍa* *sam-moḍay-*
Abs. -ivi *Jc.* 3.12.12. cf. *M.* *moḍṇē.*
- ✓*samṇajja-* *sampad-ya-* Imp. 3 Pl. -hum *KKr.* 9.16.3.
- samṇaḍa-u* *sam-patatu* (Imp. 3 Sg. in -u) *KKr.* 9.16.4.
- samṇaya* *sampad-* Gen. Pl. -hā *BhK.* 252.12
- samṇāiya-ū* *samprāptaḥ* (Masc. Nom. Sg. -ū) *Hv.* 87.7.2.
- samṇea-i* **sam-vedati* = *samvetti* *DKK* 16.
- sambhara-* 1. *sam-*✓*smar-* Imp. 2 Sg. -hi *Jc.* 3.40.17.
Imp. 2 Pl. -ha *Hv.* 92.21.14. PP. -iya *Jdc.* 11.4
2. *samsmṛta* *Jc.* 4.5.5.
- saya* *śata.* Neut. direct Pl. zero *BhK.* 39.9 -i *Sdd.* 222.
- sayattha* *svārtha.* Ins. Pl. -hē *Kp.* J. 46.6.
- sayanijja* *śayanīya* Abl. Sg. -ha *Sc.* 459.3.
- sayala* *sakala.* Neut. Gen. Pl. -ha *PPr.* 2.198.
Fem. Acc. Sg. zero *MP.* 100.1.1. Acc. Pl. -im *Pd.* 66.
- ✓*sara* ✓1. *smar-* Pres. 1. Sg. -mi *KKr.* 1.1.2.
Abs. -ivi *Nc.* 7.6.7. Pot. Part. -eva-a *Jdu.* 66.4.
2. *saras* 'a lake'. Ins. Pl. -ehim *Hc.* 423.
3. *smara* *Hv.* 81.1.1. *Nc.* 1.17.15.
- saraṇi* (ts.) Fem. Nom. Pl. -u *Sc.* 445.4.
- sara-vara* *saro-vara* Loc. Sg. -i *Sdd.* 186. Loc. Pl. -ham *Sdd.* 18.
- Saraha* 'N. of the author of *DKs.*' Masc. Nom. Sg. zero *DKs.* 80,
Ins. Sg. -ē *DKs.* 41.
- Sarāsaī* *Sarasvatī* *MP.* 1.2.8. Acc. Sg. zero *KKr.* 1.2.1.
- sari* *sarit* Fem. Ins. Pl. -him *Hc.* 422.11.

- saria* *sarit* Fem. Nom. Sg. zero *Mt.* 25.
sarićchu *sadrkṣaḥ* (Masc. Nom. Sg. -u) *Mt.* 9.
sari-ṇāu *sadrśa-nāmā* (Masc. Nom. Sg. -u) *Mt.* 3.
sarisa *sadrśa* *DKs.* 78,86. *Kp.S.* 75.5. °a *DKs.* 50.
sarisava *sarsapa* *Kp.S.* 106.4.
sarira *śa-* Sing. Loc. -hi *DKs.* 91. Gen. Pl. -ham *N.* 1.12.10.
sariso *sadrśaḥ* (Masc. Nom. Sg. °) *DKs.* 78.
saro-sira *saroṣa-ina* Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *Sn.* 273-191.
✓ *salaha-* ✓ *ślāgh-* Pres. 1 Sg. -emi *Kp.S.* 35.8.
Pres. Part. Fem. Ins. Sg. -anti-e *Hv.* 92.17.8.
sallai *sallakī* Sing. Loc. -him *Hc.* 422. Direct pl. -u *Hc.* 387.1.
-salona -*śulavaṇa* 'beautiful'. Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *Hv.* 87.2.9. cf. *Hc.* 4.420.5, 444.4. but 'sadrśa' in *Hv.* 92.9.7.
✓ *sava-* ✓ *śap-* Pres. 1 Sg. -ū *Mt.* 4.
savva *sarva* Masc. Nom. Sg. *savvu* *Kc.* 30. *sahu* *Pd.* 89, *sahu* *Kc.* 30. also in Neut. *Jdu.* 17.3. *sāha* *Ld.* 3.3.51. *sāho*, °hu *Sh.* 22.21.
Gen. *sāha-ham*. *Sh.* 22.22. Gen. Sg. -ho *Kc.* 17.31. -ssu *Kc.* 17. Masc. Nom. Pl. *savvi* *Jdu.* 24.4. Acc. in *Kp.* A. 8.3. *savvai* *Jdc.* 11.4. Neut. Direct Pl. -aim *Pd.* 27. *Is.* 31. -āi *Sc.* 459.3. but *sahi* in *Jdc.* 43.3. Gen. Pl. -ham *Sdd.* 42.
savvetahe = *sarvatra* *Ld.* 3.3.13.
samsōra (ts.) Acc. Sg. -u *Pd.* 16. Gen. Sg. -ham *Sdd.* 192. also in *KKc.* 9.8.9. Loc. Sg. -i *PPr.* 1.9.
sasi-rāhu *śasi-* Masc. Nom. Pl. zero *Hc.* 382.
sa-siri *sa-śrī-(ka)* Masc. Loc. Sg. -hi *MP.* 100.1.2.
✓ *saha-* ✓ *sah-* Fut. 1 Sg. -ihimi *Mt.* 22 Pres. Part. -anta. *PPr.* 2.36. Inf -ana (°nu) *PPr.* 2.120. In *Jc.* 2.33.9. *sahu* is Impf. 1 Sg. *ts.* Ins. Sg. -ē *DKK* 19.
sahaja *ts.* Ins. Sg. -ē *DKK* 19.
sahayari *sahacarī* Fem. Ins. Pl. -him *KKc.* 3.6.7.
sahā *sabhā* Fem. Loc. Sg. -e *BhK.* 2.3.
sahāa *svabhāva*, Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *PPr.* 2,197,

- sahāba* *svabhāva* Nom. Sg. -e *DKs.* 85, Ins. -e Sg. *DKs.* 79.
- sahāsa* *sahasra* *Hv.* 82.11.4, *MP.* 1.11.14.
- sahi* *sakhī* Fem. Voc. Sg. zero *DKs.* 45, *Jdc.* 8.4.
Gen. Pl. -*hum*, -*ham* *Kc.* 18.
- sahiya* **sakhi-ka* = *sakhī* Fem. Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ* *KKc.* 6.15.3.
- sahum*, °*hū* *saha* *Hv.* 81.10.2, *Jdc.* 32.1. *Kp.S.* 53.4. *Kp.* J. 87.4, *Ld.* 3.3.44, *PPr.* 2.109. cf. *Hc.* 4.419.
- sāṇi* *śākinī* Fem. Nom. Pl. -u *Jc.* 1.16.11.
- sākhaṇḍa* *śākhāraṇḍa* (= *drohī*) Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *Sdd.* 61.
- sāmaggi* *sāmagri* Masc. Nom. Pl. -e *DKK.* 7.
- sāmala* *śyāmala* *Mt.* 14, 21, *Sc.* 580.3. Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *PPr.* 1.80. Neut. direct Sg. -i *Ds.* 4.5.2.
- sāmi* *svāmin.* Masc. Gen. Sg. -hi *Jc.* 2.26.9, *MP.* 100.7.8 Abl.
Pl. -*hum* *Hr.* 341.
- sāmi-sālā* *svāmi-sāra* = *svāmin* *KKc.* 1.7.4. 1.11.5. *Kp.* J. 10.3. *Nc.* 1.15.5.
- sāya* *svāda.* Abl. Sg. -hu *Sdd.* 35.
- sāyatta* *sapatnī* *Nc.* 3.9.9. cf. *M.* *savat*, *H.* *saut*.
- sāyara* *sōgara.* Gen. Sg. -ho *Hc.* 395.
- sāyara-gaya* *sāyara-gata* Loc. Sg. -*hiṃ* *Sdd.* 3.
- sāvaya* *śrāvaka.* Gen. Pl. -(ā)*ham* *KKc.* 9.16.2. *Sdd.* 31.
- sāsu* *sasyam* *Sda.* 83. (Neut. Nom. Sg. -u).
- sāhāraa* *sahakāra* 'a mango tree' *Nc.* 3.6.13.
- sāhi* *śākhin* Masc. Ins. Pl. -*hiṃ* *Sc.* 476.1.
- sāhu* *sādhu* Masc. Direct Pl. zero (elongation of -u) *PPr.* 2.10.
Gen. Pl. -*hum* *Sn.* 17-286.
- Sia* *Śiva* Masc. Nom. Sg. -u *KKc.* 4.3.1.
- śiāla* *śṛgāla* *DKs.* 7.
- ✓*sikkha-* ✓*śikṣ-* Imp. 2 Sg. -i *Pd.* 84 PP. -ia *Mt.* 25, Pot. Part. -iyavya *Pd.* 98. Inf. -*hum* *Nc.* 5.8.2. Caus. Pres. 1 Sg. -(a) *va-mi* *Pd.* 106. (Pa. *sikkhati*, Pk. *sikhaī*, M. *śikṣe*, Guj. H. ✓*sikh-*, Panj. *sikkṇā*).

- sikkha-vaya* *śikṣā-vrata*. Direct Pl. -iñ *Sdd.* 11.
siddha (ts.) Nom. Sg. zero *DKK.* 19.
siddha-ttaṇa *siddha-tva* Gen. Sg. -hu *Pd.* 88.
siddhi (ts.) Fem. Direct Sg. zero (elongation of -i) *Mt.* 19.
 Gen. Sg. -hi *PPr.* 2.48. -hiñ *PPr.* 2.49.
 Loc. Sg. -hi *PPr.* 1.26. (It is plural in sense though Sg. in the *chāyā*.) Ins. Pl. -hiñ *MP.* 100.10.1.

siddhi-suha °*sukha*. Acc. Sg. zero *Ys.* 30.
-sindhu (ts.) Ins. Pl. -hu *KKc.* 1.3.3.
Sippa *śi(kṣi)prā* *Jc.* 3.1.2.
sippi **śilpi* 'Mother of pearl.' Fem. Loc. Sg. -hiñ *Sdd.* 91.
simira *śibira* *Nc.* 5.1.1.
siya- *śri-ka* *Nc.* 9.4.3. in comps. e.g., *Nc.* 5.11.12.
siri *śrī* *Hv.* 81.3.12. *Nc.* 1.1.11. *Sc.* 451.1. Gen. Sg. -hī (?) *Sc.* 484.1.

sila *śilā* *Hc.* 337. Loc. Sg. -ē *PPr.* 1.123. -i *Ys.* 44.
Siva *Śiva* Neut. Acc. Sg. zero *Pd.* 55.
Śiva-devi *Śiva-devī* Fem. Ins. Sg. -i *MP.* 87.11.13.
 Loc. Sg. -hi *MP.* 87.10.8.

Siva-paha *Śiva-patha*. Loc. Sg. -e *KKc.* 1.1.4.
Siva-mai *Śiva-mati* Fem. Acc. Sg. ò *PPr.* 2.56.
Siva-satti *Śiva-śakti* Gen. Pl. -hiñ *Pd.* 127.
siviṇa *svapna*. Neut. direct Pl. -aī *Jc.* 461.1.
sihara *śikhara* *DKK.* 25.
sihiṇa *stana* *MP.* 2.16.2.
siya *śītā* Fem. Gen. Sg. -ha *Sc.* 491.2.
siyalatta *śitalatva* *KKc.* 3.10.8.
siṣakka *śiṣaska* 'helmet' Neut. Nom. Pl. -ī *MP.* 88.5.7.
Sihaura *Simhapura* *Nc.* 7.4.7.
suapa *sujana* Masc. Gen. Sg. -ssu *Hc.* 338. Acc. Pl. -aī *BhK.* 35.5.

- suā *sutā*. Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hem* *KKc.* 7.7.5.
- suī-*ṇam* *śrutīnām* (Pkt. sm.) *Pd.* 98 (Gen. Pl. in -*ṇam*)
- sukāī *sukavi*. Masc. Nom. Pl. zero. *Jdc.* 6.3.
Ins. Pl. -*him* *Jdc.* 4.2. *MP.* 1.12.8.
- ukasaniya **sukṛṣṇita* *Hv.* 83.13.11.
- ukka *śuṣka* Gen. Sg. -*ha* *Sdd.* 52. cf. *M. sukā*.
- ukkila *śukla* Nom. Sg. -*u* *Nc.* 1.14.2.
- sukhiya *sukhita* 'happy' Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Sdd.* 2.
- suggai-maggu = *sugati-mārgah* *Sn.* 273-191.
- sugha *sukha* Ins. Sg. -*ē* *Kc.* 56.
- succhanda *succhandas* Ins. Sg. -*iṇa* *Jdc.* 3. 3.
- √suṇa- 1. √*sr-ṇu* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* *DKK* 12. *DKs.* 75. Imp. 2 Sg. -*hu* *DKs.* 57, *Sdt.* 42. Abs. -*i* *Jdc.* 8.3, -*ivi* *Mt.* 16. -*iṇa* *KKc.* 8.4.1. -*ṇam* *Jc.* 1.12.15.
- suṇa *śvan* *DKs.* 7. (Pa. *sunakha*, *Pk.* *suṇaa*, *M.* poetic *suṇṇ*, *H.* *sūnā*.)
- suṇaha *śvan-* Masc. Ins. Pl. -*hi* *Jc.* 1.5.16.
- suṇṇa *sūnya* Nom. Sg. -*ē* *DKK* 8.
- sunnāsunna Loc. Sg. -(a)*hi* *DKs.* 77. *śūnyāśūnya* (Nom. Pl. zero) *DKK.* 11.
Gen. Pl. zero *DKK.* 13.
- suttā *suptā*. Fem. Ins. Sg. -*e* *MP.* 87.11.12.
- Sudatta (*ts.*) Masc. Nom. Sg. -*u* *Jc.* 3.34.15.
- suddhi *śuddhi* Fem. Ins. Sg. -*e* *Sdd.* 56.
- sundēra *saundarya*. *Hv.* 90.8.12. cf. *Hc.* 1.57.
- su-pottha-i *su-pustaka* (Loc. Sg. -*i*) *Sn.* 16.286.
- sumai *sumati* Gen. Sg. -*hu* *MP.* 90.10.4.
- sumiṭṭhāhāra *sumiṣṭhāhāra* zero Acc. Sg. *Pd.* 18.
- suya-i **svapali* = *svapiti* *Sn.* 272-191.
- 5 suyaṇa *sujana* Voc. Pl. -*hu* *Sc.* Intro. P. 12. -16.
- suya-paṇcamī *śruta-paṇcamī* Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hi* *Sdd.* 185.

- ✓*suyara-* **sumar-* < *smṛ-* Pres. 3 Sg. -i *Hv.* 81.16.5. PP. -iu *Hv.* 83.15.11. Abs. -*eppinu Hv.* 90.4.9.
- sura-giri* (ts.) Loc. Sg. -*hiṁ Sdd.* 196.
- sura-gur'* (ts.) Ger.. Sg. -*hu Jdc.* 4.4.
- sura-vara* (ts.) Masc. Nom. Pl. zero *MP.* 87.14.6.
- surāsura* (ts.) Masc. Direct Pl. zero *DKK* 8.
- suva-ṣaṁcamī* *śruta-*° Fem. Gen. Sg. -*hē BhK.* 1.2.
- suvisuddha-mai* *su-viśuddha-mati* Nom. Sg. zero *Sdd.* 10.
- suvihāṇa* *su-vibhāṇa* 'dawn' Loc. Sg. -iō *Nc.* 2.7.7.
- susamāhi* *śvasamādhi* Acc. Sg. zero *Ys.* 40.
- suha* 1. *sukha* Neut. Direct Sg. zero *Pd.* 5. -u *Pd.* 3, *PPr.* 2.199. Nom. Pl. -ā *Pd.* 17.
2. *śvā* 'a dog' *Jc.* 2.35.10.
- suhi* *suhṛd Nc.* 2.7.10.
- suhuma* *sūkṣma.* Gen. Pl. -*ham MP.* 2.7.10.
- suhelli* *sukha-keli Nc.* 1.13.2. but 'sukha' in *Dn.* 7.36.
- sūri* (ts.) Gen. Sg. -*hi Jdc.* 1.4. *Sdd.* 7.
- srya* *śrī Hv.* 82.1.9, 92.7.6.
- seṇṇa* *saṇṇa* Neut. direct Pl. -*im KKC.* 4.1. *ghattā* cf. *M.* *ṣeṇvī* 'N of a caste.'
- sembali* *śālmali KKC.* 8.7.7.
- sembha* *śleṣmā MP.* 20.14.10. (cf. *M.* *śēmbūḍ*, *semb*, *H.* *sembhā*, *Singh.* *sem(a)* *Pk.* *simbha*, *sembha*).
- śraya* *svaira-ka Hv.* 85.1.14.
- ✓*seva-* ✓*sev-* Fut. 1 Pl. -*issahū Intro.* to *Sc.* p. 17, § 24.
- sesāsi-him* *śeṣāśīrbhiḥ* (Ins. Pl. -*hiṁ MP.* 87.17.1.
- soceya* *śocayct* (Skt.ism) *Nc.* 9.20.12.
- sojjha, °u* *śuddhi DKs.* 53, 80.
- soṇaiya* *śaunika.* Gen. Pl. -*hum Jc.* 3.34.13.
- soṇiyā* Fem. Gen. Pl. -*hiṁ KKC.* 1.16.5.

<i>soṇṇāra</i>	<i>suvarṇakāra</i> MP. 31.7.2. cf. M. Guj. H. <i>sonār</i> .
<i>solaha-ma</i>	<i>ṣoḍaśama</i> . Nc. 4.5.1. (Pa. <i>solasa</i> , Pk. <i>solaha</i> , <i>solā</i> , M. <i>solā</i> hence M. <i>solāvā</i> Guj. <i>soḷ</i> , Or. <i>soḷa</i> H. <i>solaha</i>).
<i>soha</i>	<i>śobhā</i> Acc. Sg. zero Sr. 273-191.
<i>soha-choṇi</i>	<i>śobhā-kṣoṇi-h</i> Mp. 1.2.7.
<i>sohi</i>	<i>śuddhi</i> Sn. 32-231.
<i>sohiya</i>	<i>śodhita</i> DKs. 40,41.
<i>sohilla</i>	<i>śobhā-illa</i> (=yukta 'possessing,' 'having') MP. 2.17.9. cf. BhK. 68.4.

h

<i>haa</i>	<i>haya</i> Acc. Pl. - <i>ε</i> Nc. 6.13.11.
<i>haū</i>	1st P. Pron. Sing. Nom. <i>haū</i> , ° <i>um</i> BhK. 21.5. 24.5, DKK 1, DKs. 70. Hc. 375, Jc. 1.6.9. Jdc. 45.2. Kc. 37, KKc. 2.5.8. Kp. J. 8.4. 63.2. Ld. 3.4.45., Mt. 29, Pd. 26,31. PPr. 1.3, 80. Sc. 465.9, Sh. 22.53, Sn. 306-169. 18-468. <i>ahayaṃ</i> Jc. 2.3.4., Sc. 648.1. <i>ham</i> Jc. 2.3.6. <i>hum</i> Jc. 2.28.4. Acc. <i>maī</i> BhK. 57.9, 82.7., Hc. 377. Jc. 2.35.4, Kc. 38, KKc. 1.16.16, Kp. J. 10.2. Ld. 3.4.46. Sc. 612.9, Sh. 22.55, <i>maṃ</i> Mt. 11, 24, Sn. 77-176. <i>mamaṃ</i> Sc. 672.7. Ins. <i>maī</i> BhK. 21.2., 22.4, DKK 26, DKs. 50, 95. Hc. Kc. Ld. Sh. the same as the Acc. Jdc. 45.4, KKc. 1.2.7, Kp. J. 10.2. Pd. 208, PPr. 1.9, 2.211, Sc. 485.5. <i>maī</i> Jdc. 46.1, PPr. 2.212, <i>mae</i> BhK. 69.10, Jc. 2.1.15, Kp. J. 65.1* <i>maeṇa</i> KKc. 1.10.6. <i>me</i> Kp. S. 100.1* Gen. <i>maha</i> KKc. 1.10.7, Kp. J. 9.2, Sc. 465.6. Sn. 217-186. 14-441. <i>mahaṃ</i> MP. 1.10.3, <i>mahu</i> BhK. 27.12, 37.5, DKs. 9,95. Hc. 379, Kc. 39, KKc. 1.2.10, Kp. S. 45.7, Ld. 3.4.47, Pd. 99,186, PPr. 1.1.22, Sh. 22.57. <i>mahu</i> PPr. 2.186. <i>maho</i> KKc. 1.6.9, 2.4.10, 4.5.10. <i>majjha</i> Kp. J. 6.3, Ld. 3.4.47, Sc. 482.3, Sn. 11-441. <i>majjhaṃ</i> MP. 1.10.12. <i>majjhu</i> BhK. 38.3, 41.8. Hc. 379, Kc. 39, KKc. 3.11.7, Mt. 13.24, Pd. 119, Sh. 22.57. Forms in - <i>era</i> e.g. <i>meraum</i> , Jc. 3.21.11 are not a part of this declension. Loc. <i>maī</i> ° <i>im</i> Hc. 377, Kc. 38, Kp. S. 74.2, Ld. 3.4.46, Sc. 620.5, Sh. 22.55.
<i>hauṃ hauṃ</i>	<i>hā hā</i> Sn. 308-169.
✓ <i>hakkāra</i>	'to call near' cf. M. <i>hakārṇā</i> . Abs. - <i>evi</i> Kp. S. 49,7 cf. also ✓ <i>hakka</i> 'to drive' as in <i>hakkiūṇa</i> Nc. 6.13.11. (M. Guj. H. Beng. <i>hāk</i> -, Panj. ✓ <i>hakk</i> -)

- haṁkāra* *ahāṁkāra* Nom. Sg. -o *DKK* 4.
- haḍḍāla* =*asthi-yukta* (-āla suff.) Neut. direct. pl. -*aīm* *Jc.* 3.4.9. (Sk. lex. *haḍḍa*, Pa. Pk. *haḍḍa*, M. Guj. *hāḍ*, H. Nep. *hāḍ*).
- ✓*haṇa* ✓*han*-Imp. 2 Sg. -u *Nc.* 4.7.12, -su *Nc.* 3.3.14. Pres. Part. -*anta* *Kc.* 25, Inf. -*hum* *KKc.* 2.3.10. Pot. Part. -*evvaa*. *Nc.* 4.89. The pass base ✓*hamma-* is found in *Kp.* S. 46.5 and elsewhere cf. M. *haṇaṇē*.
- hattha* *hasta* Ins. Pl. -*ihiṁ* *Hc.* 358, *Sc.* 487. 2. (Pa. Pk. *hattha*, Guj. H. *hāth*, M. Nep. *hāt*, Panj. *hatthi*).
- ✓*hara* ✓*hr-* Pres. 1 Sg. -*emi* *KKc.* 10.23.6, -*aū* *Kp.* E. 30b, 3 Pl. -*anti* *Jdc.* 7.1. -*hiṁ* *Jc.* 2.26.17. -*iṁ* *KKc.* 10.29.15. Imp. 2 Sg. -*i* *Jc.* 1.9.14. Fut. 3 Sg. -*ihai* *Kp.* E. 28 PP. -*iya* *Kp.* S. 14.1 Inf. -*iu* *Kp.* S. 86.6 Caus. Pres. 2 Sg. *hāraṣi* *Kp.* S. 96. 9. *hārā-vēhi* *Kp.* S. 56.4.
- Hari* (*ts.*) Nom. Sg. zero *MP.* 85.1.4, Acc. Sg. -*m(ts)* *Jc.* 3.3.10. Gen. Sg. -*hi* *MP.* 87.59. *Sh.* 22.26, -*he* *Sh.* 22.26, Loc. Sg. -*hi* *Jc.* 1.25.27. *Sh.* 22.26, -*he* *Sh.* 22.26.
- hariṇa* (*ts.*) Neut. direct Pl. -(*a*)*iṁ* *KKc.* 1.5.6.
- harisa* *harṣa* Ins. Sg. -*iṁ* *KKc.* 1.14.11.
- Hari-Hara-Bamhu* = °*Brahmāṇaḥ* *PPr.* 2.8.
- hali* (*ts.*) Ins. Sg. -*ṇā* *MP.* 87.6.4.
hale (at the time of addressing) *Jc.* 2.7.2.
- halola* *hillola* *Pd.* 220. cf. H. *tilor*.
- ✓*halla-* = ✓*kamp-* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* *MP.* 14.5.12. PP. -*iya* *MP.* 1.12.5, -*ira* (*tācchīye*) *Kp.* K. 3.5. cf. *Dn. halliam calitam* (M. *hālṇē*, Guj. *hālṇū*, H. *hālṇā*, Sdh. *halnū*, Panj. *hallaṇā*).
- ✓*hava-* *bhav-* Pres. 3 Sg. -*i* *Sdd.* 87.
Abso. -*eppiṇu* *Nc.* 9.13.3.
- hamsa* (*ts.*) Nom. Sg. -u *Kc.* 16.
- hamsiṇi* = **hamsinī* = *hamsī* Ins. Sg. -*eṁ* *KKc.* 6.13.10.
- ✓*hāhā* = *hā* 'fie' *Kp.* A. 2.4., *Kp.* S. 46.8.
- hara* (*ts.*) Masc. Acc. Pl. -(*a*)*i* *BhK.* 17.11.
- hia* *hyd-*, *hṛdaya* *DKs.* 26, 75, Ins. Sg. -*eṁ* *Mt.* 24, Loc. Sg. -*i* *Mt.* 12.

- hia-ḍa* *hṛdaya* (-ḍa pleonastic) Masc. Nom. Sg. -ā *Mk.* 17.5, Loc. Sg. -i *Pd.* 5.
- hitta* *hṛt* *Hv.* 89.17.4, Neut. direct Sg. -vṛ *Hv.* 81.16.3.
- hiya* *hyd-(ya)* *Nc.* 7.6.19, *Sn.* 19-468, Loc. Sg. -e *DKs.* 41, -im *KKc.* 1.14.12. -i *Pd.* 2. -ulla (pleonastic) *Nc.* 3.6.6.
- hiyaya* *hṛdaya* *Kp.* J. 84.4. *Nc.* 1.17.13.
- hiyavaa* (°ya)=*hṛdaya* *Hv.* 82.3.6. *Nc.* 2.6.1.
(cf. Pais. *hitapaka*). Loc. Sg. -i *Jc.* 3.38.9.
- hiyavaḍa* *hṛdaya* Loc. Sg. -e *PPr.* 1.12.1.
- hiri* *Hri* *Hv.* 87.13.1.
- himsa* *hīmsā*. Ins. Sg. -e *Jc.* 3.29.9.
- himsira* *himsa-ira* (tācchālye) 'neighing' cf. H. *hīmsā* *Nc.* 3.14.1.
- hu* 1. **khlu*=*khalu* *Ds.* 4.3.2. *Mt.* 13,16,25.
2. *bhūta* *KKc.* 1.2.7.
- √*hūla*- =√-*kṣip*- cf. *Hc.* 4.14.3, also H. *hūlnā*
Pres. 3 Sg. -i *Hv.* 88.8.11,3 Pl. -(a)nti *Hv.* 84.6.4.
- huhuru* Onomatopoeic *Kc.* 68.
- √*hū*- *bhū*- Pres. 3 Pl. -nti *Jdc.* 29.1.
Imp. or Benedictive 3 Sg. -jja-u *Sdd.* 224.
- heu* *hetu* Masc. Acc. Sg. zero *Pd.* 24, *PPr.* 1.40, *Sc.* 499.2.
- √*ho*- *bho*<*bhū* Pres. 2 Sg. -hu *PPr.* 2.14.
3 Sg. -i *KKc.* 1.13.4. *Kp.* J. 46.9. *Mt.* 2, 8, 9, *Sdd.* 6. -ī *Ds.* 4.5.2. 3 Pl. *hunti* *Kp.* J. 6. 8, *Jdc.* 29.4.
Imp. 2 Sg. -zero *Jc.* 2.1.17,
-hi *Kp.* A. 12.4. *Nc.* 1.3.10. *Pd.* 43, 3 Sg. -u *Kp.* S. 62.5,
Sdd. 2. *kuva* in *Jc.* 1.6.28. 3 Pl. -ntu (Intro. to *Hv.* §56).
Fut. 1 Sg. -sami. *BhK.* 302.6, *KKc.* 5.18.7. -hissu *Sn.* 306-
169. 2 Sg. -sahi *BhK.* 100.4. -hisi *Kp.* S. 55.4. 3 Sg. -sai *BhK.*
28.10, *Jc.* 1.7.15. *KKc.* 2.5.6, *Kp.* E. 12, 28. *Nc.* 2.6.4. *Sc.*
50.3, 262.4 (Intro. to *Sc.* §24). -isa *Kp.* E. 3, -hai *KKc.* 1.16.
15. -hi *Kp.* S. 3.4. -hī *Sn.* 15-141. -hii *Sc.* 455.4. -hihidi *MK.*
17.59. 1 Pl. -sahim *Jc.* 2.22.5. 3 Pl. -sahim °ht *BhK.* 42.9
KKc. 2.5.7. -hahim *KKc.* 2.4.10. Pres. Part. -nta, -ntau *Jc.*
3.37.17. 2.25.12, *Kp.* S. 36, *Nc.* 3.15.5, 13. *havanta* *Nc.*
3.3.10. *hontau* as Fut. Part. *Ld.* 3.3. 22. *PP.* hua(ya) *Kp.* S.
92.9, *Kp.* J. 60.2, *Sn.* 308-169. *hūva* *KKc.* 1.7.8. *hu* *KKc.* 1.2.7.
hū Fem. *KKc.* 5.11.3. Abs. -epiṇu *Jc.* 1.8.1. -evi *KKc.*
2.3.5. -eviṇu *KKc.* 3.10.10. -vi *KKc.* 5.11.3. -avi *PPr.* 2.27.

